A Volume of Studies in Indology

PRESENTED TO

Prof. P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M.

on his 61st Birthday 7th May 1941

EDITED BY

S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

AND

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Oriental Book Agency

POONA 2 (India)

Printed by S. R. SARDESAI, B.A., LL.B., NAVIN SAMARTH VIDYALAYA'S
SAMARTH BHARAT PRESS, 41 BUDHWAR PETH, POONA 2
Published by DR. N. G. SARDESAI, L.M. & S., FOR THE ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY,
15 SHUKRAWAR PETH, POONA 2

FOREWORD

We brought out two volumes, one in honour of Dr. F. W. Thomas and the other in honour of Sir E. Denison Ross in 1939 with the willing co-operation of the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Dr. N. G. Sardesai, the enterprising Proprietor of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, during his journey to Tirupati to attend the All-India Oriental Conference held there towards the end of March 1940, expressed his willingness to publish a volume of Studies in Indology in honour of Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. who also attended the above Conference along with other delegates from Bombay and Poona. It was then revealed in the course of a conversation with Prof. Kane that he was to complete his 60th year on *7th May 1940*. Dr. Sardesai suggested that it would be in the fitness of things if a volume of Studies could be brought out within a year or so and presented to Prof. Kane on *7th May 1941* when he would be completing his 61st year. The above suggestion was later discussed by us on the Rāmanavamī day (16th April 1940) with Dr. Sardesai and a Committee of representative scholars with Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., PH. D. as Chairman was organized with a view to carry out the suggestion. Circular letters inviting contributions to the volume were despatched by us immediately, the last date for receiving papers being *1st November 1940*. The response to these letters was very encouraging; and the volume of more than 550 pages now brought out bears witness to the enthusiasm of contributors, the courage of Dr. Sardesai in carrying out the publication of this costly volume inspite of the enhanced prices of paper and print and last but not least the efficiency and carefulness of Mr. S. R. Sardesai, B.A., LL.B., the Manager of the Samartha Bharat Press, Poona, but for whose personal interest in this work it would have been impossible to get the Volume published within a period of five months. We tender our most grateful thanks to our colleagues on the Festschrift Committee, the Publishers and Printers, and all the contributors to the present Volume including those friends whose papers were received rather late for being included in the Volume as also those who have given us their blessings and subscriptions for the successful conduct of our undertaking.

Poona 4 — S. M. KATRE.
7th May 1941 — P. K. GODE.



PROFESSOR P V KANE, M A , LL M

Dear Professor Kane,

You more than any scholar of our age in the West of India have upheld the great tradition represented by Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Shankar Pandurang Pandit and Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Their mantle has fallen on your shoulders. To-day on this sixty-first anniversary of your birth it is our proud privilege to unite with your fellow-workers in the diverse fields, which you have enriched with your researches and which you were often the first to open out, in offering you their grateful and admiring homage in the shape of this Festschrift. The long list of your publications, covering a period of thirty-five years of self-less, disinterested and arduous labour, bears witness to the untiring energy and boundless enthusiasm which you have brought to bear upon a branch of study, for long considered in India as remote and unconnected with University Education, and to your staunch spirit which, having once decided upon the path of research in Indology, and notwithstanding the many difficulties of circumstances which led you from the teacher's profession to that of the lawyer has triumphed over every material obstacle. (Neither sickness nor the perversity of Nature or Destiny has dimmed that spirit which carried you forward to your appointed goal nor diminished the output of your research.) In your twenty-sixth year, already a promising teacher and inspired scholar, you distinguished yourself by completing an essay on the History of Alaṁkāra Literature, published later as History of Sanskrit Poetics appended to your edition of the Sāhityadarpaṇa; and a year later you laid the foundations for your masterpiece, the History of Dharmaśāstra, by winning the V. N. Mandlik Prize with an essay on Aryan Manners and Morals as depicted in the Epics. In your thirty-third year you delivered the Wilson Philological Lectures at the University of Bombay, the youngest scholar to be invited by the University to deliver these lectures. In your fiftieth year you published the first volume of your great History of Dharmaśāstra, the crowning achievement of your wonderfully versatile life, the second volume of which is being published to-day. Your pioneer work in this particular field and in Sanskrit Poetics, beyond that of any other scholar, has stimulated Oriental scholarship to accord recognition to Indian genius and has engendered in Indian Scholars a pride in their ancient culture. A new school of

workers is still tilling the fields and reaping a rich harvest where you were the first to turn the soil. Your editions of Sanskrit classics, your learned publications in various Oriental Journals and your many-sided and illuminating contributions, in English and Marathi, to social and legal problems have led to a just appreciation of Indo-Aryan Culture and Sanskrit Scholarship. Your keenness in Śanskrit and Marathi studies has been neither damped by physical disabilities nor hampered by lack of opportunities, and beyond all others you have demonstrated in your life that man is the maker of his own opportunities and architect of his own future. Contributors to this Festschrift hail from nearly every province of India, a few even from war-befogged Europe; yet they are a very small part of the willing contributions which have been pouring in from the many who admire your great achievement, your colossal industry and boundless patience, your critical scholarship and unfaltering devotion to Sanskrit learning, and from those who draw inspiration from your fine example and encouragement from the privilege of your inestimable friendship. We to whom was given the grateful task of organizing this little work and editing this small Festschrift, join with your admirers, friends and the many contributors whose spontaneous co-operation alone has made this graceful tribute possible, in addressing you the words made immortal by the ancient Ṛṣis of India: 'May you live the full life of a hundred years!'

शतं जीव शरदो दीर्घमायुः ।

S. M. Katre
P. K. Gode
N. G. Sardesai
Suniti Kumar Chatterji
V. V. Mirashi
P. C. Divanji
A. N. Upadhye
A. B. Gajendragadkar
A. S. Altekar
H. D. Sharma
Raghu Vira
V. S. Sukthankar
D. R. Bhandarkar
K. N. Dikshit
R. D. Ranade
H. R. Divekar
R. N. Dandekar
P. L. Vaidya
H. D. Velankar
V. R. R. Dikshitar
S. K. De
R. G. Harshe
E. V. Viraraghavacharya

7th May 1941

Professor P. V. Kane,

By

P. K. Gode

The Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Province, though one of the poorest regions of Mahārāstra, has produced men of eminence and ability like Tilak and Gokhale, who have made history not only for Mahārāstra but for the whole of India. They have put a permanent stamp on Indian life and thought by their exemplary lives, characterized by self-sacrifice and patriotism. Lokamānya Tilak, inspite of his life-long struggle in the cause of Indian politics, was a born Sanskrit scholar and utilized all his leisure in the pursuit of Sanskrit studies. Prof. P. V. Kane, though destined to be neither a politician nor a Professor of Sanskrit, has given the best account of his scholarly abilities by his unbroken pursuit of Sanskrit studies. In this work he has, in my opinion, followed the best traditions of the late Lokamānya Tilak, who maintained his vigorous scholarly activity inspite of the hardships occasioned by his stern and rigorous life of a patriot-politician

The native place of the Kane family was Dapoli in the Ratnagiri District. Mr. Vamanrao Kane, the father of Prof. Pandurangrao Kane, passed his Matriculation examination in 1874 and after passing the District Pleader's examination in 1877 began his practice as a Pleader in 1878.

Prof. Pandurangrao was born at Parsharam near Chiplun in the Ratnagiri District at the house of his maternal grandfather surnamed Chitale on *7th May 1880*. He passed his Matriculation examination from the S. P. G Mission High School at Dapoli and stood 30th in the list of successful candidates. For his collegiate studies he joined the Wilson College, Bombay and passed his B. A. examination from this College in 1901, winning the Bhau Daji Prize for Sanskrit. Before his graduation he had secured several scholarships in Sanskrit at the Previous and Intermediate examinations of the University of Bombay. After graduation Prof. Pandurangrao was a Daksina Fellow for two years at the Wilson College. In 1902 he passed the First LL. B. examination in the First Class. In 1903 he passed the M. A. examination in English and Sanskrit and was awarded the Zala Vedānta Prize. In August 1904 he joined the Government High School at Ratnagiri as a teacher and in 1905 he passed the S. T. C. (Secondary Teacher's Certificate) examination and stood first in the whole of the Presidency. In 1906 he passed

the departmental examination for Honours in Teaching. In 1906 he was awarded the V. N. Mandlik Gold Medal for an Essay on the *History of Alaṁkāra Literature*. In April 1907 he was transferred to the Elphinstone High School as a Teacher and was made Head Teacher of Sanskrit. In this very year he was awarded the V. N. Mandlik Prize of Rs. 150 for an Essay on *Aryan Manners and Morals as depicted in the Epics*.

In 1908 Prof. Kane passed the LL. B. examination. In 1909 he acted as Professor of Sanskrit for the first term at the Elphinstone College in place of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, who had been sent on deputation. In June 1911 he resigned Government service and became a High Court Vakil owing to supercession in the Educational Department by less qualified men. In 1912 he passed the LL. M. examintion in Hindu and Mahomedan Law. In 1913 he delivered six lectures as Wilson Philological Lecturer on Sanskrit and allied languages. For two years (1915–1916) he was awarded the Springer Research Scholarship of Rs. 100 per month by the University of Bombay for work on the Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra. In 1916 he worked as Honorary Professor of Sanskrir for one term in the Wilson College when Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar fell ill and a successor could not be found at once. For six years (1917 to 1923) he was Professor of Law in the Government Law College, Bombay.

From 1910 to 1923 Prof. Kane was an examiner in Sanskrit at the several examinations in Arts of the University of Bombay from the Previous examination to the M. A. For some years he was an examiner at the LL. B. and LL. M. examinations of this University. He has been an examiner at the LL. B examination of the Madras University twice and an examiner in Sanskrit at the B. A., M. A., Ph. D., and D. Litt. examinations of several Indian Universities, such as Benares, Nagpur, Dacca. For nine years (1919–1928) he was an elected fellow of the University of Bombay and a membet of the Faculty of Arts and Law of the same University for about fifteen years.

During the last thirty years Prof. Kane has been connected with numerous institutions, the principal ones among these institutions and the offices he holds therein at persent are indicated below :—

(1) *Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*—Fellow and Vice-President for many years.

(2) *Dakṣiṇī Brāhmaṇa Sabhā, Bombay*—Member of the Managing Committee for over 25 years, Chairman of the

Managing Committee for 10 years and one of the three Trustees of this body.

(3) *Marāṭhī Grantha Sangrahālaya, Bombay*—Vice-President of the Niyāmak Mandal for many years.

(4) *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*—Member of the Regulating Council and member of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board.

(5) *Dapoli Education Society*—President.

(6) *Mahārāshtra Sāhitya Parishad*—One of the Vice-presidents and Member of the Managing Committee for many years.

It will be seen from the above brief sketch of Prof. Kane's life that he has not taken any active part in politics but has confined his activities mainly to the academic and social life of the province inspite of the busy life of a lawyer. His absence from politics was mainly due to his being a Government servant till 1911 and also to his being a Government Professor of Law from 1917 to 1923. Even when he was a Government servant he attended the Congress Session of 1904 at Bombay and of 1907 at Surat. Subsequently he attended about half a dozen sessions of this premier political body in India, the last session he attended being the Faizpur Session.

From 1921 onwards Prof. Kane attended all the Marathi Sāhitya Sammelans except those held at Jalgaon and Ratnagiri. He also attended six out of nine All-India Oriental Conferences held so far in different parts of India. His interest in Marathi language and literature is as keen and active as that noticeable in his Sanskritic studies as will be seen from the list of his Marathi writings published in this volume. He, however, makes Marathi a vehicle of his Sanskrit studies with a view to carry their message to the Marathi reading public. Prof. Kane is loved and respected by all eminent scholars in India and outside and when the organizers of the present volume announced their intention to do honour to him in such a fitting manner they received innumerable letters from these scholars expressing their great esteem and regard for the services of Prof. Kane to the cause of Sanskrit learning. Besides these tributes to the learning and scholarship of Prof. Kanc enshrined in a permanent form in the present volume I may note here for information of outside scholars that last year he was honoured publicly at Bombay and Poona on the occasion of his completing the 60th year, when speeches were made by representative scholars, admiring the scholarly work of Prof. Kane and in particular his encyclopædic work on the *History of Dharmaśāstra* in 2 vols., comprising no less than

2200 pages. This work has been published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and bears witness to Prof. Kane's industry, patience, critical scholarship and devotion to Sanskrit learning.

The family of Prof. Kane consisted of six brothers and three sisters, out of whom, five are now left, two sisters and three brothers. One of these brothers is a Pleader at Dapoli and the other, the youngest, is a Medical Practitioner (L. C. P. S.) at this place.

Prof. Kane has five children, two sons and three daughters. His eldest son studied at the Bangalore Science Institute for three years. After this training he took the M. Sc. degree of the University of Bombay and later went to England, where he secured the Ph. D. degree of the University of London in Gas and Fuel Technology. He has also done work for the D. Sc. degree. At present he is Reader in Chemical Engineering in the University College of Technology (Bombay). Prof. Kane's youngest son of eleven years is studying in the 3rd Standard (English). His eldest daughter is married to Prof. S. G. Patvardhan, B.A., B.SC., LL.M., who is an Advocate in the Bombay High Court and Professor of Law in the Government Law College. Such in brief is the outline of the life of Prof. Kane, a successful Sanskrit Scholar and a lawyer. The literary biography of a scholar consists of his writings. The books and papers published by Prof. Kane are, therefore, recorded in a separate list appended to this sketch of his personal history. None is more conscious than myself of the inadequacy of the present sketch dealing only with the salient features of the life of a self-made man and a scholar like Prof. Kane but for want of space in this bulky volume I must close it with my best wishes for Prof. Kane's long life and increasing prosperity in the years to come. I take this opportunity of thanking Prof. Kane most cordially for the materials supplied by him for this sketch, including the list of his books and papers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

I—Books

1. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha (Paricchedas I, II and X) with an Introduction, notes and appendices (1910); 2nd edition in 1923 (contains the full text in ten Paricchedas and '*History of Indian Poetics*').

* Principal Works published by Prof. P. V. Kane are recorded in this Bibliography in chronological order. Miscellaneous contributions of a few lines or so have been omitted.

2. *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa—Pūrvabhāga (pp. 1-124 of Peterson's Edition)—text with exhaustive notes.
3. *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa—Pūrvabhāga (pp. 124 to the end of Pūrvabhāga)—text with exhaustive notes.
4. *Kādambarī* (Uttarabhāga)—text with exhaustive notes.
5. *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti—text with commentary of Ghanaśyāma and exhaustive notes and Introduction.
6. *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa—Complete text with exhaustive notes and Introduction.
7. *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (bound separately).
8. *A brief Sketch of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā System* (first published in the *Annals* of B. O. R. Institute, Poona and then published separately).
9. *Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita* (reconstructed from quotations). (At first published in the *Annals* B. O. R. Institute and then separately).
10. *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha with exhaustive notes, Introduction and appendices.
11. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. pp. 808. Published by B. O. R. Institute, Poona. 1930.
12. *Translation of the Vyavahāramayūkha* into English, with notes and case-law.
13. *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra*—Kātyāyana on Vyavahāra reconstructed from quotations, text with translation into English, notes and case-law.
14. *Vedic Basis of Hindu Law* (a paper contributed to *J. B. B. R. A. S.* in 1922 but now published separately).
15. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, dealing with Varṇa, Āśrama, Saṁskāra, Āhnika, Dāna, Pratiṣṭhā, Utsarga, Śrauta.

II – Important Papers

(Those available in separate book form are not included.)

'*Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin*' in *J. R. A. S.*, for 1908 pp. 543–547.

'*Outlines of the History of Alaṁkāra Literature*', in '*Indian Antiquary*' Vol. 41 (for 1912) pp. 124-128, 204–208.

Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra' *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XXIV pp. 613-657.

'*Ancient Geography of Konkan* in *Proceedings of the First All-India Oriental Conference*, Vol II, pp. 365–392.

'*Gleanings from Śabara and the Tantravārtika*' *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. 26 pp. 83-98.

'*Vedānta Commentators before Śaṅkarācārya*'—*Proceedings of the 5th All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore*, Vol. II pp. 937–953.

'*The Predecessors of Vijñāneśvara*' *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New series), Vol. I, pp. 193-224 for 1925.

'*The Tantravārtika and Dharmaśāstra Literature*' in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, New series, Vol. I, pp. 95–102.

'*The Chronological Position of Maṇḍana, Umbeka, Bhavabhūti* and *Sureśvara*' in *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New series) Vol. III pp. 289–293.

'*Fragments of Kohala*' in *Proceedings of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference, Patna*, pp. 577–580.

'*Pahlavas and Pārasīkas in Ancient Sanskrit Literature*'—in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (1930) pp. 352-357.

'*Gleanings from the Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta*' in *Dr. Pathak Commemoration Volume* (1934) pp. 385–400.

'*Imprecatory verses in ancient copper-plate and other grants*' in *Bhāratīya Anuśīlana* in honour of M. M. Gaurishankar Ojha (1934) part V, pp. 1–15 (in Marāthi).

'*Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature*' *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New series) Vol. XI (for 1935) pp. 1-17.

'*The marriageable age of girls in Ancient India*' in *Dr. Jha Memorial Volume* (1937) pp. 191–197.

'*Kalivarjya*'—in *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New series) Vol. 12 (1936) pp. 1–18.

'*Intercaste marriages in modern India and in the Smṛtis and epigraphic records*'—*Journal portion of 38 Bombay Law Reporter* (for 1936) pp. 81-86.

'*Naming a child or a person*' in *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1938; Vol. 14 pp. 224-244.

'*The Mahābhārata and ancient commentators*' in *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XIX pp. 163–172 for 1938.

'*Mahābhārata verses and very ancient dharmasūtra and other works*', *Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*—pp. 128–133 (in honour of Dr. F. W. Thomas).

'*A Note on the Kāyasthas*' in the *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. I for 1939) pp. 740–743.

Besides these papers several reviews of works were contributed to the *J. B. B. R. A. S.* and *Annals* of B. O. R. Institute.

मराठी ग्रन्थ

१. भारत-रामायणकालीन समाजस्थिति, पृष्ठें १–५३ (प्रथम विविधज्ञानविस्तार पुस्तक ४१ मध्यें प्रसिद्ध)

२. संस्कृत साहित्यशास्त्राचा इतिहास (रा. केशव लक्ष्मण ओगले यांचे मदतीनें– ' अलंकारशास्त्राचा इतिहास ' या इंग्रजीत लिहिलेल्या निबंधाचें भाषांतर कांहीं जास्त मजकूर घालून)

३. धर्मशास्त्रविचार (रा. केशव लक्ष्मण ओगले यांचे मदतीनें–व्याख्यानांचा सारांश)

४. ऋक्सारसंग्रह (ऋग्वेदांतील २७ सूक्तें, त्यांचा पदपाठ, मराठी अर्थ व टीपा यांसह)

५. युरोपचा प्रवास

स्फुट लेख

' श्रीगजाननाचा काल '—विविधज्ञानविस्तार, पुस्तक ३७, पृष्ठें ११८–१२० (अ)

' कालिदासाच्या धार्मिक व तत्त्वज्ञानविषयक कल्पना '—विविधज्ञानविस्तार, पुस्तक ३७, पानें १६९–१७५

' कालिदासीय ज्योतिष '—विविधज्ञानविस्तार, पुस्तक ३८, पानें १०५–११६

' भरताचें नाट्यशास्त्र '—सरस्वतीमन्दिर—१९०७, (शेवटचा निबन्ध), पानें १–१७

' आर्यमाता विदुला '—मनोरंजन, १९०७, पुस्तक १३, पृष्ठें २२६–२३३

' पतिव्रता गान्धारी'—मनोरंजन, १९०७, पृष्ठें ३५४–३५९

' पुण्यश्लोकपत्नी दमयन्ती '—मनोरंजन, १९१२, पुस्तक १७, पृष्ठें २०५–२१९

' विदर्भ व महाराष्ट्र '—विविधज्ञानविस्तार, पुस्तक ४३, पानें ४८१–४९२

' संस्कृत भाषा बोलण्याचा प्रचार होता कीं नाहीं '—विविधज्ञानविस्तार, पुस्तक ४५, पानें २८९–३१२

' महाराष्ट्राचा प्राचीन भूगोल '—विविधज्ञानविस्तार, पुस्तक ४९, पानें १–६; पुस्तक ५०, पानें १७–२४ व १२१–१२८

' प्राचीन कोंकण '—साहित्यपत्रिका (विविधज्ञानविस्ताराबरोबर, १९२१) पानें १४५–१५४

' कवि भास व तत्प्रथित नाटकें '—महाराष्ट्र साहित्य-पत्रिका, वर्ष ८, पृष्ठें ९७–१०२ (विविधज्ञानविस्ताराबरोबर)

'राष्ट्रीय शिक्षण'—विविधज्ञानविस्तार, पुस्तक ५२, पानें १४९–१६८

'साहित्यशास्त्र'—विविधज्ञानविस्तार ज्युबिली अंक, भाग दोन, पृष्ठें १८७–२१४

'धर्मशास्त्र'—'लोकमान्य' याचा हिंदुस्थान अंक (जानेवारी १९२४), पृष्ठें ५८–६०

'धर्मशास्त्राचीं मूलभूत तत्त्वें'—चित्रमय जगत्, १९२८, (फेब्रुवारी), पृष्ठें ९३–९४

'गोमन्तक'—साहित्यपत्रिका, वर्ष ३, पानें १३९–१४४ व वर्ष ४, पृष्ठें २४९–२६१

'शिवछत्रपति व गागाभट्ट'—शिवाजी निबन्धावलि भाग १, पृष्ठें १–२४

'मराठी शुद्धलेखनाचा वाद'—मडगांव संमेलनवृत्त, १९३०, पृष्ठें ३९–४३

'मराठी धातूंसंबन्धी वाद'—बडोदें साहित्यसंमेलन, १९३४, 'भाषा-विभाग' पृष्ठें १–८

याशिवाय विविधज्ञानविस्तार, साहित्यपत्रिका, चित्रमयजगत् यांत ग्रंथपरीक्षणें व किरकोळ लेख आहेत त्यांचा उल्लेख केला नाहीं.

CONTENTS

Festschrift Prof. P. V. KANE

Some Poets of the Diṇḍima Family

By

A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR, Madras

Mediæval South Indian Sanskrit literature has been considerably enriched by the writers of the period and can very well compare favourably with productions of the age of the classics. The period witnessed the writing of the standard commentaries on the five *Mahākāvyas*. To cite a few examples : Mallinātha and his son Kumārasvāmi and Kātama Reḍḍi of the Reḍḍi dynasty belong to this period. Music, Alaṅkāra, Medicine, Dharmaśāstras, Philosophy, historical kāvyas, works on domestic and *śrauta* ritual, and in fact, every branch of Sanskrit literature had itself amply represented in the original treatises as well as compilations made during the mediæval period.

2. One striking feature of Indian learning and scholarship is the presence of large groups of poets in particular localities and families. The torch of learning is handed down from father to son, from teacher to pupil, generation by generation. Each teacher gathers round himself a group of disciples with an ever-widening circle as each pupil becomes a teacher, in his times Learned men are encouraged and appreciated by the sovereigns of the country with grants and gifts. Every court of importance has a court Pandit who has a part to play in the day to day life of the sovereign. Literary contests ordinarily find a place in the life of each great literary personage and is followed by royal recognition of the merits of the contesting parties. Great festivals such as the *Mahānavamī* usually congregates large assemblages of pandits in royal courts for literary disputes and prizes.

3. The famous family of the Diṇḍima Bhattas represents a mediæval type of South Indian scholarship. It produced an uninterrupted line of great scholars and brilliant writers whose fame and influence was unparalleled in the annals of literary history. A study of the life of the Diṇḍima family is closely connected with the royal houses of the period, by the intimate contact which the members of the family enjoyed at the hands of their royal patrons.

4. In the following pages an attempt is made to reconstruct the history of the Diṇḍima family of poets as gathered from the internal evidence of the works composed by the members of the family.

5. The *Somavallīyogānandaprahasana* a work composed by Arunagirinātha Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma contains some details about the ancestry of the author. According to this work[1] the author was the grandson of one Kaviprabhu, a gem of Parendrāgrahāra, and belonged to the Sāmaveda. He defeated the great Nāgaṇṇa the court poet of Ballālarāya. He is credited with the full mastery of eight *bhāṣās*. Kaviprabhu's son was Rājanātha Deśika who had married Abhirāmanāyikā the daughter of Ḍiṇḍimaprabhu. From this union was born the great Arunagirinātha surnamed DIṆḌIMA-KAVISĀRVABHAUMA. The maternal uncle of Arunagirinātha was called Sabhāpati Bhattāraka.[2] This yields the following table :

I

```
                              Kaviprabhu—Aṣṭabhāṣāsāmrājyābhiṣikta—
   Diṇḍima Prabhu             a lion to the elephant Nāganna Kavi of
         |                              the court of Ballālarāya
   ------|------                                  |
   |           |                                  |
Sabhāpati    Abhirāmanāyikā-marrried-Rājanātha Deśika
Bhaṭṭāraka                        |
                            Arunagirinātha
                  author of the Prahasana Somavallīyogānanda—
                            Ḍiṇḍima Kavi Sārvabhauma.
```

6. The details furnished in this work are remarkably corroborated by another work the *Vīrabhadravijaya*[3] a drama of the *Ḍima* type and composed by Kumāra Ḍiṇḍima Arunagirinātha, a later writer of the same family, and contains a little more than what is found in the *prahasana*. The colophon to the *Vīrabhadravijaya* says :

ABBREVIATIONS

T. C.—Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

D. C—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

1. See *T. C.* II, Part I C, R. No. 1611(b). Also—Tanjore Library, PPS. SASTRI, Vol. VIII, Nos. 4637 and 4638 for extracts from the work.

2. परेन्द्राग्रहाररत्नायकमणेः, सामवेदसांयात्रिकस्य अष्टभाषा-कविता साम्राज्याभिषिक्तस्य बल्लालरायकटककविकुलगर्वपर्वतपवेः नागणकविनागकेसरिणः श्रीकविप्रभोः पौत्रः, पुत्रः श्रीराजनाथदेशिकस्य ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डपिचण्डमण्डलितविजयडिण्डिमरवचण्डिम्नः श्रीकण्टागमशिखण्डमण्डनमणे श्रीडिण्डिमप्रभोः दौहित्रः, श्रीमदभिरामनायिकास्तनन्धयः सभापतिभट्टाचार्यभागिनेयः श्रीडिण्डिमकविसार्वभौम इति प्रथितबिरुदनामः सरस्वतीप्रसादलब्धकवितासनाथः श्रीमानरुणगिरिनाथः—*T. C.* II, Part I C. R. No. 1611 (b).

3. *T. C.* III, A, R. No, 2090 (d).

The author Kumāra Ḍiṇḍima Aruṇagirinātha was the son of Rājanāthācārya of the Gautamagotra and Durgādevī whose ancestors had come from the banks of the Ganges. His father Rājanātha had the wonderful capacity of composing *citra* and *yamaka* types of *kāvyas*—two most difficult types of composition—and of producing inimitable dramas. Rājanātha was a great devotee of Śiva. His grandfather Arunagirinātha was known by his title of Ḍiṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma and had the *biruda* of the Ḍindima *vādya* struck before him as a mark of his excellence over the rest. The grandfather of Ḍinḍima Kavisārvabhauma had the *biruda* of *Kavi* attached to him.[4]

Such is the distinguished lineage of the author.

7. The *prasthāvanā* of the *Vīrabhadravijaya* corroborates the details found in the *prahasana* by tracing the family of the author to five generations above. The result of a close study of the two *prasthāvanas* and the colophon of the *Vīrabhadravijaya* yields the following results :

II

Nṛttarāja who defeated Nāganna and was known as Kaviprabhu

|

Rājanātha—Paramamāheśvara etc.

|

Diṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma alias Arunagirinātha, Author of the *Somavallīyogānandaprahasana*

|

Rājanātha Dinḍima—Daśarupanārāyana,—married Durgādevī

|

Kumāra Dindima Kavi Arunagirinātha, Author of the *Vīrabhadravijaya*—Ṣaḍbhāṣāsārvabhauma

8. A comparison of the two tables easily shows that the second is a logical continuation of the first table and the two fit into each other. This may be taken as the starting point for further investigation into the subject.

Date

9. Any definiteness regarding dates has not been possible till now, to assign our authors to their proper periods. But the accumulated material can be used with some advantage and precision at the present moment. The *Bharatavākya*[5] of the *Somavallīyogānandaprahasana* mentions the name of a Devarāya :

Dīrghāyur Devarājo pyavatu vasumatīcakramācandratāram.[6]

4 बिरुदकविपितामहस्य बिरुदडिण्डिमव्याजसन्ताडितकविगण्टमण्डलस्य डिडिम-कविसार्वभौमस्य श्रीमतोऽरुणगिरिनाथस्य पौत्रेण, विचित्रतर-चित्रयमककाव्यधूर्वहस्य अप्रतिरूपबहुरूपकसृष्टिकौशलपरमेष्ठिन: परममाहेश्वरस्य कविताचातुर्यधुर्यस्य राजनाथाचार्यस्य पुत्रेण पवित्रतर-गौतमगोत्रेण गङ्गातटालङ्कारगौडदेशरत्नापाडवंरन्ध्यग्रहारमौलिमणिना दुर्गादेवी-स्तनंधयेन........षड्भाषासार्वभौमेन कुमारडिण्डिमकविनारुणगिरिनाथेन प्रणीतो वीरभद्रविजयो नाम. *T. C.* III. A, R. No. 2090 (*d*).

5. *T. C.*, I C., R. No. 1611 (b), p. 2278.

6. *Ibid.*, p. *Ibid.*

10. The *Śāluvābhyudaya*[7] of Rājanātha Diṇḍima is interesting in that it mentions the several titles of the author of that work as also that of his father in the colophons to the cantos along with the titles of King Narasimha Śāluva, the subject-matter of the poem. It is clear that the author Rājanātha belongs to this group of poets The same titles given to Kaviprabhu and Diṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma are repeated *verbatim* when mentioning them.[8] The name *Bindūdakakavi* is applied to his *great-grandfather* Nrttarāja in the colophons to cantos 1, (see table II), and 4 of the *Śāluvābhyudaya.*[9]

11. Speaking about his own titles, the author of the *Śāluvābhyudaya* mentions *Daśarūpanārāyaṇa* as a title applied to him.[10] The *Vīrabhadravijaya* applies the same title to the father of the author of that work.

Naṭī :—Jam Dasruva Agganavaraṇāma aṇam bhaṇati | Tado.[11]

Hence the author of the *Śāluvābhyudaya* and the father of the author of the *Vīrabhadravijaya* are identical. The mention of Devarāya in the *Somavallīyogānanda* is therefore quite appropriate and must refer to Devarāya II of Vijayanagar whose date comes to 1446 A.D. The author of the *Śāluvābhyudaya* must have been patronised by King Narasinga Śāluva whose date may be pushed upto 1490 A.D. The author of the *Vīrabhadravijaya* must have been a contemporary of Krisnadevarāya and his immediate predecessors, the latest date being 1510 A D. approximately.

12. This dating can be held to be correct from another point of view The *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* and the *Bhāgavatacampū* are two works written by a Rājanātha Dinḍima The former though clothing the life and achievements of Acyutarāya in poetic garb, is not only genuine but the only contemporary document the value of which cannot be overestimated It has been pointed out that the account of the campaigns and the events of the reign of Acyuta have been singularly corroborated by independent foreign evidence which is one of the tests for historical accuracy.[12] The *Bhāgavata-*

7. *D. C.* XX, No 11818, pp. 7897-7903

8 and 9. The following colophons are found at the end of the cantos in the *Śāluvābhyudaya* D C. XX, p. 7901 :--

बिन्दूदककविप्रपितामहडिण्डिमकविराजनाथकृतौ ।
दशरूपनारायणबिरुदडिण्डिमराजनाथकृतौ ।
कविमल्लगल्लताडनपटुडिण्डिमकविराजनाथकृतौ ।
डिण्डिमकविसार्वभौमबिरुदशोणाद्रिनाथात्मजराजनाथकृतौ सालुवाभ्युदये etc

10. *Ibid.*, p. *Ibid.*

11. *T C.* III. A, Part I. C., p. 2833, R. No. 2090 (d).

12. Dr. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara,* p. 45. See also pp. 48 and following for a comparison of the accounts of foreign travellers with the account of Rajanatha and conclusion.

campū was written at the command of Acyuta himself. This Rājanātha was therefore a contemporary of Acyutarāya whose latest date can be put at 1542.[13] He is therefore different from the author of the *Śāluvābhyudaya* a work which deals with life of a king of the previous dynasty, by over fifty years.

13. A second test is now applied from two literary compositions of the time of Devarāya II of Vijayanagar · The *Mahānāṭakasudhānidhi*[14] is a *campū kāvya* attributed to Devarāya II. There are a few manuscripts of the work in the Adyar Library which are being examined. Another work is the *Rāmābhyudaya*[15] which is attributed to Śāluva Narasinga son of Gunda. The fifth canto of this work contains a verse in the colophon which states that the work was composed by Śoṇādrinātha Kavīndra having the title of Dinḍimasārvabhauma and the son of Rājanātha and Abhirāmā. It is further stated that the *Rāmābhyudaya* was composed earlier than the *Mahānāṭaka*.[16] The *Mahānāṭaka* referred to is evidently the *Mahānāṭakasudhānidhi* attributed to Devarāya II. The reference to Devarāya in the *Bharatavākya* of the *prahasana* is evidently to Devarāya II. This also fixes the Dinḍima Kavisārvabhauma Arunagirinātha, the author of the *Somavallīyogānandaprahasana* as a contemporary of Devarāya II. He is the central figure in the family and must be considered as the person who lent a certain amount of charm, grandeur and brilliance to the entire family.

14. An attempt has been made to identify the Aruṇagiri of *Tirupugal* fame with Arunagiri Dindimakavisārvabhauma.[17] This is based on the general idea that the author of the *Tirupugal* was a contemporary of Devarāya II and that of all the members of the Dinḍima family, the capacity and devotion to Śiva of the Kavisārvabhauma alone could easily account for his Tamil compositions in the form of *Tirupugal*.

15. Says Venkataramanayya :[18]

"The Śaivite author Arunagirinātha was one of the principal men of letters of his (Devarāya's) court." Mr. C. V. NARAYANA

13. Heras—*The Aravidon Dynasty*, p. 2.
14. S K. AIYANGAR, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 60.
15. S. K. AIYANGAR, *Sources*, p. 83-5.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

शोणाद्रीन्द्रं कवीन्द्रं श्रवणकटुरटड्डिण्डिमं सार्वभौमं
प्रासूताम्बाभिरामा नवनवकविताभाजन राजनाथात् ।
तस्यैतस्मिन्नयाति क्रमविषयमहानाटकस्यप्रजाते
काव्यं सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलरसविलसत्पञ्चमोऽयं जगाम ॥

17. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 176-183., Dinḍima Poets and Aruṇagirinātha of Tirupugal, by Mr. C. V. NARAYANA AIYAR
18. *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (1935), p. 425.

AIYAR discussing the question of the identity of the author of the Tirupugal with the members of the Ḍiṇḍima family concluded :

"This scheme is very favourable to the fixing of the identity of Aruṇagirinātha of *Tirupugal* or Aruṇagiri Ḍiṇḍima, father of Rājānātha the author of the *Śāluvābhyudayam* , for we know that the *Tirupugal* poet was a contemporary of Devarāya II (1422–1446 A D.). If the poet was born between 1400 and 1405 A.D. he could very well have come to the notice of Devarāya II about the year 1435 A D. when he was thirty or thirty-five years old."[19]

16. So far there is agreement. But Mr. Narayana Aiyar also holds Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma, the author of *Tirupugal* as the grandson of Arunagiri the author of *Somavallīyogānandaprahasana.* This is against the chronology adopted in this paper, for the Sārvabhaumakavi is the author of the *Yogānandaprahasana* and also of the *Tirupugal.*

17. The arguments adduced so far tend to show that the five members of the Ḍiṇḍima family who have been considered must have flourished in the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century. On a stricter calculation, and basing 1440 A.D. as the central year, the period of activity of all the five poets must have been 1380 and 1500 A.D., allowing at the rate of 24 years for a generation.

18. This paper does not exhaust all the questions to be considered. I have only pointed out the material that was available in the two works of the *Yogānandaprahasana* and the *Vīrabhadravijaya.* The several other problems connected with the Diṇḍima family will be dealt with at length in a separate article.[20]

19. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volnme,* p. 181.

20. A paper treating about all the members of the Ḍiṇḍima family and related poets is under preparation.

Additional Verses of Kātyāyana on Vyavahāra

By

K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Madras

In editing, with my colleague and former pupil Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, m.a., l.t., of the Adyar Library, the famous South Indian Digest on Vyavahāra prepared by Varadarāja, who is undoubtedly older than Mādhava, and is perhaps anterior even to the author of the *Smṛticandrikā*, I have come across a number of ślokas on Vyavahāra, which are not found in Mr. Kane's splendid and laborious reconstruction of the lost smṛti of Kātyāyana. Mr. Kane had laid under contribution 21 *nibandhas* and collected from them 973 verses bearing on the eighteen titles of Vyavahāra. One-hundred-and-twenty-one verses not found in the *Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra* are now offered from Varadarāja's digest, which, being in manuscripts written in *Grantha* characters, was not available to Mr. Kane, when he made his collection. I cannot think of a fitter form in which my tribute to his magnificent services to Dharmaśāstra can be offered to Mr. Kane. It will be noticed that verse 57 in this collection is ascribed by Varadarāja to both Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana.

In verse 101 Kātyāyana mentions a Śaunaka. Not improbably this ancient smṛtikāra is identical with the Śaunaka whose name occurs in a famous verse of *Manusmṛti* (III, 16.) —

शौनकस्य सुतोत्पत्त्या तदपत्यतया भृगोः ।

A more interesting feature is the identity of some of the ślokas presented below with verses in *Manusmṛti* (e.g. verses 85, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 118, 119 and 120). As the verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana in *all* the manuscripts of Varadarāja's *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, and as familiarity with the text of *Manusmṛti* may be validly presumed in both Varadarāja and the scholarly copyists whose transcripts have been used by us in preparing our edition of his work, the citation may be taken as evidence of the South Indian belief in their being common to both smṛtis. The palm-leaf manuscript serves like a card-index, and citations, which are made obviously from such manuscripts, cannot be summarily dismissed as containing errors due to bad memory.

A verse in Mr. Kane's collection (verse 265) presupposes a definition of a *jayapatra* by Kātyāyana himself, which, however, was not available to Mr. Kane. Verses 22 and 23 below supply the missing definition.

Varadarāja knows of a Vṛddha-Kātyāyana, for, verse 701 in Mr. KANE's collection, which he has taken from *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, p. 320, (ed. Mysore) is ascribed by Varadarāja to Vrddha-Kātyāyana.

The page references below refer to our edition of Varadarāja's *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, which will soon be released, and the headings under which the new citations should come are indicated *seriatim*.

कात्यायनसारोद्धारे अविद्यमानानि
वरदराजीयव्यवहारनिर्णयोध्दृतानि
कात्यायनवचनानि

व्यवहारपरिकरकाण्डे

P. 4.

श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धं च भूतानामहितं च यत् ।
न तत्प्रवर्तयेद्राजा प्रवृत्तं च निवर्तयेत् ॥ 1

P. 13.

असच्छास्त्राधिगन्तॄणां समूहः पुञ्ज उच्यते ।
× × ×
कारुशिल्पिप्रभृतीनां निवहः श्रेणिरुच्यते ॥ 2
पूगश्रेणिगणादीनां भवेयुः कार्यचिन्तकाः ।
शुचयो वेदधर्मज्ञा दक्षा दान्ताः कुलोद्भवाः ॥ 3
कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां समूहहितवादिनाम् ।
पूगनैगमपाषण्डसङ्घानामप्ययं विधिः ॥ 4

P. 16.

प्रातिलोम्ये प्रसूतानां तथा दुर्गनिवासिनाम् ।
वर्णानां नियतं धर्मं न्यायोपेतं न चालयेत् ॥ 5

P 20.

अनिर्दिष्टाश्च ये कुर्युः व्यवहारविनिर्णयम् ।
राजवृत्ते प्रवृत्ता ये तेषां दण्डं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ 6

आवेदनकाण्डे

P. 26.

विरुद्धं चाऽविरुद्धं च द्वावप्यर्थौ निवेदितौ ।
एकस्मिन् यत्र दृश्येते तं पक्षं दूरतस्त्यजेत् ॥ 7

P. 27.

न केनचित् कृतो यस्तु सोऽप्रसिद्ध उदाहृतः ।
अन्यार्थश्चार्थहीनश्च निराबाधः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ 8
अल्पापराधश्चाल्पार्थो निरर्थक इति स्मृतः ।
कार्याबाधविहीनस्तु विज्ञेयो निष्प्रयोजनः ॥ 9
असंभाव्यमसिद्धं तत् पक्षमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।
यस्मिन्नावेदिते पक्षे प्राड्विवाकेऽथ राजनि ॥
पुरे ग्रामे विरोधः स्यात् विरुद्धः सोऽभिधीयते ॥ 10

P. 29.

अभियोगानुरूपेण तस्य दण्डं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ 11

व्यवहारमातृकाकाण्डे

P. 49.

मिथ्यासंप्रतिपत्त्या वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनेन वा ।
प्राङ्न्यायविधिसिद्ध्या वाऽप्युत्तरं स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥ 12

P. 50.

तथ्ये तथ्यं प्रयुञ्जीत मिथ्यामिथ्या च लेखयेत ।
कारणं कारणोपेते प्राङ्न्याये तु जयं तथा ॥ 13

P. 59.

उन्मत्तमत्तनिर्धूतमहपातकदूषिताः ।
जडान्धवृद्धा स्त्रीबाला विज्ञेयास्तु निरुत्तराः ॥ 14

P. 60.

स्वभावाल्लिखिते वाक्ये प्रारब्धे कार्यनिर्णये ।
अनुक्तं तत्र यो ब्रूयात् तदर्थात्स तु हीयते ॥ 15

P 63.

पूर्वोत्तरे तु लिखिते प्रकान्ते कार्यनिर्णये ।
द्वयोः सन्तप्तयोः सन्धिः स्यादयःखण्डयोरिव ॥ 16
साक्षिसभ्यविकल्पश्च भवेद्यत्रोभयोरपि ।
डोलायमाने कार्ये च तत्र सन्धिः प्रवर्तते ॥ 17
प्रमाणसमता यत्र भेदः शास्त्रचरित्रयोः ।
तत्र राजाज्ञया सन्धिरुभयोरपि शस्यते ॥ 18

P. 77.

यदा साक्षी न विद्येत विवादे वदतां नृणाम् ।
तदा दिव्यैः परीक्षेत शपथैश्च पृथग्विधैः ॥ 19
स्त्रीणां शीलाभियोगे च स्तेयसाहसयोरपि ।
एवंविधो विधिर्दृष्टः सर्वार्थापह्नवेषु च ॥ 20
देवसाध्ये पौरुषेयं न लेख्यं वा प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 21

मानुषप्रमाणकाण्डे

P. 85.

Verses 259 to 264 in the *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra* define the content of a *paścātkāra*. Verse 265 defining a *jayapatra* says:

अन्यवाद्यादि हीनेभ्यः इतरेषां प्रदीयते ।
वृत्तानुवादसंसिद्धं तच्चस्याज्जयपत्रकम् ॥

This evidently presupposes a previous definition of the *jayapatra* by saying 'this is *also* a jayapatra'. The present verses supply the definition not included in the *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra* by Mr. KANE and fits in between verses 264 and 265.

यथोपन्यस्तसाध्यार्थसंयुक्तं सोत्तरक्रियम् ।
सावधारणकं चैव मुद्रितं राजमुद्रया ॥ 22
सभासभ्यस्तचिह्नं च वादिप्रत्यर्थिसंयुतम् ।
प्राड्विवाकादिहस्ताङ्कं जयपत्रकमिष्यते ॥ 23

P. 85-6.

देशाचारविरुद्धं यत् व्यक्ताधिकृतलक्षणम् ।
तत्प्रमाणं स्मृतं लेख्यमविलुप्तक्रमाक्षरम् ॥ 24

× × ×

सन्धौ कृते तु यत्पत्रं सन्धिलेख्यं तदुच्यते ॥ 25

× × ×

देशाचारस्थितियुतं करलेख्यादिकं स्मृतम् ।
समामासादिहीनं तु प्रमाणं तन्नवेऽपुनः ॥ 26

P. 91.

स्त्रीबालार्तालिपिज्ञानां वञ्चयन्ति स्वबान्धवाः ।
लेख्यं कृत्वा स्वनामाङ्कं ज्ञेयं युक्त्याऽऽगमादिभिः ॥ 27

P. 92.

जडमूकान्धबालाज्ञक्रुद्धरोगार्तभीरुभिः ।
अस्वतन्त्रोपधादुष्टैः कृतं लेख्यं न सिद्ध्यति ॥ 28

P. 93.

समामासादिहीनं च देशाचारविरोधि च ।
विलुप्तक्रमवर्णं च शृङ्गहीनं च दुष्यति ॥ 29

P. 104.

पूगश्रेणिगणादीनां साक्ष्यं स्वेषु विधीयते ।
सम्यक् क्रियापरिज्ञाने देयः कालस्तु साक्षिणाम् ॥ 30
असन्दिग्धं यत्र साक्ष्यं तत्र सद्यो विनिर्णयः ॥
सन्दिग्धं यत्र साक्ष्यं तु तत्र दिव्येन निर्णयः ॥ 31

P. 111.

अथैते साक्षिणः सर्वे साधवोऽर्हन्ति साक्षिताम् । 32

P. 113.

प्रत्यर्थिनोऽर्थिनो वाऽपि साक्षिदूषणसाधने ।
प्रस्तुतार्थोपयोगेन व्यवहारान्तरं न च ॥ 33
जिता स विनयं दाप्यः शास्त्रदृष्टेन कर्मणा ।
यदि वादी निराकाङ्क्षः साक्षिष्वेव व्यवस्थितः ॥ 34

P. 116.

विहायोपानदुष्णीषं दक्षिणं पाणिमुद्धरेत् ।
हिरण्यगोबीजदर्भान् समालभ्य मतं वदेत् ॥ 35

P. 125.

भावितैः साक्षिवादे तु परितोषमनागते ।
अभियोक्तरि दिव्यादीन् प्रत्यर्थिनि च दृश्यते ॥ 36

अभियोक्तारमागच्छेत् व्यवहारपदं पुनः ।
प्रत्यर्थिनस्तु तत्सर्वं साक्ष्येणैव विनिर्णयः ॥ 37

P. 128.
वत्सराणां तु नवतिरथवा स्यात् त्रिपूरुषी ।
अतःपरं प्रमाणं स्यात् भुक्तिरेवागमादृते ॥ 38

P. 135.
वर्षाणि विंशतिर्यस्य भूमिर्भुक्ता परैरिह ।
सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य तस्य सेह न सिद्ध्यति ॥ 39

P. 137.
स्वद्रव्यं दीयमानं तु तत्स्वामी न निरोधयेत् ।
रिक्थिभिर्वा परैर्वाथ दत्तं तेनैव तद्भवेत् ॥ 40

P. 138
पश्यन्नन्यस्य ददतः क्षितिं यो न निवारयेत ।
स्वामी सतापि लेख्येन न स तां लब्धुमर्हति ॥ 41

दिव्यप्रमाणनिर्णयकाण्डे

P. 204.
शते विषं तु पादोने हुतभुक् तत्र दीयते ।
आपञ्चभागहीने तु शतार्धेन तुला स्मृता ॥ 42
तदर्धे तण्डुला देयाः तदर्धे तप्तमाषकः ।

ऋणादानकाण्डे

P. 235.
प्रच्छाद्याधिमृणी कुर्यात् क्रयादीन् बलतश्च यः ।
दण्डं स त्रिगुणं दत्वा पुनराध्यर्थदो भवेत ॥ 43

P. 237.
भोगाधिक्यं च भोग्याधेः ह्रासं च न विचालयेत् ।
लेख्ये तु लिखितं यावत् तावद्भोक्तव्यमेव तु ॥ 44

P 238.
स्रोतसाऽपहृते क्षेत्रे राज्ञा चैवापहारिते ।
आधिरन्योऽधिकर्तव्यो देयं वा धनिने धनम् ॥ 45

P. 244.
कूपवप्रस्खलप्राया आधिग्राहेण नाशिताः ।
विनाशका भवन्त्याधेरेवंरूपास्तथा परे ॥ 46

P. 246.
मूल्यग्रहणकालार्घात् वैगुण्यं कालतो भवेत् ।
मूल्यमेव ऋणी दद्यात् न वृद्धिं दातुमर्हति ।
द्विगुणे कालिकेऽर्घे तु मूल्यं तद्द्विगुणं भवेत् ॥ 47

P. 256.
पूर्वं पैतामहं देयं पित्र्यं देयं ततः परम् ।
पश्चाद्देयं तथाऽऽत्मीयमेवं देयमृणं सुतैः ॥ 48

निक्षेपकाण्डे

P. 268.

उपेक्षणाद्विरोधाद्वा निक्षिप्तस्य विनाशने ।
निक्षेप्त्रे तत्प्रदेयं स्यात् न दैवाद्राजतस्तथा ॥ 49
यच्च स्वकार्यसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रतिदेयं यथा तथा ।
याचित्वा प्रगृहीतं तु तद्याचितकमुच्यते ॥ 50

P. 270.

निक्षेपं वृद्धिशेषं च क्रयं विक्रयमेव च ।
याच्यमानं न चेद्दद्यात् वर्धते पञ्चकं शतम् ॥ 51

P 272.

यो याचितकमादाय न दद्यात्प्रतियाचितः ।
स निगृह्य बलाद्दाप्यो दण्ड्यश्च न ददाति यः ॥ 52
क्रयमूल्यं करार्थं च निक्षेपापह्नवे तथा ।
चक्रवृद्ध्या विवर्धेत यावत्पञ्चगुणं भवेत् ॥ 53
त्रिपक्षात्परतोऽर्धं स्यात् त्रिमासात् त्रिगुणं भवेत् ।
अथ ऊर्ध्वं विवर्धेत चक्रवृद्धिव्यवस्थया ॥ 54

अस्वामिविक्रयकाण्डे

P 277.

दत्तक्रीताभिधानां तु विरोधे निष्क्रयो भवेत् ।
क्षेत्रं तत्सदृशं दद्यादशक्तः तुष्टिमावहेत ॥ 55

सम्भूयसमुत्थानादिदशपदकाण्डे

P. 286.

शिक्षकाः कर्मकुशलाः आचार्याश्चेति शिल्पिनः ।
एकद्वित्रिचतुर्भागान् हरेयुस्ते यथोत्तरम् ॥ 56

P. 288.

क्रमागतं गृहक्षेत्रं पित्र्यं पैतामहं तथा ।
पुत्रपौत्रसमृद्धस्य न देयमननुज्ञया ॥ 57

P. 289.

न पुत्रेषु न दारेषु न च बन्धुष्वपेक्षिणः ।
सर्वकार्येषु पुरुषाः स्वद्रव्ये प्रभविष्णवः ॥ 58

P. 295.

उत्कोचजीविनो मर्त्यान् घोषयित्वा स्वमण्डलात् ।
सर्वस्वहरणं कृत्वा राजा विप्रान् विवासयेत् ॥ 59

P. 301.

[1]शिक्षयन्तमदुष्टं स यस्त्वाचार्यं परित्यजेत् ।
बलाद्वारयितव्यः स्यात् वधबन्धौ च सोऽर्हति ॥ 60

---

1. This verse is cited under both Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati (कात्यायन-बृहस्पती).

P. 302.

गृहीतशिल्पः समये कृत्वाऽऽचार्यं प्रदक्षिणम् ।
शक्तितश्चानुमान्यैवमन्तेवासी निवर्तते ॥ 61

P. 327.

गोभिर्विनाशितं धान्यं यो नरः प्रतियाचते ।
पितरस्तस्य नाश्नन्ति नाश्नन्ति च दिवौकसः ॥ 62
पथि क्षेत्रे वृतिः कार्या यामुष्ट्रो नावलोकयेत् ।
न लङ्घयेत्पशुर्वोष्ट्रो न भिद्यातां श्वसूकरौ ॥ 63

P. 328.

यावत्सस्यं विनश्येत्तु तावद्देयं च गोमिना ।
पलालं गोमिने देयं धान्यं तत्कर्षकाय तु ॥
कार्यसंप्रतिपत्त्या वा स्वामिकर्षकगोमिनाम् ॥ 64

P. 331.

गवां निर्गच्छतां ग्रामात् काचित्पार्श्वे प्रमादतः ।
ग्रसेन्निर्गत्य सस्यानि तद्दोषः स्वामिपालयोः ॥ 65

P. 335.

समूहकार्यप्रहितो यल्लभेत तदर्पयेत् ।
एकादशगुणं दाप्यो यद्यसौ नार्पयेत्स्वयम् ॥ 66
समूहकार्य आयातान् कृतकार्यान् विसर्जयेत् ।
सदानमानसत्कारैः पूजयित्वा महीपतिः ।
ततो लभेत यत्किंचित् सर्वेषामेव तत्समम् ॥ 67

P. 344.

क्रीत्वा नानुशयं कुर्यात् वणिक्पण्यविचक्षणः ।
क्षयं वृद्धिं च जानानः पण्यानां यस्य यादृशम् ॥ 68
परीक्षेत स्वयं पण्यमन्येषां च प्रदर्शयेत् ।
परीक्षितं बहुमतं गृहीत्वा न पुनस्त्यजेत् ॥ 69

P. 346

न सामन्तैर्न सङ्ग्रामैः तस्य मूल्यं नियम्यते ।
इदमस्येति यत्क्रेता विक्रेत्रा सह संवदेत ॥ 70

P. 348.[2]

अर्घाधिके क्रयः सिद्ध्येत् दद्याद्धीनं क्रयी धनम् ।
आदशाहान्निवर्त्यः स्यात् क्रयो विक्रय एव च ॥ 71
सन्धिश्च परिवृत्तिश्च विभागश्च समो यदि ।
आदशाहान्निवर्त्याः स्युः वैषम्ये नववत्सरात् ॥ 72

2. Varadarāja cites the following verse under Vrddha-Kātyāyana.
सन्धिश्च परिवृत्तिश्च विषमा वा त्रिभागशः ।
आज्ञया विक्रयश्चापि निवर्त्याः परिकीर्तिताः ॥
But Mr. KANE has included it under Kātyāyana as verse 701 (*Kātyāyanasmṛti-sāroddhāra*, p. 86), on the authority of *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, p. 320.

P. 350.

सिद्ध्यते वार्षिकोऽप्याधिः स्थावरेषु दशाब्दिकः ।
जङ्गमेषु द्वादशाब्दादुक्तालाभोऽपि सिद्ध्यति ॥ 73

P. 351.

प्रतिदाने व्यवस्थाप्य कालं पूर्वं सवृद्धिकम् ।
अस्येदं क्रय्यमित्युक्त्वा यत्तु निर्दिश्यते पुरा ॥
धनिकस्य तदा तत्स्वमुक्तालाभे भविष्यति ॥ 74

P. 355.

भूर्हीनमूल्या गावश्च परस्वं च निवर्तते ।
पञ्चांशत्र्यंशहीने च विपरीतं प्रसिद्ध्यति ॥ 75

P. 360.

ज्ञात्यादिप्रत्ययेनैव स्थावरक्रय इष्यते ।
परिवृत्तौ कृषौ दाने तथासौ नेष्यते बुधैः ॥ 76

P. 370.

या राज्ञा क्रोधलोभेन छलान्यायेन वा हृता ।
प्रदत्ताऽन्यस्य तुष्टेन न सा सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ 77
प्रमाणरहितां भूमिं भुञ्जतो यस्य या हृता ।
गुणाधिकाय वा दत्ता तस्य तां न विचालयेत् ॥ 78

P. 373.

क्षेत्रं गृहीत्वा यः कश्चित् न कुर्यान्न च कारयेत् ।
स्वामिने स शदं दाप्यो राज्ञे दण्डं च तत्समम् ॥ 79
चिरावसन्ने दशमं कृष्यमाणे तथाऽष्टमम् ।
सुसंस्कृते तु षष्ठं स्यात् परिकल्प्या यथास्थितिः ॥ 80

P. 387.

स च यद्यन्यजातीयः पतितः क्लीब एव वा ।
विकर्मस्थः सगोत्रो वा दीर्घतीव्रामयोऽपि वा ॥ 81

P. 388.

क्लीबोऽन्यो यदि वा भर्ता विसृष्टःपुंस्त्वकारणैः ।
ऊढाऽपि देया साऽन्यस्मै सर्वाभरणभूषणा ॥ 82
प्रदाय शुल्कं गच्छेद्यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा ।
धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देयाऽन्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ 83
अथ प्रवृत्तिरागच्छेत् प्रतीक्षेत समाश्रयम् ।
अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रदातव्या कन्याऽन्यस्मै यथेच्छया ॥ 84
[3]कन्यां चेत् दर्शयित्वाऽन्यामन्या वोढुः प्रदीयते ।
स उभे एकशुल्केन वहेदित्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ 85

---

3. *Manu.* VIII, 204 presents the same idea —
अन्यां चेद्दर्शयित्वान्या वोढुः कन्या प्रदीयते ।
उभे ते एकशुल्केन वहेदित्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥

The textual variations between Manu and Kātyāyana are slight. The fourth pāda of the verse वहेदित्यब्रवीन्मनुः is reproduced in both Kātyāyana and Manu.

गूहयित्वाऽऽत्मनो दोषान् विन्दते कन्यकां यदि ।
वरस्य दत्तनाशः स्यात् कन्या चापि निवर्तते ॥ 86

P. 394.

पित्रा भर्ता न योज्या स्त्री पञ्चर्षं प्रोषिते प्रभौ ।
नष्टे तृतीयं.........प्रव्रजितेऽपि वा ॥ 87

P. 395.

पत्यौ नष्टे प्रयुक्तायां तस्यामन्यत्र बन्धुभिः ।
तस्माच्चैव प्रसूतायां कथं तत्रागते भवेत् ॥ 88
पतिर्लभेत भार्यां तां सापत्यामपि धर्मतः ।
[4]क्षेत्रिणस्त्वेव तान् पुत्रान् मनुराह न बीजिनः ॥ 89
प्रव्रज्यावसितो यत्र पुनर्दारान् समाहरेत् ।
नासौ स्वामी भवेत्तत्र दासो ह्येष विगर्हितः ॥ 90

दायविभागकाण्डे

P. 426

रिक्थं प्रतिप्रदानं तु दत्वा शेषं विभाजयेत् ।
आचतुर्थात्तु तद्दाद्यं क्रमेणैव तु तत्सुतैः ॥ 91

P. 427.

क्षेत्रारामगृहादीनां विभागे समुपस्थिते ।
ज्येष्ठस्य दक्षिणो भागः प्रतीची वा तथा भवेत् ॥ 92

P. 434.

दत्तस्य जनकापत्ये मृते तस्मिन्नपि स्वयम् ।
कृत्वा कर्म सपिण्डान्तं अखिलं रिक्थमाप्नुयात् ॥ 93
[5]क्रीणीयाद्यस्त्वपत्यार्थं मातापित्रोर्यमान्तिकात् ।
स क्रीतकः सुतस्तस्य सदृशोऽसदृशोऽपि वा ॥ 94
[6]मातापितृविहीनो यः त्यक्तो वा स्यादकारणात् ।
आत्मानं स्पर्शयेद्यस्मै स्वयं दत्तस्तु स स्मृतः ॥ 95

P 435.

[7]सदृशं तु प्रकुर्याद्यं गुणदोषविचक्षणम् ।
पुत्रं पुत्रगुणैर्युक्तं स विज्ञेयस्तु कृत्रिमः ॥ 96
उत्पद्यते गृहे यस्य न च ज्ञायेत कस्यचित् ।
स्वगृहे गूढ उत्पन्नः तस्य स्याद्यस्य तल्पजः ॥ 97
मातापितृभ्यामुत्सृष्टं तयोरन्यतरेण वा ।
यं पुत्रं परिगृह्णीयादपविद्धः स उच्यते ॥ 98

4 *Manu*. IX, 47 to 52.

5. This verse is identical with *Manu*. IX, 174.

6 This is identical with *Manu*. IX, 177

7. These four verses are identical with *Manu* IX, 169–172 except for a slight variation in the third pāda of v. 172 वदेत्नाम्ना for विदुर्नाम्ना.

पितृवेश्मनि कन्या तु यं पुत्रं जनयेद्रहः ।
तं कानीनं विदुर्नाम्ना वोढुः कन्यासमुद्भवम् ॥ 99

P. 441.

अन्यो यदि दहेत्कश्चित् पुत्राच्छिन्द्याच्च सोदरात् ।
संस्कारोदककृद्विप्रः प्रमीतस्य तु तद्धनात् ॥ 100
दशमांशं हरेदर्थी पञ्चमं सर्वमेव वा ।
बहुरक्थस्य दशममल्परक्थस्य पञ्चमम् ॥ 101
अपुत्रपितृभार्यस्य सर्वमेवेति शौनकः ।[8]
अन्यो यदि दहेत् कश्चित् पुत्राच्छिद्याच्च तद्धनात् ।
गोसहस्रं शतं वाऽर्थात् गृह्णीयात्तस्य दक्षिणाम् ॥ 102

P. 447.

[9]समुत्पन्नाद्धनादर्धं तदर्थं स्थापयेत्पृथक् ।
मासषाण्मासिके श्राद्धे वार्षिके च प्रयत्नतः ॥ 103

P. 468.

स्त्रीणां भर्तृकुलाल्लब्धं पितुः कुलत एव वा ।
भूषणं न विभाज्यं स्यात् जीवने च न योजयेत् ॥ 104

द्यूतसमाह्वयादिषट्पदकाण्डे

P. 494.

कूटस्य बहवो यत्र प्रहरन्ति रुषाऽन्विताः ।
मर्मप्रहारदो यस्तु घातकः स उदाहृतः ॥ 105

P 495.

मर्मघाती च यस्तेषां यथोक्तं दापयेद्दमम् ।
आरम्भकः सहायाश्च दोषभाजस्तदर्थिनः ॥ 106

P. 497.

मनुष्यमारणे क्षिप्रं चोरवत्किल्बिषं भवेत् ।
प्राणभृत्सु महत्स्वर्धं गोखरोष्ट्रगवादिषु ॥ 107
क्षुद्रकाणां पशूनां च हिंसायां दशमो दमः ।
पञ्चाशतं भवेद्दण्डः शुभेषु मृगपक्षिषु ॥ 108
गर्दभाजाविकानां तु दण्डः स्यात्पञ्चमाषकः ।
माषकस्तु भवेद्दण्डः श्वसूकरनिपातने ॥ 109

8. Śaunaka is one of the *Smṛtikāras* cited by Manu. III, 16 See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 132.

9. Three manuscripts of *Vyavahāranirṇaya* attribute this verse to Kātyāyana also the following :—

कुले विनीतविद्यानां भ्रातृणां पितृतोऽथवा ।
नया प्राप्त तु तद्वित्त विभाज्य तद्बृहस्पतिः ।

The latter is included in *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra* as v. 874, while the former is not found.

P. 512.

यद्य यस्योपकरणं येन जीवन्ति कारवः ।
सर्वस्वहरणेऽप्येषां न राजा हर्तुमर्हति ॥ 110
सर्वकण्टकपापिष्ठं हेमकारं तु पार्थिवः ।
प्रवर्तमानमन्याये छेदयेल्लवशः क्षुरैः ॥ 111

P. 522.

गोभूहिरण्यरत्नानां आत्मीयानां स्त्रिया विना ।
विक्रयाधिप्रदानं तु कृतं सिद्ध्येन्नृभिः सदा ॥ 112
स्त्रीकृतान्यप्रमाणानि कार्याण्याहुरनापदि ।
विशेषतो गृहक्षेत्रदानाधमनविक्रियाः ॥ 113
एतान्येव प्रमाणानि भर्त्रा यद्यनुमन्यते ।
पुत्रः पत्युरभावे वा भ्राता वा पतिपुत्रयोः ॥ 114

प्रकीर्णके

P. 528.

वाग्दण्डं प्रथमं कुर्यात् धिग्दण्डं तदनन्तरम् ।
तृतीयं धनदण्डं तु वधदण्डमतः परम् ॥ 115
वधेनापि यदा त्वेतान् निगृहीतुं न शक्नुयात् ।
तदैषु सर्वमप्येतत् प्रयुञ्जीत चतुष्टयम् ॥ 116

P. 528

अधार्मिकांस्त्रिभिर्न्यायैः निगृह्णीयात् प्रयत्नतः ।
निरोधनेन बन्धेन विविधेन भयेन च ॥ 117

P. 529.

[10]बन्धनानि च सर्वाणि राजमार्गे निवेशयेत ।
दुःखिता यत्र दृश्यन्ते विकृताः पापकारिणः ॥ 118
[11]दशस्थानानि दण्डस्य मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत ।
त्रिषु वर्णेषु तानि स्युरक्षतो ब्राह्मणो व्रजेत् ॥ 119
उपस्थमुदरं जिह्वा हस्तौ पादौ च पञ्चमम् ।
चक्षुर्नासा च कर्णौ च धनं देहस्तथैव च ॥ 120

P. 532.

स्त्रीबालोन्मत्तवृद्धानां दरिद्राणां तु रोगिणाम् ।
शिफाविदलरज्ज्वाद्यैः विदध्यान्नृपतिर्दमम् ॥ 121

---

10. This is identical with Manu. IX, 288.

11. This and the following three lines are identical with Manu. VIII, 124–125.

The Position of Smṛtis as a Source of Dharma

By

A. S. ALTEKAR, Benares

Smrtis are one of the most important sources of Hindu Dharma in its social and socio-religious aspects. They have played a great part in determining the features of many a social and socio-religious institution and custom and in moulding the development of modern Hinduism To study the attitude of Hindu society towards them as a source Dharma is instructive in more ways than one. It is proposed to do this in the present paper It would not be an unsuitable subject for the commemorative volume intended to be presented to one of the most eminent students of the Dharma-śāstra literature

At present we regard the term Smrti as being a synonym of Dharma-śāstra literature, Manu also says the same ·

Dharma-śāstram tu vai smrtih. (II. 10)

In the earliest period of its use, however, the term Smrti did not denote the Dharma-śāstra literature. The word has been used by Baudhāyana, Gautama and Āpastamba, who were pioneers of the Dharma-śāstra literature, and in whose days that literature was just coming into existence. It is no wonder if they did not use the word to denote a literature that was yet to come into a definite shape and form in their days

An examination of the relevant passages shows that early writers used the term Smrti to denote a set of rules which were not included in the Śruti literature,—which had then assumed a definite and unalterable form,—but were existing mainly in the *smṛti* or memory of wise and virtuous persons, and could be learnt from their mouth and inferred from their conduct and character. The sanction for these rules was not the divine word of the Śruti, but human conventions as accepted by the leaders of society. This becomes quite clear if we compare the statements about the source of Dharma as given by Gautama, Manu and Āpastamba. Gautama says ·—

Vedo dharma-mūlam. Tad-vidāṁ ca smrtiśīle. I. 1. 1-2.

This is in entire agreement with the view of Manu as expressed in the following line :—

Vedo' khilo dharma-mūlaṁ smṛti-śīle ca tadvidām. II. 6.

Now let us compare these statements with that of Āpastamba in connection with the same topic. We have to remember in this

connection that Manu, Gautama, and Āpastamba are not far removed in time from one another. Āpastamba says :—

Dharmajña-samayaḥ pramāṇaṁ, vedāśca. I. 1. 2–3.

All the three authorities mention two main sources of Dharma, and of these the Veda is of course one. A perusal and comparison of the passages makes it quite clear that *dharmajña-samayah*, or social customs and conventions accepted by the learned leaders of society are identical with the *Smṛti-śīle ca tadvidām*, the *smṛti* and *śīla* of *dharmajñas* or *vedajñas*. The term Smrti here does not denote the Dharma-śāstra literature; it was yet to come into existence in the days of Gautama and Āpastamba. In this connection we have further to note that Āpastamba describes in the opening aphorism the rules in his book as *sāmayācārika*, i. e. based upon *samaya* or *pauruṣeyī vyavasthā*, i. e. human or social traditions and conventions.

Veda-vidāṁ smṛti-śīle therefore are identical with the customs and conventions that were approved of and recommended by the learned leaders of society. For a long time these rules existed only in the memory of the custodians of tradition, and so by *lakṣaṇā*, they began to be called Smṛtis Later on the name was also transferred to the literature, which committed to writing most of these rules. That is how Dharma-śāstra has come to be designated as Smrti literature. In the beginning, Smrtis were identical in nature and contents with *sadācāra* and were based upon it. When Smrtis came into existence, the scope of *sadācāra* became naturally reduced, as much of it was codified by Smrtis. It began to denote those old practices which happened not to be codified in Smrtis, or those new ones, which had aquired social approval at a period subsequent to the codification of the early Dharmasūtras or Smrtis.

Such being the origin of Smrtis, it is but natural that they should not have wielded, at least theoretically, the same authority which was conceded to the Śrutis. At the time when the Smṛti literature was coming into existence, the Śrutis were universally regarded as divine in origin. They were the direct words of God, and so their authority was naturally supreme. On the other hand we notice that the early Dharma-śāstra writers like Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana do not claim for themselves even the status of a Ṛṣi as was later done by Manu and Yājñavalkya. Nay, Āpastamba goes to the extent of declaring that in his days no Ṛṣis were existing in society.[1] Naturally therefore the authors of the Pūrva-mīmānsā school, who were at about this very time busy in

1. तस्मादृषयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात् ।
श्रुतर्षयस्तु भवन्ति केचित्कर्मफलशेषेण यथा श्वेतकेतुः । I. 5. 4–6.

formulating the rules about the relative authorities of Śrutis and Smṛtis laid down that the views of Smṛtis should be summarily rejected if they were opposed to the dicta of the Śrutis.[2]

As however centuries rolled on, the authoritativeness of the Smṛtis began to be accepted more and more implicitly. Their authors began to be translated into Ṛṣis owing to the great lapse of time. The over-riding authority of the Śrutis was of course never formally repudiated; but it really caused no inconvenience in practice, for the Vedas, generally speaking, are silent about most of the topics dealt with by the Smṛtis. Their meaning also was becoming more and more unintelligible, as the classical Sanskrit began to diverge more and more from the Vedic idiom. Leaders of society however felt that in actual practice, if not in theory, the voice of Smṛtis should be regarded as final on the topics dealt with by them, because they being relatively recent compositions, were more in conformity with the theory and practice of society.

It is very interesting and instructive to examine the various steps adopted in order to render the authority of Smṛtis practically supreme in their own sphere. The theory of the lost Śākhās of the Vedas helped the cause of the Smṛtis considerably. This theory of course was not a fiction, for we know it as a matter of fact that at least some portions of the Śruti literature have been lost in course of time. The Pūrva-mīmānsā lays it down that if there is a conflict between two texts of Śruti, then we are to assume an option, as no text of the Śruti could be presumed to be inoperative. It now began to be claimed on behalf of the Smṛtis that their views cannot be set aside even when they are in direct conflict with Śrutis; for they may quite possibly have been based upon a lost text of the Śruti, and so the conflict that we see is not a conflict between a text of Śruti and that of a Smṛti. It is rather a conflict between an existing and a lost text of Śruti, the existence of the latter being inferred from its having been once utilised by the Smṛti in question, when it laid down the rule that is in conflict with the existing text of the Śruti. While commenting upon Pūrva-mīmānsā-Sutra, *Hetu-darśanācca*, 1. 3. 4, Kumārila thus maintains that it is not a conflict between a Śruti and Smṛti text, but between a *pratyakṣa-śruti* and a *smṛtārtha-śruti*.[3] The latter, there-

2 विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम् । *Pūrvamīmānsā Sūtras*, 1. 3. 3.

3. वेदो हीदृश एवायं पुरुषैर्यः प्रकाश्यते । स पठद्भिः प्रकाश्येत स्मरद्भिर्वेति तुल्यभाक् ॥
अनुच्चरणकाले च संस्कारैरेव केवलैः । तत्कृतस्मरणैर्वाय वेदोऽध्येतृषु तिष्ठति ॥
तेनार्थं कथयद्भिर्या स्मृतार्था कथ्यते श्रुतिः । पठिताभिः समानासौ केन न्यायेन बाध्यते॥
... ...
ततश्च श्रुतिमूलत्वाद्बाध्योदाहरणं न तत् । विकल्प एव हि न्याय्यस्तुल्यकक्षाप्रमाणतः ॥
pp. 106-7. (Benares Edition).

fore, ought not to be over-ruled by the former; we must presume an option, as it is in reality a conflict between two Śrutis. This theory made Smṛtis as authoritative as Śrutis and left it to the option of society as to which of them should be followed.

The advocates of Smrtis took other steps also to assert their authority, though in an indirect manner. It began to be argued that *brāhmaṇyam* arises only as a result of a joint study of the Vedas and Dharmaśāstras; if a person studies the Vedas only, but holds in contempt the Smṛti literature, he would immediately be condemned to be born as a beast for 21 generations.[4] Which sane person would under these circumstances proceed to decry the authority of Smrtis and declare that their rules were not to be followed because they happened to be in conflict with those of the Śrutis? Brhaspati asserts the authority of the Smrtis in a more graceful way. He points out that the Śrutis and Smrtis are the two eyes of a Brāhmana: if he is void of one of them, he becomes a one-eyed person. He then observes that the scholarship of a man who has studied all the Vedic literature but is ignorant altogether of the Smṛtis, does not appear resplendent like a night without the moon.[5]

It is interesting to note that on the strength of the above theories and their application, the Smrtis have actually overruled some of the specific dicta of Śrutis that were not in consonance with the spirit of the age, or were coming into direct conflict with it. The Vedic practice was to perform *daiva karma* in the morning and the *pitṛ karma* in the afternoon. In later times the modern *pitṛ-tarpaṇa* came into vogue and it began to be offered in the morning, as the morning bath became the order of the day. Now this procedure is in direct conflict with the Vedic practice prescribed in the above mentioned rule. Devanabhatta, the author of the *Smṛticandrikā*, however says that there is nothing wrong in this; the Śruti rule must be presumed to be referring to *pitṛ karman* other than *tarpaṇa*.[6] The Śruti literature shows that Viśvāmitra

---

4. वेद गृहीत्वा यः कश्चिच्छास्त्र चैवावमन्यते। स सद्यः पशुता याति सभवानेकविंशतिम् ॥
तस्माद्वेदेन शास्त्रेण ब्राह्मण्यं ब्राह्मणस्य तु। न चैवैकेन वेदेन भगवानत्रिरब्रवीत् ॥
Atrismṛti, v. 7 and v. 134.

5. श्रुतिस्मृती हि विप्राणा चक्षुर्षा परमे मते। काणस्तत्रैकया हीनो द्वाभ्यामन्धः प्रकीर्तितः॥
अधीत्य चतुरो वेदान्सषडंगपदक्रमान्। स्मृतिहीना न शोभन्ते चन्द्रहीनेव शर्वरी ॥
Quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*, Samskārakāṇḍa, p. 10.

6. एवं च 'पूर्वाह्ले देवानां' इति श्रुतेर्माध्यन्दिनस्नाने देवतर्पणं न स्यात्। न चैवमस्तु इति वाच्यम्। 'स्नाने चैव तु सर्वत्र तर्पयेत्पितृदेवताः। काम्ये नित्ये विशेषेण तत्प्रकुर्यात्प्रयत्नतः।' इति व्याघ्रस्मरणात्। अत्र श्रुतिद्वयं तर्पणव्यतिरिक्तविषयमिति वाच्यम्।
Smṛticandrikā, Samskārakāṇḍa, p. 295.

adopted Śunaśśepa, though he had a hundred sons living; this would thus permit a person to adopt a son even when he had a numher of his own sons living. But Mitramiśra says that such a deduction would be wrong; we shall have to assume that the Smrti practice is also based upon a Śruti text, which is not now available but the existence of which will have to be assumed.[7]

The Vedic passage,

na śeṣo 'gne' nyajātamasti

certainly disapproves of the practice of the adoption of a son, which is clearly recommended in later times by the Smrti literature. This is a clear example of a Śruti being thrown overboard by a Smrti. But Mitramiśra says that there is nothing wrong about the procedure. The Śruti passage is a mere *arthavāda*; it does not lay down any injunction. The Smrtis on the other hand prescribe adoption, so that *homas* etc., should be properly performed. *Arthavāda-śruti* is thus being fittingly over-ruled by a Smrti text, which has a *vidhi* for its purport.[8]

The custom of the Satī of the later age is in direct conflict with the Vedic injunction prohibiting suicide. Aparārka, however, argues that the conflict with Śruti should not invalidate the custom. For the Śruti passage lays down a general principle disapproving suicide, while the Smrtis lay down a special exception in the case of a widow.[9]

Whether the customs of the Satī and adoption are good or not is a different question. Somehow or other society had come to approve of them Smrtis gave a canonical sanction to them and sought to defend them even against the authority of the Vedas. It was because Smrtis were more in consonance with the spirit of the age and were often embodying the latest varieties of *sadācāra*, that leaders of society had a soft corner for them in their heart, and saw to it that they held the field even when they were opposed to some of the specific injunctions of the Śrutis. They did not openly rebel against the Śrutis, nevertheless they accomplished their purpose by some more ingeneous methods referred to above.

7. न च स्मार्तो विधिः श्रौतस्य लिंगस्य न बाधक इति वाच्यम्। नापुत्रस्य लोकोस्तीत्यादि–अपुत्राधिकारिकपुत्रपरिग्रहविधायकप्रत्यक्षश्रुत्युपष्टंभेन तस्या एव बलवत्त्वात्।
Viramitrodaya S. P. p. 206.

8. पुत्रं प्रतिग्रहीष्यन्बन्धूनाहूय...प्रतिगृह्णीयादिति होमादीतिकर्तव्यताविषयत्वाच्छ्रुतिप्रभवया (स्मृत्या) 'न शेषोऽग्नेऽन्यजातमस्ति' इत्यादे...दत्तपुत्रनिषेधलिंगत्वात् तत्प्रभवा 'बीजिनो यस्य ये जातास्तस्य ते नेतरस्य तु' इत्याद्या (स्मृतिः)। p. 27.

9. सामान्येन श्रुतिः स्वेच्छया मरणं निषेधति। स्मृतिस्तु मृते भर्तरि वह्निप्रवेशमरणविशेषं विधत्ते। On Yājñavalkya, I. 86.

The recognition of the authority of Smrtis as supreme in the realm of social and socio-religious matters however did not solve the whole problem. Contradictory passages in the Śruti literature are relatively few, but such is not the case with the Smṛti literature. The number of Smrtis was also very large, and it was constantly on the increase down to the 10th and the 11th century A.D. Not all these Smrtis have been preserved to the modern time, but the idea of their number may be obtained when we note that Mitramiśra refers to 57 Smrits, Nīlakaṇṭha to 97 and Kamalākara to 131. Mr. KANE in his *History of Dharmaśāstra Literature* had to devote not less than one hundred and sixty pages to give the list of the works on Dharmaśāstra! Granted that the Smṛtis were in practice to be regarded as even more authoritative than Śrutis; but which of them were to be given this privilege? All could not be given this honour, because their views were often conflicting with one another.

Several theories were proposed in this connection for the acceptance of society. One view was that the *Manusmṛti* should be regarded as the most authoritative one.[10] There was another view, which maintained that different Smrtis were authoritative for different ages; Manu for the Krta age, Gautama for the Tretā, Śaṅkha-Likhita for Dvāpara and Parāśara for the Kali.[11] This view of course was more historical, but how could all those who were not admirers and followers of Parāśara, be expected to follow it? And what about the Smrtis which were later than those of Parāśara? They were of course modern and so in a way less authoritative But they were often for that very reason more in conformity with the spirit of the age and therefore more liked and respected by society.

We find that eventually the leaders of society evolved some principles, which made ample provision for the needs of the new age, which often found some of the rules of old Smrtis unsuitable. It was agreed that heterodox works like those of Cārvāka, Buddha and Arhat should be brushed aside. As far as the remaining Smrtis were concerned, Gobhila held that when there was a conflict of opinion, the view supported by the majority should be followed.[13]

10. मन्वर्थविपरीता तु या स्मृतिः सा न शस्यते। Brhaspati, quoted by *Viramitrodaya*, P., p. 27.

11. कृते तु मानवा धर्मास्त्रेतायां गौतमः स्मृतः। द्वापरे शंखलिखितौ कलौ पाराशरः स्मृतः॥ *Parāśarasmṛti*, I. 23.

12. अर्हच्चार्वाकवाक्यानि बौद्धादिपठितानि च। विप्रलंभकवाक्यानि तानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेत्॥ *Caturviṁśatimatam* in *Smṛticandrikā*, Saṁ. p. 206.

13. विरोधो यत्र वाक्यानां प्रामाण्यं तत्र भूयसाम्। तुल्यप्रमाणकत्वे तु न्याय एवं प्रकीर्तितः। III. 149.

Vyāsa suggested a modification; majority view of course deserves consideration, but we should also find out what is reasonable in the matter.[14] Devanabhaṭṭa was in favour of a still more reasonable proposition; he maintained that if two Smṛtis differed from one another, we should not reject one in favour of the other; we should rather assume that an option is permitted to us, for the case of the conflict between two Smṛtis is exactly on a par with the conflict between two Śrutis.[15] If we permit an option in the case of the latter, how could we deny it in the case of the former?

There were very good reasons for later writers to plead for an option in case there was a conflict of views between two Smrtis. The large number of Smrtis that were written in ancient India owed their existence not to any literary ambition, but to the desire of society to have new authoritative manuals, that would be more in conformity with the practice of the age. Sometimes the earlier books were in need of elucidation and amplification, and so new ones were composed. Such, for instance, was the case of the *Kātyāyana-smṛti* included in the *Smṛtīnām Samuccayah* of the Anandāśrama edition.[16] Sometimes a Smrti itself is seen recommending consultation of other books for further light on the subject, as does, for instance, Laghuvisnu in connection with the rules about the Āśramas.[17] Sometimes new situation would call for drastic remedies and these were naturally discussed in Smrtis composed in later times after the particular need was felt. This, for instance, is the case with *Devala-smrti*, which lays down detailed rules about reconversion of persons converted by force or fraud. Society in those days felt the urgent need of reconversion. The problem could not be solved by a reference to Manu, who was regarded as most venerable or a consultation with Parāśara, who was regarded as particularly authoritative for the present age. For, neither of them had dealt with the problem. Nor could the problem be shelved on the ground that some statements in some of the earlier Smrtis opposed by implication the practice of reconversion. For the society was at that time convinced that new rules, not hitherto

14. तस्माद्विरोधे धर्मस्य निश्चित्य गुरुलाघवम् ।
यता भूयस्ततो विद्वान्कुर्याद्धर्मविनिर्णयम् ॥ Vyāsa in *Smrticandrikā*, S. p. 17.

15. 'श्रुतिद्वैधं तु यत्र स्यात्' इति अनेन वचनेन स्मृत्योर्विरोधेऽपि विकल्प इत्युक्तं भवति । *Smṛticandrikā*, S. p. 16.

16. अथातो गोभिलोक्तानामन्येषा चैव कर्मणाम् ।
अस्पष्टाना विधिं सम्यग्दर्शयिष्ये प्रदीपवत् । V. 1.

17. आश्रमाणामयं धर्मो मया प्रोक्तः सनातनः ।
यदत्राविदितं किंचित्तदन्येभ्यो गमिष्यथ ॥ V. 14

included in old Smṛtis, ought to be sanctioned and followed. This could be done only by proceeding to promulgate another Smṛti and asserting for it an authority as great as that for any earlier text. For this purpose it was essential to maintain, as Vyāsa has done, that what is reasonable in Smrtis should be accepted or that in case of the conflict of Smrtis, an option should be presumed, as Devanabhaṭṭa pleads.

The above discussion will show that though in theory Smṛtis were regarded as less authoritative than Śrutis, still in actual practice they were regarded as supreme in their own sphere. As far as Smrtis themselves were concerned, there was a tendency in earlier times to regard only some of them as authoritative. But very soon it was realised that later Smrtis were also equally, if not more useful than the earlier ones, for the rules contained in them, were often more in conformity with the spirit and practice of late times. An effort was therefore made to see to it that they were also given due scope. With this end in view it was laid down that when Smrtis differed, the majority view should be followed, or that opinion accepted which is most reasonable. To make matters most explicit, Devanabhaṭṭa pleaded that when there was a conflict of views between two Smrti texts, an option should be assumed. Commentators like Medhātithi were unwilling to lay down a final list of authoritative Smrtis, for they realised that new Smrtis could still be composed which would be authoritative for a later age.[18] All this shows very clearly that society was very anxious that there should be full scope given for the enunciation in new Smrtis of such new principles or practices as may be necessary for the new age, and that they should be accepted by society, though they may be representing a new or a minority view for the time being. New Smrtis that were being composed in different provinces and in different centuries thus provided for an authoritative recognition of new practices or variations in old ones. That is why the Smrtis continued to have a long hold over the Hindu mind.

18. अत एव ' मनुविष्णुर्यमोऽगिरा ' इति स्मर्तृपरिगणना निर्मूला ।...सर्वथा या (स्मृतिं) अविगानेन शिष्टाः स्मरन्ति वा...एवंविधैर्गुणैर्युक्तं तेन चैतत्प्रणीतमिति तस्य वाक्यं सत्यपि पौरुषेयत्वे धर्मे प्रामाण्यं स्यात् ।...अद्यत्वे य एवंविधैर्गुणैर्युक्तः ईदृशेनैव च हेतुना ग्रन्थमुपबध्नीयात् स उत्तरेषां मन्वादिवत्प्रमाणं स्यात् । On *Manusmṛti*, II. 6

Ṛgveda Citations in the Mahābhārata

By

V. M. APTE, Poona

It is now generally accepted that "the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are not the old heroic songs as those court-singers and travelling minstrels of ancient India sang them........................ .. but accumulations of very diverse poems of unequal value which have arisen in the course of centuries owing to continual interpolations and alterations . ... Indeed, in a certain sense, the *Mahābhārata* is not *one* poetic production at all, but rather a *whole* literature".[1] Strangely enough, in a sense, this is as it should be ! "When I say that the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts contain quantities of spurious additions, I intend no disparagement or condemnation of the text or of the Manuscripts. The process is normal, inevitable and in a wide sense wholly right. *If* the epic is to continue to be a vital force in the life of any progressive people, *it must be a slow-changing book !* The fact of expurgation and elaboration is only an outward indication of its being a book of inspiration and guidance in life, and not merely a book lying unused and forgotton on a dusty book-shelf. Those are probably just the touches that have saved the *Mahābhārata* from the fate of being consigned to the limbo of oblivion, which has befallen its sister epics like the *Gilgamesh*."[2] The *Mahābhārata* is an *Itihāsa*, *Kāvya* and (*dharma—*, *artha—*, *kāma—*,) *śāstra* rolled into one ! Nay, further, the work itself claims with a certain amount of justifiable pride :—

धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च, मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत्क्वचित् ॥[3]

"With respect to *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma*, and *Mokṣa* (the four aims of human life), O best of the Bharatas, what is here (*may* be found) elsewhere but what is not here (will) not (be found) anywhere else."

It is hardly surprising then, that we should find a vast amount of pre-epical literature absorbed in the *Mahābhārata*, through *allusions*, *citations*, *summaries*, *amplifications*, *adaptations*, *imitations and parodies* of relevant passages in that literature ! Invaluable

1. WINTERNITZ *A History of Indian Literature*, English Translation, University of Calcutta, 1927, pp. 315-316.

2. Prolegomena CI, the *Ādiparvan*, critically edited by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1933.

3. I. 56. 33 (Critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*).

work in the matter of tracing these allusions etc. to their sources has been done by HOLTZMANN,[4] HOPKINS[5] and others. Much remains to be done, however, especially with regard to *Vedic literature. The problem, besides, assumes a new significance in view of the work of preparing a critical edition of the Mbh. that is going on at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the material collected and the manuscripts collated there.*[6] What I mean, will be made clear by the *Ṛgveda* citations discussed below, but I may only add here, that in view of the fact that the work for the critical edition, for the first time renders it possible for a research worker to have before him the entire significant manuscript evidence for each passage in the form of all divergent readings of any importance given in the critical notes in the published *parvans* and in the form of manuscript collations in the case of the unpublished *parvans*, it becomes possible *only now*, to undertake the task of tracing citations from, allusions to or adaptations of passages in earlier literature more thoroughly. What, formerly, with only one edition before us, looked like a remote resemblance, a faint echo, a mere summary or at best an adaptation, may turn out now, in the light of the entire manuscript evidence, to be either an attempt at citation not materializing through failure of memory or lack of care or a deliberate modification—*an ūha* of a Vedic passage ! In ancient times passages were often quoted from memory and the quotation was never compared with the original.[7] Further, a modification or *ūha* of an early Vedic passage, to suit the contemporary phase of grammar and the new context was a favourite literary device, found not only in the Mbh., but traced to all Vedic works also, from the *Saṁhitās* other than the *Ṛgveda*, to the ritual *Sūtras*, the utmost liberty being taken with the text of the original to this end. So when we meet with phrases like :—

अस्मिंश्चार्थे पुरा गीतं ब्रह्मणा श्रूयतामिदम् ।[8]

हन्त ते वर्तयिष्यामि पुराणं पांडुनन्दन ।[9]

निदर्शनं चात्र भवति ।[10]

इमां श्रुतिमुदाहरेत् ।[11]

---

4. *Das Mahābhārata und seine Teile* in four volumes, Kiel 1892-95

5 *The Great Epic of India.*

6. I must gratefully acknowledge here that Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the general editor of the *Mahābhārata*, who expressed himself very much interested in the theme of this paper, kindly placed at my disposal, all this material including his valuable bibliography on the Mbh.

7. Compare Prolegomena XXIX, Critical Edition of the *Ādiparva* :

8. V. 12. 28 (Critical edition).

9. XII. 343. 2 (Bombay edition published by GANPAT KRISHNAJI, 1877).

10. Ibid. XII. 343. 11.

11. Ibid. XIII. 76. 6.

इत्यपि श्रूयते श्रुतिः ॥[12]
यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ।[13]
इति...वेदेषु पठ्यते ।[14]
अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।[15]
अहं त्वां वर्धयिष्यामि ब्राह्मैर्मन्त्रैः सनातनैः ।[16]
एवमादीनि सूक्तानि परस्परमभाषत ।[17]

we are not sure always, whether these are preceded or followed by citations from, or summaries or modifications of passages in Vedic texts!

The question, whether a passage from an early Vedic text is a citation with or without modifications is further complicated, except in the *parvans* critically edited by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, by the peculiar, though interesting, circumstance that some manuscript variants, as will be seen below, actually restore the citations to their pristine purity! In the *Ādi*, *Virāṭa* and *Udyoga parvans* already critically edited, we know exactly what reading of the suspected citation is favoured by the manuscript evidence and thus are in a position to decide at once whether we have to deal with a citation or an *ūha*. But in the case of the other *parvans* not so edited yet, this is by no means certain unless one examines the manuscript collations for that *parvan*. The fact, nevertheless, that some manuscripts give a version identical with the source-passage in its original form throws an interesting sidelight on the tendencies at work responsible for the *differentiae* in some manuscripts.

A thorough-going attempt to trace all possible citations, adaptations etc., of passages in earlier Vedic and post-Vedic literature in a *parvan* may be of some help to the editor of that *parvan*, if not in selecting the best reading of a *Mahābhārata* passage for which manuscript evidence must be his principal guide, at least in making his notes on the *nature* of the manuscript material. It is in this hope also, that the following investigation has been undertaken, though its principal (and strictly circumscribed) aim is to trace all possible citations in the Mbh., from the *Ṛgveda* only with or without modifications. There will be no attempt in this paper to trace allusions to the *Ṛgveda* of a general character

12. Ibid. III. 208. 11; also VIII 32. 43.
13. Ibid. XIV. 51. 26.
14. Ibid. XII. 312. 5.
15. Ibid. XII. 72. 2.
16. V. 16. 1-8 (critical edition).
17. XIX (*Harivaṁśa*), v. 1398, Calcutta edition, 1836.

common in every part of the Mbh.,[18] nor to track imitations of RV.—hymns and passages as has been so ably done for example, in connection with the hymn to *Aśvins* in the *Ādiparvan* by Louis Renou.[19]

RV.
VI. 16. 1

त्वमंग्ने यज्ञानां होता विश्वेषां हितः।
देवेभिर्मानुषे जने ॥

Trans.[21] :—Thou, O *Agni*, hast been placed as the *Hotṛ* of all sacrifices among human folk by the Gods.

Mbh.[20]
XII. 343. 10

मन्त्रवादोऽपि हि भवति ॥ ९ ॥
त्वमग्ने यज्ञाना होता विश्वेषां हितो
देवाना मानुषाणां च जगत
इति ॥ १० ॥

There also occurs a declaration to the same effect in the *Mantras* of *S'rutis*. Thou, O *Agni*, art the *Hotṛ* in sacrifices and the benefactor of the deities, of men and of all the worlds.

Context in the Mbh.:—In answer to *Arjuna's* question, the Holy One explains how *Brahman* desiring to create creatures, caused *Agni* and *Soma* to spring from his own eyes. Having then created and established all creatures, he upholds the three worlds. In support of this statement follows our quotation from the RV., introduced by the words '*Mantravāda*'.

Notes:—HOPKINS[22] unable to trace RV. VI. 16.1, as the source of the Mbh. verse compares RV. I. 13.4: *asi hotā manurhitah* which has very little in common with the Mbh. passage. The first hemistich of RV. VI. 16.1. which is the real source is repeated without any change. As regards pāda C, I find on consulting the manuscript collations for this *parvan* that manuscript A reads:—

18. See HOPKINS: The *Great Epic of India*, p 2 ff.

19. "*L'Hymne Aux Aśvin de L'Ādiparvan*", pp. 177–178, in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* in honour of Professor F. W. THOMAS, 1939.

20. The verses are taken from the Bombay edition of GANPAT KRISHNAJI except where it is otherwise specified.

21. The translation of the RV verses is mine, that of the Mbh. passages is (unless otherwise specified) the one in the complete translation of the Mbh. published by PROTAP CHANDRA ROY (Calcutta, 1884–96). This has been done deliberately and *for two passages only* to show how though the words may be identical (as here in the first hemistich) the translation reflects the wide gulf between the ages of the Mbh. and the RV! See, for example, the different construction and the interpretation of '*hitah*' (=placed) in the RV. and (=benefactor) in the Mbh.

22. *The Great Epic of India*, p. 24.

deveti (*bhiḥ* ?) *mānuṣe jane*, which is a very close approximation to, if not complete restoration of the RV. pāda, as it would be, if the *ti* in the manuscript is a scribe's error for *bhiḥ*, as is not unlikely. This shows a tendency on the part of manuscript A—a tendency shared by a number of other manuscripts as will be seen below—to restore completely the reading of the source of the Mbh. passage. The Editor of the *parvan* alone, can decide whether the manuscript evidence authenticates the reading as we have it in the Bombay edition, or the restoration attempted by manuscript A ! It may be noted that the RV.—instrumental *devebhiḥ* appears in the later form *devaiḥ* in the immediately following Mbh. passage which is similar in purport and which reads :—

निदर्शनं चात्र भवति। विश्वेषामग्ने यज्ञानां त्वं होतेति। त्वं हितो देवैर्मनुष्यैर्जगतः इति ॥ ११ ॥

I have a suspicion that this verse also is a quotation from some other *Saṁhitā* or *Brāhmaṇa* but I have been unable to trace it so far. For the theme of this paper, besides, I have confined myself to the Ṛgveda.

Finally the reproduction of the peculiar metre of the RV verse (*Vardhamānā* according to the *Anukramaṇikā*, is a species of *Gāyatrī* : 6 + 7 + 8 = 21 syllables) has presented no difficulties, as these chapters have alternate prose and *ślokas*, either being introduced with or without warning !

RV.	Mbh.
X. 95. 1ab	XIX *Harivaṁśa*, 1398,
हये जाये मनसा तिष्ठ घोरे वचांसि मिश्रा कृणवावहै नु।	जाये हो तिष्ठ मनसि घोरे वचसि तिष्ठ ह। एवमादीनि सूक्तानि परस्परमभाषत ॥ (Calcutta edition, 1839)
Come, come ! Wife, fierce-minded ! let us exchange (a few) words, now ! [*haye* is an exclamation used before the vocative, exhortatively.]	"Ho, there, my consort, stay, fierce in mind (as thou art), stay at my bidding (lit. word)," such—like *Sūktas*, they addressed each other. [This translation is mine.]

Context :—The RV. hymn is the famous *Saṁvāda* hymn, consisting of a dialogue between *Purūravas* and *Urvaśī*. The story has been repeated often in later literature, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Baudhāyana Srautasūtra*, *Bṛhaddevatā*, in the *Harivaṁśa* (our passage)—an appendix to the *Mahābhārata*, in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, in Kālidāsa's famous play and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Notes :—The Triṣṭubh metre of the RV. has been changed to Anuṣṭubh in the Mbh., with the consequent adjustments, which reflect at the same time, the later phase of language. For example, the exclamation *haye* has gone out of use, and has been replaced by the particles *ho* and *ha* appearing separated in the first hemistich. As no manuscript collations have yet been made for the *Harivaṁśa*, I can only compare the reading in the Chitrashālā (Poona) edition (1936), which has *ha* for the Calcutta *ho* and restores the RV. *manasā* for *manasi*. It may be noted that our passage definitely refers to the citation as from the RV., by the word *sūktāni*.

RV I. 10. 1	Mbh. XII. 285. 78
गायंति त्वा गायत्रिणो ऽर्चंत्यर्कमर्किणः । ब्रह्माणस्त्वा शतक्रत उद्वंशमिव येमिरे ॥	गायंति त्वा गायत्रिणो ऽर्चंत्यर्कमर्किणः । ब्रह्माणं त्वा शतक्रतुम् ऊर्ध्वं खमिव मेनिरे ॥
The singers sing of thee, the hymners recite a hymn (to thee). The *brahmáns*, O *Śatakratu* have raised thee, like a beam (or pole).	The utterers of the *Gāyatrī* sing of thy praises in uttering the Gāyatrī and the worshippers of the Sun,—the Ṛsis—regard thee as *Brahman*, as *Indra* and as the (illimitable) firmament above.

Context :—In the RV., the verse is addressed to Indra, referred to as *Śatakratu*

Mbh.:—The story of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice is being narrated by *Bhīṣma* to *Yudhiṣṭhira*. Our verse is part of a *Stotra* with which *Dakṣa*, who having offended *Maheśvara*, in not inviting him to his sacrifice, was punished by the latter, finally appeases him.

Notes :—The first hemistich of the RV. reappears without any change. In the second, *Śatakratu* and *Brahman* (in the later sense, of course, of god *Brahman*), have become epithets of *Maheśvara* and *naturally* as the verse is addressed to that god. But an interesting modification is seen in the last *pāda*, the *Ṛgveda* counterpart of which does not breathe that spirit of reverential awe which characterized the attitude of a devotee towards his deity in later times! Now, on consulting the manuscript collations for this parvan, I find that MSS. A, E, H and D read *brahmāṇastvā* [*tvām*, D_2] and A. E. and H read *śatakrato*. Thus A, E and H restore the RV. reading of *pāda* (c) completely. As regards the last pāda, B reads *Udvaṁśameva yemire* and C reads *udvaṁśamiva Yāmirar* (re ?). For *menire*,

G has *yemire* and B_1 has *Yeni(mi?)re. It is quite clear thus that these manuscripts have definitely attempted to restore the original RV. reading, having spotted the verse as an RV. citation.*

The metre is the same, *Anuṣṭubh* in both the places.

RV.
X. 117. 6

मोघमन्नं विदते अप्रचेताः
सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तस्य ।
नार्यमणं पुष्यति नो सखायं
केवलाघो भवति केवलादी ॥

In vain does the senseless one win (his) food. That (food), indeed,—I speak but the truth—(shall become) his ruin; no comrade, no friend he feeds; he who eats alone has only sin for his companion.

Mbh.
V. 12. 20 (Critical edition)

मोघमन्नं विन्दति चाप्यचेताः
स्वर्गाल्लोकाद्भ्रश्यति नष्टचेष्टः ।
भीतं प्रपन्नं प्रददाति यो वै
न तस्य हव्यं प्रतिगृह्णन्ति देवाः ॥

In vain does that senseless one win food; he falls from the heavenly world, his activity (all) paralysed—(the senseless one) who gives up a person approaching him in fear. The gods do not accept his offering.

[This translation is mine.]

Context :—The RV. verse being part of a hymn in praise of liberality, condemns the man who does not share his food with any one, but the Mbh. verse which adopts the first pāda of the RV. verse with a few changes has a different context viz. a condemnation of the man who refuses to grant protection to a person in distress throwing himself on his mercy. *Śalya*, who is in the *Pāṇḍava* camp consoles them by narrating to them the story of *Indra*, who with his wife once, had to suffer great sorrow. An incident in the story is the appeal of *Indrāṇī* to Bṛhaspati, to save herself and her husband, to which the latter responds with the words in our verse.

Notes :—The footnotes in the critically edited *Udyogaparvan* show that manuscripts K_2, D_9, D_{10}, T_1, and G_1 read *vindate* and that K_2, D_9, D_{10}, T_1, and G read *apracetāh* which means that manuscripts K_2, D_9, and D_{10} fully restore the RV. version of the first *pāda*! We have the assurance in this case that the editor of this *parvan* was satisfied that the manuscript evidence on the whole favoured the modified version of the first pāda of the RV. verse that he has given us. In support of his choice, it may be added that the modifications of the RV. verse are just those that we expect in all subsequent reproductions of RV. verses removed in time from the age of the RV. For example, the hiatus *vindate + apracetāh* between the two words has been avoided by introducing *ca* and the *Parasmaipada* is

substituted for the *Ātmanepada*. This is in keeping with the later stage of grammar. Even the Atharva-Veda XIV. 1. 50 for example changes the *gṛbhṇāmi* in RV. X. 85. 36[a] :

गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्तम् ।

to *gṛhṇāmi* which was more in keeping with the grammar of the Atharva-Veda days ! No wonder, the Mbh. introduced a similar change.

It is interesting to observe therefore, the tendency noted above on the part of *some* manuscripts to restore completely the original version. The metre is the same in both places . *Triṣṭubh*. Finally it may be noted that the RV. citation is heralded with the unusual introduction V 12 18[cd] (Critical edition)

अस्मिन्नर्थे पुरा गीतं ब्रह्मणाश्रूयतामिदम् ।

which means :—With respect to this matter, the following sung by *Brahman*, in former times may, please, be listened to.

RV X. 14 1[cd]	Mbh XIII. 102. 16 *Gautama* speaks to *Vāsava* :
वैवस्वतं संगमनं जनाना यमं राजानं हविषा दुवस्य ॥	वैवस्वती संयमनी जनाना यत्रानृतं नोच्यते यत्र सत्यम् । यत्राबला बलिनं यातयन्ति तत्र त्वाहं हस्तिनं यातयिष्ये ॥
To *Yama*, the king, the son of *Vivasvat*, the gatherer of men, pay homage with oblation(s)	The region of (*Yama*), the son of *Vivasvat*, is such that men are there controlled. No untruth can be told there . only truth prevails in that place. There, the weak force the strong to labour for them. There I shall make you surrender (my) elephant.

Context :—In the RV., the verse is part of a hymn which is a funeral address to *Yama* and the soul of the departed. In the Mbh., in answer to the question of *Yudhiṣṭhira*, as to whether all righteous men attain to the same region after death or whether there is any difference of status among them, *Bhīṣma* cites the narrative of *Gautama* and *Vāsava* who (i.e. the latter) in the form of King *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* has seized an elephant belonging to the former. Our verse is addressed by *Gautama* to *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*.

Notes :—Manuscripts B, C, D, G_2 and G_3 have the accusatives *Vaivasvatīm* and *Saṁyamanīm*, instead of the nominatives—a change which brings the reading nearer to that in the RV., though it may be difficult to construe it in its Mbh. context. The manuscript T_1 even restores *Vaivasvatam* and *Saṁgamanam* which is the same as the RV. reading except that we have *Saṁyamanam*, instead of the RV. *Saṁgamanam*. This approximation is hardly in the spirit of the Mbh. context, because further on, in the same chapter, we come across *mandākinī* (feminine), the region of King *Vaiśravaṇa* similar to *Vaivasvatī* (the region of *Yama*) in our passage—which latter is, therefore a more appropriate reading. The metre is *Triṣṭubh* in both the places.

Before I go on next, to point out a few adaptations (*ūhas*), paraphrases or summaries of RV. passages or phrases in the Mbh., I proceed to discuss a citation from the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, although it lies outside the limited scope of this paper, just to show how very fruitful and interesting the work of tracing all such Mbh. passages to their sources scattered over the whole field of Vedic literature will become, in the light of the manuscript evidence made available to scholars by the work of the Critical edition at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā XXIII. 45 & 46	Mbh. III. 313. 67 & 68
कः स्विदेकाकी चरति	किं स्विदेको विचरते
क उ स्विज्जायते पुनः ।	जातः को जायते पुनः ।
किं स्विद्धिमस्य भेषजं	किं स्विद्धिमस्य भैषज्यं
कि वावपनं महत् ॥ ४५ ॥	किं स्विदावपनं महत् ॥
सूर्य एकाकी चरति	सूर्य एको विचरते
चन्द्रमा जायते पुनः ।	चन्द्रमा जायते पुनः ।
अग्निर्हिमस्य भेषजं	अग्निर्हिमस्य भैषज्यं
भूमिरावपनं महत् ॥ ४६ ॥	भूमिरावपनं महत् ॥

The verses occur also in the Taittirīya (7. 4. 18. 1) and *Maitrāyaṇī* (3. 12. 19) *Saṁhitās*, in the *Śatapatha* (13. 2, 6, 10 & 12) and *Taittirīya* (3. 9. 4. 4) *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Śrauta-sūtras* of Āśvalāyana (10. 9. 2) and Śāṁkhāyana (16. 5. 3 and 4).

Trans. :—(45) Who journeys alone ? Who verily is born again (and again) ? What is the treatment for cold ? What is the great corn-vessel ? (46). The Sun journeys alone ; the moon is born again (and again) ; fire is the treatment for cold, the earth is

the great corn-vessel. (As the Mbh. passage is almost identical, the variations being so slight as not to alter the sense, a separate translation of that passage is not necessary.)

Context:—In the *Vāj Saṁh.*, the verses are of the nature of riddles with which the priests amuse themselves at a horse-sacrifice. In the Mbh., the verses are part of the famous dialogue between *Yakṣa* and *Yudhiṣṭhira* consisting of a most interesting play of questions and answers, in which there are a few riddles quoted in the style of the Vedic *brahmodyas*, (in the *Vāj. Saṁh*, for example).

Notes[23] :—Manuscripts C, E, M and D_4 have *Kaḥ svid* for Kim svid, now although the former appears to be better as agreeing with *eko* (masculine), it may be noted that the combination *kaḥsvid* is not found *even once* among this series of *yakṣa* questions, where the anticipated answer is expressible in the masculine as here! The phrases used elsewhere are *kaśca* which is actually the variant here for *kimsvid* in K_4 and Dc or merely *kaḥ* (as in 67^b), we have, besides, *kimsvid ātmā* and *kiṁsvid daivakṛtaḥ sakhā* in v. 50 (Critical Edition) where *kimsvid* goes with words of the masculine gender Manuscripts B, D_1, D_2 and D_3 as well as Da, L and S have *vicarati* for *vicarate* It is interesting to find that this reading has been adopted in the Critical edition In fact, how the *ātmanepada* form *carate* came in, is a mystery, as none of the earlier passages enumerated above have it! For *eko vicarate*, SG_1 and SG_4 have *ekākī carati* which agrees with the reading of the original, but which on account of inadequate manuscript evidence has not been adopted in the Critical edition. For our 67^c ($=46^c$ in the Critical edition), TG_1, TG_2 and TG_4 have *himasya bheṣajam kim svid*! The reason why, these manuscripts in the attempt to restore the Vedic original *bheṣajam* for *bhaiṣajyam* have changed the order of words is that the diambic close ⏑—⏑—for a pāda is not permitted in the epic and this would have been the case, if the verse had read *kiṁ svid himasya bheṣajam*, as the manuscript T_1 does read! The same remark can be made about v 68^c (47^c in the Critical edition), where T_2, G_1, G_2 and G_4 read *bheṣajam* and give a diambic close for the pāda but where T_1 has cleverly avoided the diambic close by reading *bhiṣajam* which is nearer the original *bheṣajam* and yet at the same time gives the scheme ⏑ ⏑ ⏑—for the close of the pāda which is tolerated in the epic!

23. In writing my notes on these two verses, I had the benefit of an informing discussion with Dr. SUKTHANKAR who kindly gave me the proofs of the relevant portions of the Critical edition of the *Vanaparvan* which he is editing and which is now in the press and to the numbering of which I refer above as the numbering in the *Critical edition*.

I turn now to a few important paraphrases, adaptations, echoes etc. of RV. phrases in the Mbh., *by way of illustration only*, as this is a formidable task lying outside the scope of this paper. The following passages in the RV. :—

X 129. 1a : नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं.. .।

„ „ 1d · अंभः किमासीद्गहनं गभीरं ॥

„ „ 2b : न रात्र्या अह्न आसीत्प्रकेतः. ..

„ „ 3a : तम आसीत्तमसा गूळ्हमग्रे. ..।

appear paraphrased or reproduced with modifications in Mbh. XII. 343. 2ff .—

हन्त ते वर्तयिष्यामि पुराणं पाण्डुनन्दन ।...अव्यक्ते सर्वभूते प्रलये सर्वभूतस्थावरजङ्गमे। ज्योतिर्धरणि वायुरहिते अन्धे तमसि जलैकार्णवलोके ॥ ३ ॥ आप इत्येवं ब्रह्मभूतसंज्ञकेऽद्वितीये प्रतिष्ठिते ॥ ४ ॥...न वै रात्र्यां न दिवसे न सति नासति न व्यक्ते न चाप्यव्यक्ते व्यवस्थिते ॥...निदर्शनमपि ह्यत्र भवति ॥ ७ ॥ नासीदह्नो न रात्रिरासीन्न सदासीन्नासदासीत्तम एव पुरस्तादभवद्विश्वरूपम् ।

Again, Mbh. XII. 95. 21 :—

महादृतिरिवाध्मातः सुकृतेनैव वर्तते। ततः समूलो ह्रियते नदीकूलादिव द्रुमः ॥ २१ ॥

preceded as it is by

अश्रद्दधानश्च भवेद्विनाशमुपगच्छति। संबद्धो वारुणैः पाशैरमर्त्य इव मन्यते ॥२१॥

is certainly a reminiscence of RV. VII. 89. 2 —

यदेमि प्रस्फुरन्निव दृतिर्न ध्मातो अद्रिवः। मृळा सुक्षत्र मृळय ॥

addressed as the latter verse is to Varuṇa. Mbh. III. 207. 47 also has the pāda *mahādṛtirivādhmātaḥ* as pointed out by Hopkins.[24]

Next, I believe that the first half-verse of Mbh. XIII. 76. 7 :—

गौर्मे माता, वृषभः पिता मे, दिवं शर्म जगती मे प्रतिष्ठा। प्रपद्यैवं शर्वरीमुष्य गोषु पुनर्वाणीमुत्सृजेत् गोप्रदाने ॥ ७ ॥

preceded as it is by the verse :—

आह्वानं च प्रयुञ्जीत समंगे बहुलेपि च। प्रविश्य च गवां मध्यमिमां श्रुतिमुदाहरेत् ॥ ६ ॥

is a clever modification (ūha) of RV. I. 164. 33ab :

द्यौर्मे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुर्मे माता पृथिवी महीयं।

for the following reasons :—

24. *The Great Epic of India*, p. 24.

(1) There are several verses in this RV. hymn in praise of *gauh* e.g. the 28th begins with :—

गौरमीमेदनु वत्सं मिषन्तं मूर्धानं हिङ्ङकृणोन्मातवा उ ।

(2) The 26th verse beginning with :—

उपह्वये सुदुघां धेनुमेता...

has great affinity to the *āhvānam* (invitation) of the Mbh. XIII. 76. 6.

(3) Thirdly AV. IV. 39. 6 has the equation : *Dyaurdhenuh* etc.

Further Mbh. III. 208. 11^{ab} :—

अग्नयो मांसकामाश्च इत्यपि श्रूयते श्रुतिः ।

is, in my opinion, a paraphrase of RV. X. 16. 9^{a} :—

क्रव्यादमग्निं प्रहिणोमि दूरं....

Hopkins[25] has already compared Mbh V 16. 2^{ab} (Critical edition) :—

त्वामाहुरेकं कवयस्त्वामाहुस्त्रिविधं पुनः ।

and I. 223. 13 (Critical edition) :—

मनीषिणस्त्वां यजन्ते (v. l जानन्ति) बहुधा चैकधैव च ।

with RV. I. 164. 46^{cd} :—

एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥

and RV. X. 114. 5^{ab} :—

सुपर्णं विप्राः कवयो वचोभिरेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।

What he, however, points out[26] in Mbh. XV. 34. 11 :—

देवयाना हि पन्थानः श्रुतास्ते यज्ञसंस्तरे ।

as an allusion to RV. X. 18. 1, *is not likely*. The two paths *devayāna* and *pitryāna* have been often mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* which, therefore, are more likely to have been alluded to.

With regard to XII. 312. 5^{ab} :—

द्यावापृथिव्योरित्येष राजन् वेदेषु पठ्यते ।

HOPKINS[26] only notes that the citation of a Vedic phrase is acknowledged but does not trace the phrase in question. In my opinion, the Vedic phrase referred to may be any one *of the three*[27]

25. Ibid. p. 25. The reference to the Critical edition is, of course, mine.

26. Ibid. p. 25.

27. The references are to the edition of LEOPOLD von SHROEDER, Leipzig, 1900.

passages beginning with :—dyāvāpṛthivyoh, in *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* : XX 7, XXIII. 3 or XXXVII. 15.

Finally, as regards the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* (RV. X. 90. 14) account of the creation of the four castes, the passages in the Mbh. dealing with the same theme viz. VIII. 32. 43 ; XII. 72. 4 , 296. 5ff ; 318.90 etc., *need not be taken as referring to the account in the Ṛgveda, as there are several post-Rgveda and pre-epic versions of that creation in Vedic literature with which the Mbh. account agrees more closely.*[28]

A List of Passages in the *Mahābhārata* with the corresponding ones in the *Rgveda*, discussed or referred to in this Paper.

Mbh. (Bombay edition except when otherwise specified)		RV. (All references below are to the RV. except when otherwise specified.)
I.	223. 13 (*Critical edition*)	I. 164. 46^{cd} and X. 114. 5^{ab}
III.	207. 47	VII. 89. 2^{b}
III	208. 11	X 16. 9^{a}
III.	313. 67 & 68	*Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* XXIII. 45 & 46.
V	12. 20 (*Critical edition*)	X. 117. 6^{a}
V.	16 2 ,, ,,	I. 164. 46^{cd} and X. 114. 5^{ab}
VIII.	32. 43	X. 90. 12
XII	72. 4	X. 90. 12
XII	95 21	VII. 89. 2^{b}
XII.	285. 78	I. 10. 1
XII	297. 6	X. 90. 12
XII.	312 5	*Kāthaka Samhitā* 20, 7 · 23. 3 and 37. 15
XII.	318. 90	X. 90. 12
XII	329. 30	X. 18. 1 and the *Upaniṣads*
XII.	343. 1 9	X. 129. 1-3
XII.	343. 10	VI 16. 1
XIII.	76. 7	I. 164. 33^{ab}
XIII	102. 16	X. 14. 1^{c}
XV.	34. 11	X. 18. 1 and the *Upaniṣads.*
XIX.	(*Harivaṁśa*) 1398 (Calcutta edition)	X. 95. 1

28 A student doing research under my guidance at the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, (Poon), is at present engaged in doing for the *Mahābhārata* in its relation to the whole of earlier Vedic literature, the same type of work which I have attempted in this paper, with respect to the *Ṛgveda* alone.

Kalandikā-Prakāśa of Somanātha Vyāsa

By

N. V. ATHALEY, Ujjain

Like various scholars of bygone days that attached themselves to the ancient lore and produced works on several branches of learning, many modern pandits too, devoted their valuable time composing works on different sections of Śāstras of which the present work is itself a proof. The writer of this work is one Paṇḍita Somanātha Śāstri Vyāsa, a Nāgara Brahmin of Śājapur, Gwalior State, who prepared it for the use of all who lack in the wide knowledge of the various branches of learning, old and modern. Beginning from the Vedas, the author has described in short all the 14 Vidyās, the 64 Kalās, the principal doctrines of all the religions in India and outside and has tried to make it very useful by explaining in his own *Budhānandinī* commentary on this work, modern subjects like History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry etc. as they were known in his days. He has thus made it an epitome of all knowledge-ancient as well as modern-written in simple lucid Sanskrit. Besides this *Budhānandinī* the work has two more commentaries, *Laghuvṛtti*—and *Mitākṣarā*—the first by his disciple Nārāyana Mūlikara and the other by himself.

The present manuscript is legibly written by the author in bold type, on straw paper in 100 folios, leaving 1½ inch margin on all the four sides. It measures 12½ × 5½ inches in size and the borders of the MS are unruled. Red-pigment is used for marking *Ślokas* etc. and yellow for wiping out errors. Marginal notes also appear occasionally. The completion dates of the text and commentary, given respectively at the end, are (i. शाके १७६९ आषाढ शु॥ पौर्णिमा भौमवार, ii. शाके १७७१ मार्गशीर्ष वद्य गुरुवार) the *27th of July, 1847* and *December, 1849 A.D.*

There are altogether 125 verses of different metres, divided into 4 complete chapters with folios as under :—

I	वेदप्रकाश	Verses 27	.. Fol.	1— 5
II	षडंगप्रकाश	,, 36	... ,,	5— 21
III	उपांगप्रकाश	,, 35	... ,,	21— 44
IV	उपवेदप्रकाश	,, 37	... ,,	44—100*a*
		125		

The following is a sectionwise list of subjects as they appear in this enormous commentary :—

वेदप्रकाशेः—वेदब्राह्मणलक्षणे, वेदभेदाः शाखाश्च ।

षडंगप्रकाशेः—शिक्षाव्याकरणनिरुक्तछंदोज्योतिषकल्पानि ।

उपांगप्रकाशेः—पुराणोपपुराणानि, धर्मशास्त्रं, पूर्वमीमांसा, उत्तरमीमांसा (मध्व-रामानुज-वल्लभ-निंबार्क-शंकराचार्यसिद्धांतानि) आन्वीक्षिकी—न्याय, वैशेषिक, सांख्य, योग, शैवशाक्तवैष्णवदर्शनानि । लिंगायत-महानुभाव-कापालिक-कौडिक-सौगत-आर्हत म्लेच्छादीनां-मतानि । म्लेच्छे-यहूदी-मसीहिमुसल्मान-पारसीकाः तेषां मतवर्णनं भेदसहितं ।

उपवेदप्रकाशेः—आयुर्वेदः अष्टांगसहितः, धनुर्वेदः, गांधर्ववेदः । अर्थशास्त्रे-वाहनशास्त्रं-शिल्पशास्त्रं-वास्तुशास्त्रं-दकार्गलं-तरुपोषणं–कुणपजलं–तरुचिकित्सा–सूद-शास्त्रं-नीतिशास्त्रं-साहित्यशास्त्रं- ६४ कलाः-रसायनशास्त्रं–अद्रवद्रव्यधर्माः जलादिद्रवद्रव्यधर्माणां धर्माः-वायुधर्मविद्या-ध्वनिविद्यादर्शनानुशासनं-प्रकाशकिरणगतिमिति-भूगोलविद्या इतिहासविद्या च ।

To distinguish from the common word Vidyā, the author has chosen an uncommon word कलंदिका with प्रकाश for its title. The word कलंदिका is formed from कलंद (स्वार्थे कः। इत्वम्। स्त्रीत्वाट्टाप्) and means सर्वविद्या (APTE's Dic p. 341) The clear meaning of the compound word is "A light to all branches of old and modern knowledge" The same meaning has also been given by the author in commenting on the word कलंदिकाप्रकाश i. Fol. 3, line 4, कलंदिका सर्वे विद्येत्यभिधानात्समासेन सर्वविद्यासंग्रहारूपो विषयो ग्रंथसंज्ञया दर्शितः । i. Fol. 99, line 17, प्रकाशं सर्वविद्यानां कलंदिका पदवान्यानामित्यध्याहारः ।

It begins with the following two auspicious verses .—

॥ श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥

निगमदिनमणिप्रभाः प्रकाशं ददतु चतुर्दशनोऽनवद्यविद्याः ।
अयममृतकरः कलाभिपूर्णो द्विजनृपतिर्यदनुप्रवेशमात्रात् ॥ १ ॥
अथ सविनयमार्यां प्रत्तचातुर्यधुर्यां प्रकटितगणभूपां वाचकस्फोटरूपां ।
गुरुमपि गिरिशं तं स्फोटवाच्यं वसंतं शतदलमकरंदे ब्रह्मरंध्रेऽभिवंदे ॥ २ ॥

which show the ability of the author in Vedānta, Sāhitya, Vyākarana and Nyāya Śāstras. The first belongs to the blameless 14 Vidyās from which the real light is begged for securing the final emancipation. The second is a salutary one, in which the three deities गणेश, शारदा, शिव including his preceptor are praised as is always done by authors. In the third he says that it is better to introduce first with time, place, person and motive of preparing the निबंध so that no one may doubt about it and writes in the further 11 verses the names of three Political Agents and the principal teachers of the school of Sehore including himself. They are very interesting and throw a flash of light on the merits and work of these gentlemen. These verses run thus :—

श्रीमत्कंपिनि पार्थिवेंद्रसचिवप्रत्ताधिकारः सुधीः
कस्तान् जोजफ डे वियुक्त निगहिं प्रोद्दामनामानृपः ॥
सीहूरे नगरे विनिर्मितमहाविद्यालयं वर्धयन्
जीयाच्छ्रीजगदीशसंनतिपरः प्रख्यातकीर्तिः क्षितौ ॥ ४ ॥
धैर्यौदार्यदयानयशौर्यमुखैः सद्गुणैर्जयति विद्वान् ॥
कस्तान् जोजफ डेवीकनींगहिं साहिबः श्रीमान् ॥ ५ ॥
मेजर्हिदिल्सिसाहिबोऽत्रनगरे बीजं सिहूरेऽवपत्
विद्याया द्रुमतामनीनयदिदं श्रीलान्सिलाट्साहिबः ॥
विल्किन्सन्नुपसाह्वयो गुणनिधिःसोऽयद्रुमः सांप्रतं
जोजफ डेवि कनींगहिं प्रभुवरेणानेकशाखीकृतः ॥ ६ ॥
एकोप्ययं शंभुरिवाष्टमूर्तिरनेकतां वाक्करुचेत्यचात्र
गुर्वालवालेषु हि येषु तिष्ठत्यास्ते च तानत्र वदामि मुख्यान् ॥ ७ ॥
धत्ते शास्त्रं निजगुरुमुखाकर्णितं वेदनेत्रं
नेत्रं दिव्यं शिव इव शिवं यस्तृतीयं विशालं ॥
श्रीरामांघ्रिप्रणयसरसो यः मनाख्यः द्विजेंद्रः
सेवारामः स जयति कृती शुद्धसैद्धान्तिकाख्यः ॥ ८ ॥
औदीच्यविप्रप्रवरो विनेयाननीनयद्दक्षिणतां क्षमीयः
रत्नेश्वरः सद्गुणरत्नधामा जयत्यसौसज्जनसंसदग्र्यः ॥ ९ ॥
अमंदं मंदानप्यगणितगुणग्राम गरिम–
प्रगल्भाभिर्वाग्भिः प्रणयतिजनाग्रागरिकतां ॥
उमापाणिग्राहप्रभव सुखभूनागरवर–
श्रिरं चंपारामश्चतुरमतिमान्यः सजयति ॥ १० ॥
मुहम्मदनवाज इत्यखिलयावर्ना शारदा
विशारदमतिर्मतो मतिमतामतीवाग्रणीः ॥
स्वधर्मपरिनिष्ठया निखिलसाधुरत्यादरात्
उदारभजने रतो जयति मौल्वीसन्मतः ॥ ११ ॥
तच्छिक्षया साक्षरतामुपेत्य साचिव्यमस्यैव तु सेवते यः ।
जयत्यसौ सद्विनयेन मान्यः सयुद्दीनो यवनः सुधीमान् ॥ १२ ॥
सद्विद्यालयतूलिकासनगतान्संमान्यमान्यानमून्
शब्दालंकृतिकाव्यकोशकलनास्वध्यापकस्तेषु यः ॥
जन्मी गुर्जरभूमि निज्र्जरकुलेसत्रागराख्ये च स
ब्रूते सालसबालचिद्रुचिकरी विस्सोमनाथः कृतिं ॥ १३ ॥

Captain J. S. CUNNINGHAM whose name appears thrice in these verses, was one of the enlightened and famous Political Agents of his day. He seems to have devoted much of his energy towards the cause of learning and brought the school of Sehore to a status

by adding the Sanskrit and Persian Sections in 1849.[1] The author's grandson—Pandita Rāmavallabha Vaidya produced a Hindi, undated and cloth-pasted letter, sealed in Persian and signed by the Captain, issued to Pt. Somanātha, in reply to his two letters dated 13-2-1850 and 25-4-1850 in which the name of his रेखागणित was recorded. This work reached him in time and it was shown to the SIKANDAR BEGUM of Bhopal who expressed her satisfaction. Nothing is known for the present, about this work of Somanātha as no copy of the same is available. Besides the six teachers mentioned in the above-noted verses, there were some more for Hindi and Persian. A Yogyatā-patra, awarded to Pandita Bhagiratha—the author's son, on the *14th of April 1857* and signed by the Superintendent, Mr. H. VANGHAN INGELS, contains the name of one Mahatābrāo the 2nd teacher for Hindi. This letter of fitness bears the witnesses of Campāram, Somanātha Ratneśvaraguru, Mahatābrao and three other Persian teachers and is also countersigned by the P. A. on the top. Sevārām who is addressed as a Siddhānti, was a learned Astronomer attached to the school. He taught Rekhāganita etc. to Narasiṁha alias Bapoodeo Śāstri of Benares who was intentionally brought to Sehore by the P. A., LAUNCELOT WILKINSON in Śaka 1760 (1838 A.D.) for learning (भा ज्यो शास्त्र, p. 300-1) The work as such begins from the 14th verse, thus :—

प्रणम्य रामपादाब्जं बालानां बोधसिद्धये ॥
कलंदिकाप्रकाशोऽयं समासेन विरच्यते ॥ १४ ॥

× × ×

निरूपिताष्टादशभेदभिन्ना विद्यापि माद्यै बहुधा विभिन्ना ।
वेदाः षडंगानि चतुष्टये च ह्युपांगकानामुपवेदकानाम् ॥ १८ ॥
विनोपवेदानपरे वदंति भवंति विद्यास्तु चतुर्दशैव ।
वेदाः पृथग्मूलतया मता मे विद्यास्तदन्यास्तु चतुर्दशेति ॥ १९ ॥
अपौरुषेयं पुरुषार्थसाधनप्रमाणवाक्यं प्रवदंति वेदं ।
धर्मार्थकामा इति हि त्रिवर्गो मोक्षश्चतुर्थः पुरुषार्थसंज्ञा ॥ २० ॥

End of the text :—आसीद्गुर्जरभूमिनिर्जलकुले शुद्धप्रधीरुद्धव-
स्तत्सूनोरथशंभुरामसुमतेरोंकारशर्मात्मजः ॥
तज्जस्तत्समवाप्तशास्त्रनिवहः श्रीरामपन्नक्तिमान्
भोलानाथ बुधानुजोऽमुमकरोत्सोमः प्रकाशं शुभम् ॥ ३५ ॥
शाके नवांगसप्तिभू (१७६९) मिते शिहूरपत्तने
वलक्ष्यपक्षपूरणे शुचौ कुजेह्नि पूरितः
कलंदिकाप्रकाश एष सोमनाथनिर्मितः
समस्त सद्विनेयधीप्रकाशकोस्तु सन्मुदे ॥ ३६

1. Dates recorded on the Chronology Board of the School of Sehore. Obtained from Mr. N. G. DEVABHAKTA, Head Master, Sehore High School.

संस्यत्र केचिद्यदि सद्गुणामे तानेव संतः परिसंश्रयन्तु ।
किमत्र मे दोषगवेषणेन सोमोऽस्मि दोषाकर एव सोहं ॥ ३७ ॥

Colophon:—इति श्रीव्यासोपनामक सोमनाथकृतौ कलंदिकाप्रकाशे
उपवेदप्रकाशः ॥ ४ ॥ पर्यासश्चायं ग्रंथः ॥

The genealogical table secured from *Rāmavallabha* tallies with that of the one given in the 35th verse. It runs thus .—

व्यास उद्धवजी
|
शंभूराम
|
ओंकार
|
सोमनाथ — भोलानाथ
|
भागीरथ (son of सोमनाथ)
|
रामवल्लभ

The *Budhānandinī* mentions 8 interesting and important verses in the end. These contain the names of ruling chiefs of Rajgarh, Narsingarh, Khilachipur etc. including the Begum of Bhopal, the completion date and two other works which the author prepared during the interim of two years (1847 49) that required him to expand the मिताक्षरा tikā composed by him in 1847. Some of these verses are given below .—

विद्याविवर्द्धनकरै-रकारियैः संभूय भूमिपनिभिर्नगरे शिहूरे ।
विद्यालयं नृपनि कंपिनिधी मखैयैस्तेते जयति किल मालवमंडलेश्वराः ॥

या भूपालपुरावर्नापयवनी बेगम् शुभा शाजहां
भूपौ यावपि मोतिसिंह हनुमत्सिंहाभिदा वूमटौ ।
खेची शोपिच शेरसिंह नृपतिर्नज्जाख्य भुहाभिदौ
भूपालौ किल ते जयंति कृतिनो विद्याविवृद्धिप्रियाः ॥
नंदांगसप्तक्षितिभि (१७६९) मिते शाके
व्याख्या मयाकारि परं लघुः सा ॥
विशेषजिज्ञासुजनोपकारिणी
कृतामयेयं विततातोऽन्या ॥
भूभूधरक्षितिधरक्षितिभि (१७७१) मिते शाके
मन्मार्गशीर्षबहुले गुरुभूतवासरे ॥
सेयं समाप्तिमगमद्गुरुपादपद्मयोः
प्रौढप्रतापलवलेशवशादलंकृता ॥

व्याख्ययोरनयोर्मध्ये काले ग्रंथौ प्रसंगतः
छंदःप्रकाशसद्भक्तिकुमुदाकरकौ कृतौ ॥
इह प्रमादान्मतिविभ्रमाद्वा भवेत्कचिन्मेस्खलितं बुधैस्तत ॥
संशोधनीयं कृपया यदीशादन्योन सर्वज्ञपदं प्रयाति ॥
कैलासाचलमौलिमूल विलसन्न्यग्रोधमूलस्थितं
यक्षेशेन च नारदादिमुनिभिर्नंद्यादिभिः सेवितं ॥
भव्यं भूतिविभूषितं भवहरं भूतप्रियं भावये
गौरीशंकरसद्गुरोर्गुरुतरं श्रीपादपंकेरुहं ॥

The corresponding years 1847 and 1849 indicate the period of Lord HARDING and DALHOUSIE, the Governor-Generals of British India. Like other places a vernacular Institution was founded by LAUNCELOT WILKINSON—the P. A. in 1835 and was transformed into a High School in 1839 (Imp. Gazetteer p. 272). It was reorganised in 1849 by Captain J. D CUNNINGHAM who added the Sanskrit and Persian Sections to the Institution. The Chronology board of the Sehore High School omits Major HINDLEY who is mentioned in the verses at the beginning as the founder (बीजं शिह्वरेऽवपत्) of the school and accepts Launcelot in his place which *creates* confusion about the real founder and we are unable to justify it for want of further proof. The author was employed in the Institution one year earlier before it was made a High School (" आपने सीहोर की पाठशाला में संस्कृत के गुरु भरती होकर सन १८३८ से लगातार सन १८५७ ई. तक सरकार नौकरी २० वर्ष तक अच्छी की "—testimonial awarded to Pt Somanātha on 15th Nov. 1858 A. C.)

In the above verses the author praises the Princes and Chiefs of the Agency who donated to and supported on a large scale the School of Sehore. They were the SHER SINGH of Khilchipur, HANMAT SINGH of Narasingarh and MOTI SINGH of Rajgarh. The other two names नज्जा and बुद्दा (नज्जाख्य बुद्दाभिदौ) are untraceable. BEGUM SHAH JAHAN whose name appears in the 1st line of the third verse, succeeded her father—Nawab JAHANGIR in orphanage, in 1844, the real ruler being her mother—SIKANDAR BEGUM who was appointed as Regent of the State and remained Regent till 1868 (Imp. Gaze. p. 245-46). The sixth verse mentions two minor works viz. *Sadbhakti-Kumudākara* and *Chandaḥ-Prakāśa* which the author composed during the interim of 1847-49. Further, in the seventh verse, the author begs for pardon for the errors committed and portions left undealt with by him through प्रमाद and मतिविभ्रम. He also requests for the rectification of his work. The concluding stanza is only a beautiful production of the अनुष्टुभ् श्लोक " चित्रं वटतरोर्मूले वृद्धा शिष्या गुरुर्युवा । गुरोस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यास्तु च्छिन्नसंशयाः "

A reference to Capt. CUNNINGHAM and the Assistant Maulavi—SAIDUDDIN occurs on folio 42 where writing on the मसीहियहुदी and मुसल्मान religions he says :—मतद्वयं चैतद्यहूदि मसीहि संज्ञं—श्रीमत्कनीगहिं साहिब बहादुर साहाय्येनानेकग्रंथेभ्य आकृष्य लिखितं। वक्ष्यमाणयोस्तु सइदुद्दीन साहाय्येनेति। This clarifies the fact that the author's information regarding these religions is chiefly based on the help rendered and information furnished by these two authorities.

The Commentary begins thus :—

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ प्रणम्य श्रीगणाधीशं वागीशां गुरुपंकजं
कलंदिकाप्रकाशस्य वृत्तिं वच्मि यथामति ॥ १ ॥
अलसच्छात्रबोधाय कृता पूर्वं मिताक्षरा
वृत्तिर्बुधानंदिनीयं विस्तरेण वितन्यते ॥ २ ॥

विघ्नविघाताय मंगलं विधाय शिष्यबोधाय प्रथ्नाति निगमेति ॥ निगमो वेद एव दिनमणिः सूर्यस्तस्य प्रभाः किरणरूपाश्चतुर्दशसंख्या अनवद्या निर्दोषाश्च ता विद्याश्च ता नोऽस्मभ्यं प्रकाशं बोधं ददतु यच्छन्तु ॥ यदनुप्रवेशमात्रात अयं द्विजेंद्रस्त्रैवर्णिकमान्यो जनः कलाभिश्चतुःषष्टिसंख्याभिरभिपूर्णोऽमृतकरः पीयूषपाणिः यद्वा अन्येषां मोक्षमार्गप्रदर्शकः स्वयं वा करस्थमुक्तिश्च भवतीति शेषः॥ अमृतं यज्ञशेषेस्यात्पीयूषे सलिले घृते। अयाचिते च मोक्षे च नाधन्वन्तरि देवयोरिति मेदिनी॥ प्रसिद्धं हि ज्योतिषे, द्विजेंद्रश्चंद्रोर्कप्रभानुप्रवेशतः कलापूर्णः सुधाकरश्चेति ॥ १ ॥

End:—इतीतिहासविद्या ॥ ३२ ग्रंथोपसंहारमाह इत्थमिति ॥ स्पष्टं ॥ × × × × स्वकृतौ दोषसभावकान्प्रति सविनयं प्रार्थयति संतीति ॥ सोऽहमिति प्रसिद्धं चंद्राख्य सोमादभेदनिर्देशो दोषाकरत्वेप्युपादेयत्वोपपादनाय शेषं स्पष्टं ३७ × × ×

Colophon:—इति श्रीव्यासोपनामकस्य श्रीरामपादारविंदमरंदमिलिंदस्य सोमनाथस्य कृतौ स्वकृतकलिंदिकाप्रकाशव्याख्यायां बुधानंदिन्यां समाख्यायामुपवेदप्रकाशः ॥ ४ ॥ पर्याप्ताचेयं बुधानंदिनी व्याख्या॥ संवत १९०६ ॥ श्रीरामार्पणमस्तु ॥

The following are the works which the author wrote on different subjects I have seen all these except the छंदःप्रकाश, मिताक्षरा of कलंदिकाप्रकाश, सुधासिंधु, सोमसिंधु, वृद्धचंद्रिका and ज्योतिषप्रकाश (Fol. 14, संहितास्कंदसंक्षेपमत्कृतज्योतिषप्रकाशे द्रष्टव्यः) which were not shown to me by the author's grand-son on 24-7 40 :—

1 नीराजनस्तव. Fol. 3., a stotra on the पंचायतन deities.
2. हरिभक्तिकुमुदाकर Fol. 13. In 5 chapters शक १७७० श्रावण कृष्ण ५ मंदवार. (Scribed in Samvat १९०५ भाद्र. शुद्ध १० गुरुवार.) On भक्ति.
3 भगवद्भक्तिमुक्तावलि सटीक. Fol 14 संवत १९२६ माघ वदी १ गुरौ लिखिता.
4 पद्मपंचक अद्वैतदीपिका व्याख्यासह Fol. 43.
5. जगदानंद in verses. Fol 53. In 4 chapters.
6. शब्दरत्नप्रदीपिका लघुवृत्तिसह Fol. 66. On Grammar.
7. गीतार्थतत्त्वसिद्धांत. Fol. 12. In 5 Ullāsas.

8. लघुवृत्ति on कर्लंदिकाप्रकाश by Nārāyana Mūrālikara. Fol. 30. संवत् १९०७ चै. शुा १० शनिवार (शके १७७१. जह्नुग्राम).
9. अद्वैतपद्यभाष्य. Fol. 18.
10. सत्कथामृतसागर. In 49 tarangās
11. सत्यनारायणकथा व पूजा. Fol 7. In 4 adhyāyas संवत १९०९ फाल्गुन वा। २ शनौ.
12 वालचंद्रिका वृत्तिसह On Grammar.
13. रहस्यरामायण सटीक. Fol 130 संवत १९२९ चैत्र शुा १३ रविवासरे लेखोऽयं ब्रह्मतारकयतेः ।
14 सुबोधकुमुदाकर Fol. 17. शकं १७७२ चै. कृ ७ सोमवार.
15 राघवाह्निकगेयकाव्य in seven Sargas
16 बालरघुनन्दनस्तोत्र

Biographical Sketch of the author

Somanātha's great-great-grandfather, Uddhava came from Bisnagar (Gujarath) early in the middle of the 18th Century and made his place of abode at Shājāpur (Gwalior) Nāgaras from this place are known as Bisnagara Brahmins and are counted among the पंच-द्राविड्s. The author belongs to this caste which is one of the six sections of the Nāgaras and was born in Shājāpur on *Monday, the 13th Chaitra, bright fortnight, Saṁvat 1861* He received his education from his father Oṁkāra and was employed as a Sanskrit teacher in Sehore School on a sum of Rs. 60 p. m. in 1838 A D where he served for 20 years Being placed in odd circumstances he resigned his post in 1857 and went home. He received as Dharmādāya a Tāmrapatra Sanad on *the 3rd of Vaiśākha Suddha, Saṁvat 1892* from Motisingh of Rajgarh Estate containing 151 bighās of land for his maintenance. In addition to this the Chief conferred upon him a document of Rs. 100 in cash as a yearly grant with one पक्का शेर for his provision in case he resided in Rajgarh proper. He also received a Sanad from the Gwalior Darbar on *the 22nd of April, 1862* containing therein a yearly grant of Rs. 24, Chāndwada Sikkā, as Dearmāda out of the revenue and customs dues of the Shajapur Paragana He was loved and respected by both the public and higher authorities and had many friends among the European and State officials of the Agency. Owing to the loss of his wife in his old age he was dejected at heart and to relieve himself of all the ties of worldly worries, he took Saṁnyāsa from Swami Nityānanda in 1867 A.D. and wrote many works till he passed away to enjoy the eternal peace on the *13th of Āṣāḍha Kṛṣna, Saṁvat 1941* i. e. at the age of 78 in Shājāpur. The 23 major and minor works as are mentioned in the article, are the fruit of Somanātha's untiring labour

of 25 years (*Saṁvats 1904 to 1929*) and shall be very useful to all Sanskrit-loving people when published.[2]

List of works and authors cited in the commentary of the Mss.–

(*a*) मेदिनी, अमरकोश, व्याकरणभाष्य, काव्यप्रकाश, हैमसूत्र, सुभाषितयवनतंत्र, कपिलमत, पतंजलि, नारदतंत्र, वेदस्तुति, चरणव्यूह, पाणिनिमत, अभिधानचिंतामणि, वाल्मिकीय रामायण, कलाप, कौमुदी, कविकल्पद्रुम, धातुमंजरी, छंदःप्रकाश, वराहसंहिता, ज्योतिर्निबंध, मुहूर्ततत्त्वचिंतामणि, रत्नमाला, मार्तंड, गणपति, कृपासिंधु, शिवस्वरोदय, दुर्लभराजस्य स्वरोदय, वसंतराजशकुन, ज्योतिषप्रकाश, चंद्रोद्योत, रमलनवरत्न, रमलचिंतामणि, होरा-शंभु, होरारत्न, बृहज्जातक, सारावलि, होरामकरंद, सर्वार्थचिंतामणि, जातकाभरण, कालजातक, मनुष्यजातक, नृपतिजयचर्या, समरसार, प्रश्नभैरव, प्रश्नवैष्णव, संवित्प्रकाश, सिद्धांतसुंदर, वैतानसूत्र, नारायणभट्टी, अनंतभट्टी, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोगदर्पण, प्रयोगरत्न, स्मार्तगंगाधरी, संस्कारमयूख, सिंहसिद्धांत, तंत्रसार, मंत्रमहोदधि, मंत्रचंद्रिका, पंचायतनप्रकाश, रामार्चन-रुद्रार्चन–दुर्गार्चनचंद्रिकाः, मत्स्यकूर्मवराहाग्निभविष्यब्रह्मवैवर्तब्रह्मांडमार्कण्डेयगरुडपद्मशिवविष्णुनारदस्कंदवामनलिंगभागवतवायुकालीपुराणानि, सनत्कुमारनारसिंहनंदिशिवधर्मनिर्वासवामन औशनसब्रह्मांडवरुणकाली वासिष्ठ–वासिष्ठलिंगमाहेश्वरसांबसौरपाराशरमारीच-भार्गवाख्यातानि, स्मृत्यर्थसार, स्मृतिसंग्रह, स्मृतिचंद्रिका, व्यवहारतत्त्व, विवादचिंतामणि, दायभाग, दायतत्त्व, दत्तकमीमांसा, दत्तकचंद्रिका, वीरमित्रोदय, स्मृतिमुक्तावलि, स्मृतिचंद्रिका, आचारादर्श, विधानदर्श, जसवंत भास्कर, हेमाद्रि, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, पुरुषार्थचिंतामणि, दीपिका, निर्णयामृत, निर्णयसिंधु, धर्मसिंधु, पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय, जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम, तिथिनिर्णय, नारदपंचरात्र, गौतमतंत्र, अगस्त्यसंहिता, शैवतंत्र, ब्रह्मयामल, रुद्रयामल, वाराहीकात्यायनी–नित्योड्डामरादि तंत्राणि, कुलार्णवः, शारीरकसूत्र, भगवद्गीताभाष्यसंहिता, विद्वन्मण्डन, दशश्लोकीसूत्ररूपा, उपदेशसहस्री, वेदान्तपरिभाषा, वेदांतमुक्तावलि, अधिकरणमाला, पंचदशीसिद्धांतलेश, सुरेश्वरवार्त्तिक, योगवासिष्ठ, पंचलक्षणी, शिरोमणि, गदाधरी, मथुरानाथी, जागदीशी, मुक्तावली, दिनकरी–तार्किकरक्षा, सांख्यकौमुदी, बादरायणभाष्य, योगभाष्यविवरण, आनंदसमुच्चय हठप्रदीपिका, योगचिंतामणि, कापालिकगीता, कल्पसूत्र, भगवतीसूत्र, कुरान्, जसातीर, आज्ञादशक, तौरेत (पंचग्रंथी), तागैम पंचग्रंथीटीका, धर्मप्रवृत्ति (आल्किलास्कृता), इबनूअलील्कृता मुनिग्रंथव्याख्या, ताल्मद्ग्रंथ (टीकागिमिरा, मिसना), कुरान्कल्लामुल्ला, हिक्मत्प्रकाश, आयुर्वेदसंहिता, शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति, खङ्गकोश, लोहार्णव, लोहरत्नाकर, स्थापत्यशास्त्र, शालिहोत्र, परिमलपारिजात, बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र, साहित्यदर्पण, काव्यप्रदीप, रसगंगाधर, दशरूपक, साहित्यसुधासमुद्र etc

2 The above sketch is framed on the basis of the papers secured and information furnished by the author's grandson, Paṇḍita Rāmavallabha Vaidya of Shajapur (Gwalior State)

(*b*) अप्पय्यादीक्षित, न्यायभाष्यकार, हरदत्त, कैयट, भर्तृहरि, भट्टोजी, नागेश, आपिशलि, शाकटायन, अमर जैनेंद्रभारती, व्याडि, वासुकि वैजयंती, हलायुध, पुरुषोत्तम, यास्क, पिंगल, भरत, वसिष्ठ, पराशर, गर्ग, बादरायण, भास्कर, पद्मपाद, वृद्धगार्ग्य, आर्यभट्ट, पौलस्त्य रोमश, वसिष्ठ, पितामहार्क व्यासात्रि कश्यपपुलोम पराशराख्याः, गर्गांगिरो भृगुमनुच्यवनामरीचिः सिद्धांतिनोयवन नारदकौशितिरते ब्रह्मगुप्त, भोज, माधव, श्रीपति, विश्वरूप, कमलाकर, सम्राट्-जगन्नाथ, ज्ञानराज, आश्वलायन, सांख्यायन, बौधायन, कात्यायन, आपस्तंब, लाट्यायन, द्राह्यायण, १८ स्मृतिकाराः, मध्वाचार्य, रामानुज, विष्णुस्वामी, निंबादित्य, शंकराचार्य, काणाद, शार्ङ्गधर, वाचस्पति, कपिल, पंचशिखासूरि, ईश्वरकृष्ण, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, पतंजलि, गोरक्ष, कबीर, दादु, नानक, गिरी, पुरी, भारती, प्रजापति, अश्वि, शक्र, सनत्कुमार, धन्वन्तरि, सुश्रुत, चरक, अत्रि, कश्यप, विदेह, भालुकि, चक्रपाणि, वाग्भट्ट, वृंद, वंगसेन, माधव, शार्ङ्गधर, वात्स्यायन, कल्याणमल्ल, ज्योतिरीश, विश्वामित्र, नकुल, पक्षधरमिश्र, नारद, इंद्र, चाणक्य, कामन्दकि, भरत श्रीकृष्ण वैशराज etc.

Vallabhācārya's View of the Universe

By

N. K. BAMBHANIA, Ahmedabad

Let, us start with a concrete instance. Take three balls A, B, C. Let A be bigger than B and B bigger than C. Then obviously B is bigger than C and smaller than A. In other words, it is possible for B to become both big and small, of course, in relation to two different things. We say that this bigness and smallness are relative. B is big in relation to C, and is small in relation to A. But one can here very well ask : 'What is B by itself? Is it big or small?' What should be our answer to such a question? Śaṅkarācārya's plain answer is : 'B is neither big nor small.' The meaning of Śankarācārya's plain answer is this : Bigness and smallness have got no objective existence whatsoever. When two things meet our eyes, we relate them in our mind (for relation, too, according to Śaṅkarācarya, has got no objective existence). And it is this fact of relating which gives rise to the notion of bigness or smallness In other words, these—bigness and smallness—have got only ideal or subjective existence and not any real or objective existence. According to Śaṅkarācārya, even B has got subjective existence only. But, for argument's sake, even if B is taken to have objective existence, it is now entirely free from the two qualities bigness and smallness. This is a very intelligent way of removing the conflict between bigness and smallness, which ordinarily cannot reside together, but which we would have been forced to accept as residing together if we had taken them as the objective qualities of B. And, further, for such an acceptance there would have been no justification whatsoever, for, in relation to A, B is ever small and never big. Had both the bigness and the smallness been the objective qualities of B, like, say for instance, the roundness and the colour, they would have appeared at the same time, which, however, is never the case.

Now, let us examine the nature of these two qualities, bigness and smallness as they reside in the subject. In the first place, we cannot help admitting that these two objectively conflicting qualities have got no subjective conflict whatsoever; for, we find that the two ideas do exist in our mind, and, further, when all the three balls are simultaneously before our eyes, B appears as both big and small. Next, it has been said above that these qualities are relative, i. e., the process of relating has given rise to them. Now, in

this connection, one question is very pertinent: Where were these two qualities before the particular relation gave rise to them? And this question brings us to the field of *Satkāryavāda* and *Asatkārya-vāda*. [The theory that the effect is present in the cause is called *Satkāryavāda*; and the theory that the effect is absent in the cause is called *Asatkāryavāda*.] The *Vedāntic* systems of philosophy and the *Sāṅkhya* system favour *Satkāryavāda*. The modern scientific theory also favours *Satkāryavāda*. And, after well considering the pros and cons of both these theories, if we were to say that in a particular cause there does reside some potentiality which gives rise to one particular effect, we would not be committing any obvious error. Of course, Gauḍapāda's *Ajātivāda* would at once put an end to this controversy. [The theory that there is no creation whatsoever is called *Ajātivāda*.] Nevertheless, let us be clear that while considering this problem we are not committed to any one theory, and we are discussing the worldly phenomenon as it appears to us with as little assumption as possible. Well, if there is some potentiality in the cause which is responsible for giving rise to a particular effect, the relation which has given rise to the idea of bigness or smallness ought to have some potentiality in it which is responsible for giving rise to this idea.

Now, let us examine the nature of this relation itself. Is it absolute or relative? In other words, does it exist independent of the things related? or is its existence dependent on these related things? We must admit that the existence of the relation is dependent on the things related; for if there do not exist any such things, what are we going to relate? Further, is there only one relation? or are there as many relations independent of each other as there are things related? To such a question an obvious answer would be that there is ideally only one process of relating; for had there been many relations, we would have different words for them. To take a similar instance, the ideal cutting is only one although there are so many things cut. Now, if the potentiality which has given rise to the idea of bigness or smallness resides in this ideally one relation, why should it give rise to this idea at no other time but just at the time when, for instance, A and B are related? Are we not then justified in believing that the objective relation between A and B is also responsible for the idea of bigness and smallness? Here, one objection can be raised, namely, that there is no proof for the objective relation existing between A and B. As against this we can very well say that there is no proof to the contrary. Let us examine the pros and cons of the matter. If such an objective relation exists, the subjective relation becomes merely its mental

counterpart and serves to make the objective relation an object of our consciousness. And this objective relation is nothing but the bigness or smallness inherent in a thing. If such an objective relation does not exist, then it will be difficult for us to explain why the idea of bigness or smallness is given rise to at no other time but just at the time when, say for instance, A and B are related.

Of course, Śaṅkarācārya can very well remove these difficulties by saying that A, B, C, their mutual relations, their bigness and smallness—all these are subjective. But can he prove that they are in no way objective ? For just as one who says that these things are objective has no proof for one's proposition, so one who says that these things are not objective has also no proof for one's proposition. This is a very good instance of the elusive nature of the universe. Unless we take our stand on some point, the reality always eludes us. You can doubt everything but you cannot doubt the doubter. The doubter and the fact of doubting have to be assumed as valid without questioning. Somewhere you have to take your stand ; otherwise you are nowhere. And the *Bhagavad-gītā* 17. 3 categorically says 'श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषः', i. e., faith constitutes the nature of the soul. Accordingly, Vallabhācārya takes his stand on the reality of the objective relation in particular and of the objective universe in general. But, if we say that the objective relation is real and the bigness and smallness are inherent in B, there is this difficulty, namely, how is it possible for two conflicting qualities to reside in one ? To such an objection Vallabhācārya's answer is that in reality there is no conflict between bigness and smallness, they do reside together in B , and if we fail to grasp them at the same time, that is so because of the limitation of our mind which can grasp only one thing at a time, and secondly, because one particular relation serves to reveal only one particular quality.

The choice lies between the following two alternatives : B cannot be both big and small. For, if bigness and smallness are inherent in B, they must appear at the same time, which is never the case. So, the bigness and smallness have got no objective existence in particular and the universe has got no objective existence in general. So to remove the conflict of the bigness and smallness inherent in B, we must be prepared to remove the whole universe out of objective existence. Or, believe that there is no conflict between the objective bigness and smallness, they do reside together in B, and you can retain the objective existence of the whole universe. Why only one quality appears at one time has been explained above. It has pleased Śaṅkarācārya to choose the first

alternative, and Vallabhācārya the second. Why? Because tastes differ. भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः। Now, let us look at the relative advantages. Śaṅkarācārya makes us bold, asks us not to pay heed to what is passing on, for it is all मिथ्या. As to this Vallabhācārya says that in removing bad, Śaṅkarācārya has removed good too. Is this life all bad and in no way good? There is wonderful beauty to be found in all the variety of life. Above all there is Love, the Selfless Love to which even pain is more pleasant than pleasure. Can these things grand and noble in themselves be मिथ्या? If the cold intellect says 'yes', the warm emotion says even with greater emphasis 'no'. Whose voice are we to hear? Intellect and emotion are both part and parcel of our nature. If we hear the voice of the intellect, we lose all joy which we can derive directly from the objective universe, all our activities become meaningless in themselves. If, however, we hear the voice of the emotion, we have the joy we can directly derive from the objective reality without as well as the joy we can derive from within, and all our activities have now a direct meaning in themselves. Every activity of ours, now, becomes a fulfilment of our nature which delights in loving nature, humanity, and God, the father of them all. We have heard of great men as having dedicated their lives to nature, humanity, and God. We have seen such persons. Nay, we see them even to-day. Is all their activity मिथ्या? The heart is convulsed at the very idea. मिथ्या it can be never. Vallabhācārya has relied on the voice of the emotion. He says that everything potentially exists everywhere. Take for instance a seed. In it are contained potentially all the trees and seeds that are to come forth from it in course of time. What should become patent and what should remain latent rests with God. This universe is the real manifestation of the real God. He too is All Love It is only because we fail to grasp this fact that we are unhappy. The fault lies not with the world without but with the soul within. Purify it and the world will appear in its native grandeur. There is no necessity of rejecting the world. The world, as it is, is the divine manifestation. You have to see it in its native form Śaṅkarācārya rejects the world. Vallabhācārya retains it and helps the souls to realise its native beauty.

Text of Śūlapāṇi's Dolayātrāviveka

By

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI, Dacca

Among Bengal Smārtas, or writers of Smrti, Śūlapāni ranks, in importance, next perhaps only to Jīmūtavāhana, and, in consequence, a fairly large number of Mss of his works is available. But, unfortunately, the works of Śūlapāṇi have not yet drawn sufficient attention of modern Sanskrit scholars. Our knowledge about him is, therefore, very limited. In an article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. XI—1915) MANOMOHAN CHAKRAVARTĪ attempted to throw some light on this great figure in the history of Bengal Smrti, but the information is meagre.

The dates assigned to Śūlapāṇi by various scholars differ not by decades but by centuries, because their conclusions are based on no more solid grounds than mere conjecture. His age is conjectured to range between 1150 A.D. and 1450 A D.

Besides being a commentator, Śūlapāṇi was also the author of some fourteen original treatises on various topics of Dharmaśāstra. The names of his works end with the word "*Viveka*" just as those of Raghunandana have the usual ending "*Tattva*". Śūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā*, a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, is nearly as important as the two most famous commentaries on the same *smṛti* by Vijñāneśvara and Viśvarūpa. Raghunandana's *Śuddhitattva* ascribes also a *Pariśiṣṭa dīpakalikā* to Śūlapāṇi.

The *Dolayātrā-viveka*, a hitherto unpublished original work of Śūlapāni, seems to be one of the earliest works of the author inasmuch as it contains no reference whatsoever to any one of his thirteen other *Vivekas* contrary to his usual practice in the other works. It is a very small book of only five or six pages purporting to be a manual for the guidance of priests in the performance of the great Spring Festival, called Dolayātrā (lit. the festival of swinging). The major part of the work is taken up by a few quotations, often lengthy, from the *Skandapurāṇa*, *Brahmapurāṇa* and the *Devīpurāṇa* relating to the construction and decoration of the platform and the altar (वेदिका), the procedure to be adopted in performing the festival, e. g., the taking of God's image to the altar, the time of the festival, the religious efficacy of participating in it, and so on. The real merit and importance of the work lie in the fact that after discussing the various conflicting opinions as to the precise time of holding the festival, Śūlapāṇi, within a very narrow

space and in a popular style, clearly sets forth his own independent views regarding this particular aspect of the festival.

Nothing practically is known about the personal history of Śūlapāṇi beyond the fact that in the colophons to his works he is often styled as Sāhaḍiyan (or Sāhuḍiyan) and Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Sāhaḍiyan, as M. Chakravarti points out, was a degraded section of the Rāḍhiya Brahmins of Bengal. This, along with the fact that Rudradhara refers to him as a Gauḍīya, goes to show that Śūlapāṇi was a Bengal Brahmin.

The present edition of the text has utilised the following seven Mss, belonging to the Dacca University Mss Library :

A — Dacca University Paper Ms. No. 3349.

Size : 17½" × 3". Complete in 4 folios. Six lines on a page except fols. 4 (a) and 4 (b) which contain 5 and 4 lines respectively. Bengali characters. Neatly written Fairly correct with rare marginal corrections. Yellow Indian paper. Begins with ॐ नमो गणेशाय Colophon · इति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायविरचितो दोलयात्राविवेकः समाप्तः No name of the scribe.

B — D. U. Paper Ms. No 3746.

Size : 14" × 3¼". Complete in 8 folios. Five lines on a page excepting fols. 4 (a) and 5 (b) which contain 4 and 6 lines respectively. Bengali characters. Frequent marginal gloss. Indian paper soiled by damp and frayed at the edges, but text intact. Begins with ॐ नमो गणेशाय. Colophon : इति साहडियान् महामहोपाध्यायश्रीशूलपाणिविरचितो दोलयात्राविवेक: समाप्तः। Scribe : श्रीकृष्णानन्दशर्मन्.

C — D. U. Paper Ms. No. 2044 D.

Size : 18¼" × 2¾". Complete. Appended to a Ms., in the same handwriting, of the *Dolayātrātattva* of Raghunandana. Folios 5 (b)—9 (a) contain the *Dolayātrāviveka* of Śūlapāṇi. Six lines to a page except the last containing 4 lines. Fol. 6 (b) left blank with the words अमरत्वात् (!) on the left-hand corner and दोलविवेक ॥ ६ ॥ on the right. Very bold fine Bengali characters. Light yellow Indian paper. Begins with ॐ नमो नारायणाय. Colophon : Same as in A with दोलविवेकः instead of दोलयात्राविवेकः.

D — D. U. Paper Ms. No. 2043 E.

Size : 18¾" × 3¼". Folios 1-3. Complete. Seven lines to a page except 1 (a) and 3 (b) containing 6 and 5 lines respectively. Folios numbered 1, 2, 3 etc. on the left margin but 150, 151, 152 etc. on the right. Perhaps it formed part of a bundle of other Mss. Bengali characters. Very close lines. Innu-

merable marginal corrections. Indian paper—faded yellow. Begins with ॐ नमो गणेशाय. Colophon: इति शूलपाणिविरचितो दोलयात्राविवेक: समाप्त:। Scribe's name: श्रीगोपीकान्तशर्मन्.

E — D. U. Paper Ms. No. 1271.

Size: 14½" × 2½". Folios 1–8 (a). Complete. Four lines to a page except the last having 3 lines. Folios numbered as 1, 2 etc. on the right side and as 38, 39 etc. on the left indicating probably that it formed part of a continuous bundle of Mss. On fol. 8 (b) there is evidently a portion of a different work. Attached to the Ms. is found a piece of paper, apparently by the same hand, which is something like an index of the palm-leaf and paper Mss in the possession of the scribe. At the top of the sheet, on both sides, the year 1233 B. S. (1826 A. D.) is given, apparently the date of the Ms also. Bengali characters with occasional marginal corrections. Abounds in spelling mistakes. Begins with ॐ नमो गणेशाय. Colophon: Same as in B. No name of scribe.

F.—D. U. Paper Ms. No. 177c.

Size: 18" × 4". Folios 1–5. Complete. Six lines to a page except fol. 1 (b) and 6 (b) containing 8 and 7 lines respectively. Fol. 1 (a) does not contain the text but a fairly lengthy gloss. Bengali characters. Numerous careless mistakes. Discoloured Indian paper. Slightly frayed at the ends. Begins with ॐ नमो भगवते श्रीकृष्णाय. Colophon. As in E. Scribe: श्रीरामकृष्णशर्मन्. Dated Śaka 1710 (= 1788 A. D.)

G.—D. U. Paper Ms. No. 552 C.

Size: 16" × 3". Complete. Seven lines to a page. Folios 1 (b)—2 (b) contain citations from various texts regarding the time and procedure of the ceremony of *Dolayātrā*. Fols. 2 (b)–6 (a) contain the *Dolayātrā*. The rest of the fol. 6 (a) is devoted to a few verses quoted from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*. Bengali characters. Very close lines. Occasional marginal corrections. Brown Indian paper. Frayed at edges. Begins with ॐ नमो भगवते श्रीकृष्णाय. Colophon: As in B. No name of scribe.

VV—Vaṅgavāsī Ed. of the *Skandapurāṇa* (in Bengali characters). Calcutta 1318 B. S. Vol. II. *Puruṣottama-māhātmya*, ch. 42. It is interesting that the readings of the *Skandapurāṇa* citation differ in our Mss.

शूलपाणिविरचितः

दोलयात्राविवेकः

नत्वा नारायणं दृष्ट्वा धर्मशास्त्रं च संग्रहान् ।
विवेको दोलयात्रायाः क्रियते शूलपाणिना ॥ १ ॥

स्कन्दपुराणे जैमिनिरुवाच ।

फाल्गुने मासि कुर्वीत दोलारोहणमुत्तमम् ।
यत्र क्रीडति गोविन्दो महाविभवविस्तरैः ॥ २ ॥
प्रत्यर्चां वासुदेवस्य गोविन्दाख्यां तु कारयेत् ।
प्रासादं पुरतः कृत्वा षोडशस्तम्भमुच्छ्रितम् ॥ ३ ॥
चतुरस्रं चतुर्द्वारं मण्डपं वेदिकान्वितम् ।
चारुचन्द्रातपं माल्यचामरध्वजशोभितम् ॥ ४ ॥
भद्रासने वेदिकायां श्रीपर्णीकाष्ठनिर्मिते ।
फल्गूत्सवं प्रकुर्वीत पञ्चाहानि त्र्यहाणि वा ॥ ५ ॥
फाल्गुन्याः पूर्वतो विप्राश्चतुर्दश्यां निशामुखे ।
वह्न्युत्सवं प्रकुर्वीत दोलामण्डपपूर्वतः ।
गोविन्दानुगृहीतं तु यात्राङ्गं तत्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ ६ ॥
आचार्यवरणं कृत्वा वह्निं निर्मन्थनोद्भवम् ।
सपञ्जुं कारयित्वा तु वह्निं तत्र विनिक्षिपेत् ॥ ७ ॥
पूजयित्वा विधानेन कुष्माण्डविधिनाहुनेत् ।
गोविन्दं पूजयित्वा तु भ्रामयेत्सप्तधा विभुम् ॥ ८ ॥
तस्मिन् काले हरिं दृष्ट्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।
यत्नात्तं रक्षयेद्वह्निं यावद्यात्रा समाप्यते ॥ ९ ॥
प्रान्तयामे चतुर्दश्यां गोविन्दप्रतिमा शुभाम् ।
वासयित्वा हरेरग्रे पूजयेत्पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
उपचारविशिष्टैश्च प्रत्यर्चामपि कारयेत् ॥ १० ॥

---

5. C तत्र for यत्र. VV लोकानुग्रहनाय वै for महाविभवविस्तरै 6. A, G प्रत्यब्दं for प्रत्यर्चां. VV देवदेवस्य for वासुदेवस्य. A, G °ख्यं तु for °ख्या तु. 7. C पूर्वतः for पुरतः. VV कुर्यात् for कृत्वा. 10. VV भद्रासन, श्रीपर्णीकाष्ठनिर्मितम्. 11. C, E च for वा. 12. A, G पुरतो for पूर्वतो; °श्चतुर्दशीनिशा° for °श्चतुर्दश्या निशा°. 12-13. F adds a lengthy gloss on these lines at fol. 1 (b); see below 14. C प्रकुर्वीत for प्रकीर्तित°. 15. G वह्निनिर्मन्थनोद्भवं. 15-16. Between these two lines VV inserts भूमिं संस्कृत्य विधिवत्तृणराशिं महोच्छ्रितम्. 18. Some Mss read सप्तत or simply सप्त for सप्तधा. 21. A प्रान्तर्यामे for प्रान्तयामे. 23. VV उपचारार्विशिष्टैस्तु. VV पूजयेत् for कारयेत्. 24. A, C, D ततो वरं च वसनं etc., B, F corrupt for वमनं. E—lower margin तत. परिधाप्य, contrary to metre, obviously a gloss.

ततोऽवरोप्य वसनं मालां च द्विजसत्तमाः ।
अर्चायां प्रजपेन्मन्त्री परं ज्योतिर्विभावयन् ।
ततः सा प्रतिमा साक्षाज्जायते पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ११ ॥
रत्नदोलिकया तां वै नयेत्स्नानस्य मण्डपम् ।
नानातूर्यनिनादैश्च शङ्खध्वनिपुरःसरम् ॥ १२ ॥
जयशब्दैस्तथा स्तोत्रैः पुष्पवृष्टिभिरेव च ।
चक्रध्वजपताकाभिश्चामरैर्व्यजनैस्तथा ।
गन्धपुष्पैर्दीपिकाभिस्तदा कुर्यान्महोत्सवम् ॥ १३ ॥
आगच्छन्ति तदा देवाः पितामहपुरोगमाः ।
द्रष्टुं ऋषिगणैः सार्धं गोविन्दस्य महोत्सवम् ॥ १४ ॥
भद्रासनेऽधिवास्यैनं पूजयेदुपचारकैः ।
महास्नानस्य विधिना स्नपनं तत्र कारयेत ॥ १५ ॥
पञ्चामृतैश्च सर्वैश्च तेषामन्यतमेन वा ।
गन्धपुष्पैश्च धूपैश्च पूजयेत्पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥ १६ ॥
संपूज्य भूषयेदेनं वस्त्रालंकारमाल्यकैः ।
नीराजयित्वा संपूज्य प्रासादं परिवेष्टयेत ॥ १७ ॥
सप्तकृत्वस्ततो देवं दोलामण्डपमानयेत् ।
सुसंस्कृतायां रथ्यायां पताकातोरणादिभिः ॥ १८ ॥
अधोदेशे सप्तवारान् भ्रामयेत् पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
ऊर्ध्वदेशे पुनः सप्तस्तम्भवेद्यां च सप्त वै ।
यात्रावसाने च पुनः भ्रामयेदेकविंशतिम् ॥ १९ ॥
इयं लीला भगवतः पितामहमुखेरिता ।
राजर्षिणेन्द्रद्युम्नेन कारिता पूर्वमेव हि ॥ २० ॥
फलपुष्पावनम्रैश्च शाखिभिः परिवेष्टिते ।
वृन्दावनान्तरे रम्ये मत्तभ्रमरचारिणि ॥ २१ ॥
कोकिलालापमधुरे नानापुष्पसमाकुले ।
नानोपशोभारचिते कालागुरुसुधूपिते ॥ २२ ॥

25. A विन्यसेत् for प्रजपेन्. E पूजयेत्. B has marginal note प्रतिमाया on अर्चाया. 26. C कारयेत् (?) for जायते. 27. B, E, F रत्नान्दोलिकया for रत्नदोलिकया. 30. E, F, G VV छत्र for चक्र 31. B, E, F धूपदीपै. for दीपिकाभिः VV निरन्तर for गन्धपुष्पैः. 33. A, C, D वै मुनिभि for ऋषिगणैः. 4–5. Omitted by C 34. D विधायैन for अधिवास्यैन. 35. VV तस्य for तत्र 37. VV reads स्नापयेद्गन्धतोयेन श्रीसूक्तेनाभिषेचयेत् for this line. 38. VV संप्रोक्ष्य for संपूज्य and देवं for एनं. 42. C सप्तकृत्वो for सप्तवारान्. VV modifies the line thus: अधोदेशे मण्टप त सप्तधा भ्रामयेत् पुनः. 43. F drops स्तम्भ [E corrupt]. 44. VV ततो for पुनः. 47. VV फलपुष्पाद्यवनतः A, E शाखाभि: for शाखिभिः. VV परिकल्पिते for परिवेष्टिते. 48. A वृन्दावनेन्तरेरण्ये. G, VV मत्तभ्रमररावित्रिणि for °चारिणि. 49. G, VV नानापक्षिगणाकुले for °पुष्पसमाकुले.

प्रफुल्लकेतकीषण्डगन्धामोदि दिगन्तरे ।
मल्लिकाशोकपुन्नागचम्पकैरुपशोभिते ॥ २३ ॥
तत्कालदेशघटिते मण्डपे चारुतोरणे ।
भूषिते माल्यवसनैश्चामरैरुपशोभिते ॥ २४ ॥
रत्नखट्वान्दोलिकायां तन्मध्ये वासयेत्प्रभुम् ।
सरत्नमुकुटं चारुहारशोभितवक्षसम् ॥ २५ ॥
अनर्घ्यरत्नघटितकुण्डलोल्लसितश्रुतिम् ।
यथास्थानं यथाशोभं नानालंकारभूषितम् ॥ २६ ॥
विकचाम्बुजमध्यस्थं विभ्रमाढ्या श्रिया युतम् ।
शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मधारिणं वनमालिनम् ।
सुप्रसन्नमुखं सुभ्रूपीनवक्षःस्थलोत्तमम् ॥ २७ ॥
पुरो व्योमस्थितैर्देवैर्ब्रह्माद्यैर्नतकन्धरैः ।
कृताञ्जलिपुटैर्भक्त्या जयशब्दमुदीरितैः ॥ २८ ॥
गन्धर्वैरप्सरोभिश्च किन्नरैः सिद्धचारणैः ।
हाहाहूहूप्रभृतिभिः सस्वरं देवगायनैः ॥ २९ ॥
अहंपूर्विकया नृत्यगीतवादित्रकारिभिः ।
नेत्राम्बुजसहस्रैस्तु पूज्यमानं मुदान्वितम् ॥ ३० ॥
विकिरद्भिः सर्वदिक्षु गन्धचन्दनचूर्णकैः ।
एतैरप्यथ गोविन्दं पूजयेदुपचारकैः ॥ ३१ ॥
वल्लवीवृन्दमध्यस्थं कदम्बतरुमूलगम् ।
हावहास्यविलासैस्तु क्रीडमानं वनान्तरे ॥ ३२ ॥
गोपीभिश्चैव गोपालैर्लीलान्दोलितयानगम् ।
चिन्तयित्वा जगन्नाथं विकिरेद्गन्धचूर्णकैः ॥ ३३ ॥
सकर्पूरै रक्तपीतैः शुक्लैर्दिक्षु समन्वितैः ।
दिव्यैर्वस्त्रैश्च माल्यैश्च दिव्यैर्गन्धैः सुधूपितैः ॥ ३४ ॥

53. VV तत्काननान्तघटिते for °कालदेश°. 54. VV माल्यवसने for °वसनै.. C बहुभूषाभि: for माल्यवसनैः. 55. B, E, F, G, VV रत्नखट्वान्दोलिकाया. 56. A सरत्नमुकुटा; चारुहारपातितवक्षस (corrupt). VV, G तारहारशोभित°. 57. E अमूल्य for अनर्घ्य. 58. A यथास्नानं for यथास्थानं. VV दिव्यालंकाररञ्जनं for नानालंकारभूषित. B adds marginal gloss—अलंकारप्रियो विष्णुर्ब्राह्मणो भोजनप्रियः । बलिदानप्रिया चण्डी नृत्यगीतप्रियः शिव: ॥. 61. VV B, E, F, G read the line thus सुप्रसन्नं सुनासाभ्रूपीनवक्षःस्थलोज्ज्वलं [E omits भ्रू]. 62. VV पुरोद्यान for पुरोव्योम. 63. VV जयशब्दैरभिष्टुतं. 65. VV दिव्यगायनैः. 66. B, C नित्यगीत° for नृत्यगीत°. 67. VV मुदान्वितैः. 68. VV गन्धचन्दनजं रजः. 69. VV उपवेश्याथ गोविन्दं. E, F omit this line. 70. C °मध्यगं for °मूलगं. 71. VV तारहास्य for हावहास्य. 72. A, D लीलान्दोलितमानसैः. C गोपालैरान्दोलितसुमानसैः. 73. B चन्दनैः for चूर्णकैः. 74. VV समन्ततः for समन्वितैः. 75. VV reads thus दिव्यवस्त्रैर्दिव्यमाल्यैर्दिव्यगन्धैः सुधूपकैः.

चामरान्दोलनैर्गानैः स्तुतिभिश्च समुत्थितम् ।
आन्दोलयेद्दोलिकास्थं ससवाराम्बानैः शनैः ॥ ३५ ॥
तथा पश्यन्ति ये कृष्णं मुक्तिस्तेषां न संशयः ।
ब्रह्महत्यादिपापानां पञ्चानां संक्षयो भवेत् ॥ ३६ ॥
त्रिधैवं दोलयेद्देवं सर्वपापापनोदनम् ।
भक्तानुग्राहकं पुंसां भक्तिमुक्त्येककारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥
लीलाविचेष्टितं यस्य कृत्रिमं सहजं तथा ।
अंहःसंप्रक्षयकरं कुलाविद्यानिवर्तनम् ॥ ३८ ॥
पश्यन् द्वितीयं हरति गोहत्याद्युपपातकम् ।
क्षिणोत्यशेषपापानि तृतीयेनात्र संशयः ॥ ३९ ॥
दृष्ट्वा दोलायितं देवं सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।
आध्यात्मिकैराधिभौतैराधिदैवैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ ४० ॥
इमां यात्रां कारयित्वा चक्रवर्ती भवेन्नरः ।
ब्राह्मणस्तु चतुर्वेदी ज्ञानवान् जायते ध्रुवम् ॥ ४१ ॥

अथ दोलयात्रायां प्रमाणमाह ब्रह्मपुराणम्—

वर्षे वर्षे च फाल्गुन्यामर्यमर्क्षे निशान्तिमे ।
गोविन्दं दोलयेद्यस्तु स वैकुण्ठपुरं व्रजेत् ॥ ४२ ॥
दोलायमानं गोविन्दं मञ्चस्थं मधुसूदनम् ।
रथस्थं वामनं दृष्ट्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥ ४३ ॥
चक्रध्वजपताकाभिश्चामरैर्व्यजनैस्तथा ।
फल्गूत्सवं प्रकुर्वीत पञ्चाहानि त्र्यहाणि वा ॥ ४४ ॥

तथा फाल्गुनपौर्णमास्यां दोलयात्रामाह तीर्थचिन्तामणौ ब्रह्मपुराणम्—

नरो दोलायितं दृष्ट्वा गोविन्दं पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
फाल्गुन्यां संयतो भूत्वा गोविन्दस्य पुरं व्रजेत् ॥ ४५ ॥

स्कन्दपुराणीयपुरुषोत्तममाहात्म्ये ऊनत्रिंशाध्याये—

76. · D समुत्थितैः for समुत्थित VV समर्चित. 80. VV त्रिरेवं for त्रिधैवं; सर्वपापापनोदकं for °नोदनं. 81. E, F भुक्तिमुक्त्येककारणं for भक्ति°. 82. VV तस्य for यस्य. 83. C कलाविद्या°. VV reads the line thus अहंसः [A, E अहंसं; D अहसा] सक्षयकर मूलाविद्याविनाशकम्. 86 VV दोलास्थितं for दोलायित. 87. VV विमुच्यते for प्रमुच्यते. 88. VV नृप: for नर.. 89. After this line VV adds वैश्यस्तु धान्यधनवान् शूद्रः शुध्येत पातकात्. 90. A दोलयात्रा प्रमाण°; E °यात्रायाः प्रमाण°; D यात्राप्रमाण°. 91–96 Cannot be traced in the printed text of the Brahmapurāṇa. 95. F, G छत्र for चक्र. 97. A, C, D, omit तीर्थचिन्तामणौ. 98–99. This verse occurs in the Vaṅgavāsī Ed. (63. 18), Calcutta, 1316 B. S. with दोलागतं for दोलायित and प्रयतो for संयतो. 100. A ऊनविंशाध्याये. G ब्रह्मपुराणीय for स्कन्दपुराणीय. The readings adopted in the text agree with Skandapurāṇa, Ed. Vangavāsī, Calcutta, 1318 B. S. Vol. II. (Purusottamamāhātmya, Ch. 29, verse 47) The lines 101–102 are found but not the rest of the quotations.

फाल्गुन्यां क्रीडनं कुर्याद्दोलायां स हि भूमिपः ।
रात्रावुत्तरफल्गुन्यामन्तर्यामे शनैः शनैः ॥ ४६ ॥

तथा

फाल्गुनं फल्गुनी ऋक्षं पौर्णमास्यां यदा भवेत् ।
गोविन्दं दोलयेत्तत्र निशान्ते द्विजसत्तमाः ॥ ४७ ॥

तथा

कृत्तिकायां ध्वजोत्थानं ज्येष्ठायां स्नपनं तथा ।
दोलं चोत्तरफल्गुन्यां त्रयमेतत्सुदुर्लभम् ॥ ४८ ॥

तथा

फाल्गुन्याः पुरतो विप्राश्चतुर्दश्यां निशामुखे ।
वह्न्युत्सवं प्रकुर्वीत दोलामण्डपपूर्वतः ॥ ४९ ॥

तदिह व्यस्तसमस्तवचनैरेकवाक्यतया फाल्गुनपौर्णमास्यां रात्रिशेषयामगतायामुत्तरफल्गुनीनक्षत्रयुक्तायां केवलायां वा दोलयात्रा । तद्दिन एव सायं वह्न्युत्सवं कुर्यात् । चतुर्दश्यलाभे सायमेव कुर्याच्च । न च चतुर्दश्यां निशामुखे इति वचनाच्चतुर्दश्यां नियम इति वाच्यम् । सायं कदाचिच्चतुर्दश्यलाभे कर्मलोपापत्तेः । न चेष्टापत्तिः ।

वर्षे वर्षे च फाल्गुन्यामर्यमर्क्षे निशान्तिमे इति पूर्वलिखितवचनविरोधात् । अतश्चतुर्दश्यां गुणफलविधिः । सायमेव नियतं, तस्याव्यभिचारात् । यदा सायाह्ने चतुर्दशी, तच्छेषयामे पौर्णमासी नक्षत्रयुक्ता लभ्यते तदा तत्रैव शेषयामे दोलयात्रा कारयितव्या । यदा तु सायं चतुर्दशी, शेषयामे केवलपौर्णमासी, परदिने शेषयामे पौर्णमास्यामुत्तरफल्गुनीलाभस्तदा परदिने एव नक्षत्रसम्बन्धेन बलवत्त्वात् ।

यदाह देवीपुराणे—

तिथिनक्षत्रयोर्योगे द्वयोरेवानुपालनम् ।
योगाभावे तिथिर्ग्राह्या देव्याः पूजनकर्मणि ॥ ५० ॥

न च देव्या इति श्रुतेर्देवीपूजायामेव तिथिनियम इति वाच्यम् । एकत्र निर्णीतः शास्त्रार्थो बाधकं विना अन्यत्राप्युपकुरुत इति न्यायात् ।

---

101. VV, D मम for स हि. C सह भूमिप. 103. C omits. 104 C ऋक्षे for ऋक्ष. 105. द्विजसत्तम , Cf. p. 8, 6, 10, above. 110 D, F, G पूर्वतो for पुरतो. G फल्गुन्या. for फाल्गुन्याः. 112. A, C, D रात्रिशेषयामे गतायां for °यामगतायां [E corrupt] 113. C omits उत्तर in उत्तरफल्गुनी. 114. C, D चतुर्दश्या लाभे for चतुर्दश्यलाभे. B omits कुर्याच्च E, F, G omit च. 115. E, F, G चतुर्दश्या for चतुर्दश्यां. 116. D चतुर्दश्यभावे for चतुर्दश्यलाभे. 118. E निश्चितं for नियतं. C, E तस्य व्यभिचारात् for तस्याव्यभि°. 119. D तत्र for तत्. B inserts न in between नक्षत्रयुक्ता and लभ्यते. 121 122. C words between तदा and नक्षत्रसम्बन्धेन corrupt. 123. A, C देवीपुराणम् for °पुराणे. 124–125. This verse does not occur in the Vangavāsi Ed. of the Devīpurāṇa. 127. D omits उपकुरुते; B, C read उपपद्यते and कल्पते respectively.

आकाङ्क्षायास्तुल्यत्वाच्च । किं च, उत्थाने मधुसूदनस्य शयने चाखण्डलस्योत्सवे कन्दर्पस्य रिपुप्रियोत्सवविधावन्येषु पर्वस्वपि ।

नक्षत्रेण समन्विता यदि तिथिर्दैवाच्च संलभ्यते ।
संपूज्यैव तिथिस्तदेव मुनयः प्राहुर्मुनीन्द्रादयः ॥ ५१ ॥

इति भुजबलभीमाच्च ।

" कृत्तिकायां ध्वजोत्थानम् "

इत्यादिवचनाच्च ।

पूर्णिमाप्रतिपत्संधौ विष्णोर्यात्राविशेषत ।
तथैवोत्तरफल्गुन्यां देवं पश्येज्जनार्दनम् ॥ ५२ ॥

इति स्कन्दपुराणीयत्वाच्च । वह्न्युत्सवस्याङ्गत्वेन प्रधानदेशकालान्वयित्वाच्चतुर्दश्यलाभेऽपि सायं तद्दिन एव, न तु पूर्वदिने । अङ्गानां बाधकं विना प्रधानदिनकर्तव्यत्वादधिवासाद्यङ्गे च वचनात्पूर्वदिन इत्यविरोधः ।

ननु

प्रान्तयामे चतुर्दश्यां गोविन्दप्रतिमां शुभाम् ।
वासयित्वा हरेरग्रे पूजयेत्पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥ ५३ ॥

इत्यादिवचनाच्चतुर्दश्यामेव दोलयात्रा स्यान्न पौर्णमास्यामिति, तन्न । चतुर्दशीयुक्तसायंकाले वह्न्युत्सवादिकं कृत्वा तद्दिन एव शेषयामे कियत्कालव्यापिन्यां चतुर्दश्यां गोविन्दस्य स्नानपूजादिकं विधाय तस्मिन्नेव शेषयामे पौर्णमासीक्षणे दोलयात्रा । न चतुर्दश्यां यात्रायाः क्वाप्यश्रुतेः । पौर्णमास्यां यात्राबोधकानेकवचनविरोधाच्च । किं च, पूर्वदिने त्रयोदशी कतिपयकालव्यापिनी, तत्पर चतुर्दशी, परदिने रात्रिप्रहरत्रयव्यापिनी चतुर्दशी, तदा भवन्मते सायं चतुर्दश्यलाभे वह्न्युत्सवाभावात्परदिने सायं चतुर्दश्यां वह्न्युत्सवनियमाच्छेषयामे चतुर्दश्यलाभात्कर्मलोपापत्तेर्वज्रलेपत्वात् । अपि च,

128. C आकाङ्क्षायास्तौल्यात्च, D आकाङ्क्षितत्वात् च. 129. C रिपुप्रियोत्सवविधानवदन्येषु. 130. D, B, E दैवान् for दैवाच्च. A दैवात्. C. संप्राप्यते for संलभ्यते. 132 The भुजबलभीम is an astrological work ascribed to Bhojarāja of Dhārā [For details see Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1930 p. 278-79]. 135–136. Not found in the Vangavāsī Ed. of Skandapurāna. 137 B स्कन्दपुराणाच्च for स्कन्दपुराणीयत्वाच्च [C, E °पुराणीयाच्च]. C drops. काल after प्रधानदेश [E corrupt] 138. B, D drop न तु. C omits न तु पूर्वदिने. G drops तु. A बाध for बाधक. 139. C stops after प्रधानदिनकर्तव्यत्वात्. E पूर्वदिनविरोध.. F, G इति न विरोधः. 140. C न तु. 142. C drops पूजयेत्. 143. B ननु for तन्न. C drops एव. 145. C किंचित् for कियत्. B स्थाने for स्नान. 146. F drops न. C omits the words दोलयात्रा and न. 148. E drops रात्रि. 151. A व्रतलोपत्वात् for वज्रलेपत्वात् [D व्रतलोपापत्तेः, E corrupt].

प्रान्तयामे चतुर्दश्याम्

इति सप्तम्यन्तपाठो नार्षः । किं तु पञ्चम्यन्त एव चतुर्दश्या इति पाठः । तथा च चतुर्दश्याः परं पौर्णमास्यामेव यात्रा । न चतुर्दश्याम् ।

फाल्गुन्याः पुरतो विप्राश्चतुर्दश्यां निशामुखे

इत्यत्र पञ्चम्यां तथाव्याख्यानाच्च चतुर्दशीविधियुक्तापि नेति प्रतीमः ।

पञ्चमी च पूर्वदिनयोगलक्षणा परदिनयोगलक्षणा च भवतीत्यनुशासनात् । तस्मात् पौर्णिमास्यामेको विधिः । पूर्णिमाप्रतिपत्संधावपरो विधिः । उभयत्र नक्षत्रयोगः फलातिशयार्थः । स्कन्दपुराणदेवीपुराणब्रह्मपुराण-भुजबलभीमैः सहस्थितत्वादिति दिक् ।

इति साहडियान्महामहोपाध्यायश्रीशूलपाणिविरचितो दोलयात्राविवेकः समाप्तः ।

The following passage, apparently a gloss, is added by the Ms F (fol. 1a) on verse 6 at p. 56 (above).

अत्र फाल्गुन्याः पूर्वत इत्यपादानात् पूर्णिमायुक्तपूर्वेद्युरेव सायं वह्न्युत्सवः प्रतीयते । अन्यथा फाल्गुन्याः पूर्वत इत्यत्र व्यधिकरणनिर्देशपूर्वपदोपादान-वैयर्थ्यापत्तिः स्यात् । वह्न्युत्सवाव्यवहितप्रातर्गोविन्ददोलनाभिधानाच्च । तथा च सायं वह्न्युत्सवं कृत्वा प्रातर्गोविन्ददोलनमिति । एतेन चतुर्दशी फला-तिशयायेति सूचितम् । न च पूर्वपदमुपलक्षणं कृत्वा निशामुखचतुर्दश्योरेव पूर्वत्वमिति तदा क्वचिदुभयदिने निशामुखे चतुर्दश्यलाभे कृत्यलोपापत्तेः ।

वह्न्युत्सवादिकं कार्यं चतुर्दश्यां निशामुखे ।
चतुर्दश्या अभावेऽपि सायमारभ्य कारयेत् ॥
सायं वह्न्युत्सवं कृत्वा प्रातर्गोविन्ददोलनम् ।
सायमेवाधिवासः स्यात्तिथ्यादेर्न पुरस्क्रिया ॥

तिथिनक्षत्रयोगे तु फलातिरिक्तता भवेदित्याद्युक्तेश्चेति स्मार्ताः । रायमुकुट-प्रभृतयस्तु पूर्वेद्युर्निशामुखे वह्न्युत्सवं कुर्वीतेत्येव विधिः । चतुर्दशीफलाति-शयाय षष्ठीप्रवेशपूर्वेद्युर्नोत्र षष्ठी पुरस्क्रियेतिवत् । चतुर्दशीघटितविधौ तु फाल्गुन्याः पूर्वत इत्यस्य वैयर्थ्यप्रसङ्गः । उभयदिने प्रदोषसमये चतुर्दश्यलाभे कर्मलोपापत्तिश्च । निशामुखस्य गुणफलत्वे कदाचिद्दिवसे तत्कर्म प्रसज्येत । निशामुखमत्र प्रदोषदण्डचतुष्टयम् । तथा च यत्र पूर्वदिने प्रदोषव्यापिनी परदिने तत्कालव्यापिन्यव्यापिनी वा चतुर्दशी तत्रापि परदिन एव सायं वह्न्युत्सवः कार्य इति पुरुषोत्तममाहात्म्ये कौमुदी ॥ ० ॥

---

153. B, C, E omit च. A, D पर: for परं. F adds दोल before यात्रा. 154. D inserts तु after न. 155. C, F पूर्वतो for पुरतो. C, D चतुर्दश्या for चतुर्दश्यां. 156. B, E, F insert च after इत्यत्र. D पञ्चम्यन्ताया for पञ्चम्यां तथा; B, E पञ्चम्यास्तथा; F omits पञ्चम्या. 157. D, E, F तु for च. D पूर्वदिक्लक्षणा and परदिक्लक्षणा; E पूर्वदिग्योग° and परदिग्योग°. 159. C उभयनक्षत्रयोगात् for उभयत्र नक्षत्रयोगः. E स्कन्दपुराणे देवीपुराणे भुजबलभीमैः. [For colophons of different Mss see Description of Mss above.]

A Letter of Jahāngir to Khurram and its Reply

By

K. K. Basu, Bhagalpur

The following pages give a summary of the letter of Emperor Jahāngīr to Prince Khurram and of the latter's reply to the royal *firman*. These two epistles, which are undated, have been incorporated in *Guldastah*,[1] a Persian manuscript containing a few royal billets, such as, Shāh Abbas II's (King of Persia) letter to 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh of Golconda. Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb, Sultan Muhammad and Dara's letters to 'Abdullāh Qutb, 'Ādil Shāh's (of Bijāpur) letter to Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb's letter to Muh. 'Ādil Shāh (of Bijāpur) and others.

In his letter Emperor Jahāngīr charges Prince Khurram with disloyalty, and the latter writes in reply that he had been wrongly blamed for murdering Khusrau and that, the Emperor had been unfair in conferring distinction on Parwez, who, in the opinion of the writer, had a hand in the murder of Khusrau. Prince Khurram, further, calls over with pride the brilliant services that he rendered to the cause of the empire emphasising on his own merits as a warrior and a statesman. Lastly, he threatens the Emperor, in case he is unaccommodating, with hostility and rebellion.

JAHĀNGĪR'S LETTER

To Prince Sultan Khurram, the noble son, the pearl of the crown of fortune and victory, the valuable central gem in the necklace of happiness and truth, and on whom rest the excessive royal attention and kindness—be it known that, it is a matter of regret that the Prince having been unmindful to his moral obligations to royalty and responsibilities to parents has shown symptoms of inconsistency and malevolence in the house of the Caliphate and the royal family and has made up his mind to make a stand against his father for securing the throne and the crown: that, there is hardly any instance in the royal family of a prince hurling defiance at his father: (it's a pity) that, a fortunate and prosperous scion like the Prince should have displayed such an arrogance !—(that), if the Prince had set his heart upon fighting his way and securing dominions he would better march out to

1. Transcript of Sir J. N. Sarkar: *Salar Jung MS.* Insha No. 273ı

Iraq with a body of sincere nobles and faithful adherents and measure swords with Emperor Abbas, who was set upon rooting out Mughal authority over Qandhar, and, in retaliation, do away with his (Abbas) sovereignty over his countries :—(that) it makes one's blood run cold to think that the Prince should turn hostile to his father for the possession of the crown. Is sovereignty obtainable by effort alone? The key to future success lies with Divine Providence, and it is He who bestows royalty on his elect! —(that) it is, therefore, essential that, the Prince should with pride and humility alike put on the ring of submission and obedience on his ears[2] and should be compliant like a child: that he should set forth his military ability in the battlefield and having proceeded to Qandhar exhibit his valour:—(that) in return for the gratitude that the Prince would thus show by his action to the world-decorating royal court, his sins of omission would be passed over and he would be blessed with royal favour and compassion!

KHURRAM'S REPLY[3]

On receipt of this letter the Prince kissed it and placed it on his head. He, next, opened the letter, read it and bowed his head (in respect). Humbly and quietly he wrote the following reply:

"I am weak as a child," he began, "and Your Majesty is the protector of the weak: God pardons the faults of His slaves. You are my master and I am your slave—penitent of my actions. I am too feeble and you are the conqueror of the world. Be charitable and condone my fault!"

"It is for fear of my life that I fight shy of the imperial court, and I aspire not after the crown or the throne[4] How can I set my heart upon sovereignty when I have a thin time? Come what may, I am your bondsman in all ages. if I am a falcon I have been netted by you!"

"I live in hope that Your Majesty would never put me to shame. In fact, you are the king of the country, and may the throne and the royal seal be with you for ever!"

"For God's sake, do not take amiss. I am on my last legs and I dare not set my face against you. Can an ant stand out against Sulaiman?[5]

2. The MS. wrongly reads

3. It is written in verse.

4. The fact is that NURJEHAN had made the Emperor her instrument and caused an estrangement between Jahāngīr and Khurram with the result that the latter was deprived of his fiefs and posts and was driven into rebellion in self-defence.

5. Refers to the story of the ant and Solomon, the son of DAVID.

"Sure enough, so long the Emperor is in my favour I do not run any risk of personal injury. I am, after all, reconciled to my port-folio in Bengal. I shall be cut up if I become a prey to misfortune. If I remain apart from the pomp of the royal court, may Your Majesty not grudge it, for, it's a just punishment for my actions."

"Distinction is achieved by degrees, but, Parwez has cut a figure beyond all expectation.[6] Your Majesty has made Parwez the heir-apparent, but you have branded me with the reproach of having shed Khusrau's blood ! I dare say, Parwez is a villain, and it is he who is guilty of Khusrau's blood."[7]

"As I am charged with Khusrau's murder it matters not if I make away with Parwez. If God has favoured Parwez with renown, He has, I can assure Your Majesty, graced me, likewise, with a blood-shedding sword ! If Parwez is unfriendly to me I am equally inimical, if he is fraternal I am also pacific."

"My goodness ! I have been asked to attend the court. How can I come to terms with Parwez who is unworthy of it ? If Your Majesty smiles upon me I am your slave, but if you are unsympathetic I shall keep myself away so long I am alive."

"Once I unsheathe my sword, I shall not, I am afraid, be considerate to the Emperor or the Prince ! Need I tell you that there is in the empire hardly any equal to me in military accomplishment ? Your Majesty, I dare say, would not have lost your hold on Qandhar if you had requisitioned my services. So long Parwez was in charge of the Deccan, it was a hot-bed of disorder and confusion. But twice did I conquer the country by my sword and I took no care to my life on those occasions. Further, the story of my conquest of Kangra[8] is a common talk in Hindustan. It was I, again, who challenged the Rana[9] to arms and struck him down : it's a feat which is unparalleled in history. It is by the grace of the Emperor that I have been successful in all my wars. I have reflected honour on the Empire and have secured payments from the Rana. It is due to me, again, that the non-believers have accepted Islam and the Mughal army has penetrated into the Rajput country. I can, by my wit, level mountains in the dust and stem

6. The lines are unintelligible.

7. But the reading from history is that, KHUSRAU was murdered by KHURRAM's order at Burhānpur early in 1622, but it was reported that he had died of colic pain.

8. November, 1620 A.D.

9. Of Mewar.

the tide of foreign aggression. What do I care for the mountains? If they are made of stone am I not made of steel? Need I put up a prayer for the keys of the royal treasury? I hold the keys so long I have the sword with me! My superiority in arms gives me precedence over Parwez. The world is a brave and valorous bride who avoids the old and weak suitors and selects an intelligent and dexterous warrior as her mate. It's only in the fitness of things that she would woo me!"

"I have laid bare my mind. I fail to understand the ways of the world—it is so perplexing and complex!"

"I am at the root of dynastic prosperity. For goodness sake, do not cast shame upon me."

"I believe my messenger will, like the *hudhud*[10] of the fables, carry this letter of mine that contains the true state of affairs to the court. He has been sent as an agent of the ant to the court of Sulaiman!"

"Oh Saqi! pour the wine of happiness in the cup—the wine that dispels gloom, puts out the internal fire and changes malevolence to amity."

10. Reference to the agent sent by BILQIS to SULAIMAN.

Khañjana-darśana

By

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA, Bhatpara

Khañjana-darśana, or sight of the bird *Khañjana*, is a peculiar Hindu omen, recorded in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtyaratnākara*,[1] a Mithilā digest of the 14th century. Though it is also recorded in later works, viz., Govindānanda's *Varṣakriyākaumudī*[2] and Raghunandana's *Tithitattva*,[3] both belonging to the 16th century, yet those treatments cover one or two pages only and as such, are less comprehensive than that of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* which consists of seven pages (p 366 to p. 373) We, therefore, propose to give below a synopsis of the treatment in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* both in view of its earlier and more detailed character.

One should perform the *śānti*, called *nīrāja*, in the eighth or twelfth lunar day or in the fullmoon day of the month of *Āśvina* or *Kārtika*. After the conclusion of the *nīrājaśānti* ceremony, the enemy, if chased by the king in the direction of the flight of the *Khañjana* bird, is fast subdued. This bird is first seen when the sun is in the asterism of *Hastā* and vanishes when the sun reaches the asterism of *Rohiṇī*. That kind of *Khañjana* which is fat, possessed of a long neck and a black throat, and is dark from the neck and mouth, is beneficent and fulfils all the desires of the observer, while that other kind of *Khañjana* which has a dark spot on the throat and the tips of whose hands and feet are white, is called *citrakṛt*, and that which is excessively yellow, is called *gopīta* and these two classes add to the misery of the observer. There are four kinds of *Khañjana* birds, viz. *samantabhadra*, *prabhadra*, *anubhadra* and *ambarabhadra*. That kind which is dark on all sides of the neck, breast and head, is called *samantabhadra*, while that kind which has dark head and breast but white neck and back, is called *prabhadra*. That kind, the neck and breast of which only are dark, is called *anubhadra*, while that kind with a dark line in the neck, is called *ambarabhadra* Of the above four kinds, the immediately previous one excels the succeeding one in the matter of conferring success on a good action. That kind of *ākāśabhadra* (i.e. *ambarabhadra*) which has a dark line in the neck but a white face, brings about

1. Edited by MM. KAMALA-KṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, B I., 1925.
2. Edited by the same, B. I., 1902.
3. Edited by JĪVĀNANDA (in *Smṛti-tattva*, Vol. I.), 1895.

failure of designs. That kind which resembles yellow juice in colour and is hence called *gomūtra*, if seen in the morning, predicts misery to the observer for the period of one year.

The *Khañjana* bird, if seen on a curd vessel or on a stack of paddy, confers good, while that, seen on quagmire, predicts good grass and that which is found on the dung of a bull, foretells the profusion of cow's milk. If seen on grass, *sakaṭa* tree, housetop, face of a person and *śuci* tree, it predicts the acquisition of cloths, sale of the country, failure, imprisonment and disease respectively. If found on the back of a goat or of a sheep, it indicates the speedy meeting with one's beloved ones. But if it is seen seated on the bone of a dead buffalo, camel or ass, in a burning place, corner of a house, or on sand, wall, ashes or hair, it foretells evil and brings about death, disease and fear. If it shakes its wings or drinks from a watercourse, it is inauspicious. Generally, it is auspicious if seen at the time of sunrise but not so if found at the time of sunset.

The places where it performs sexual intercourse or vomits or voids its ordure, abound with gems, glass and coal respectively, and the soil is to be dug in those places to unfold those mysteries. Its dead, wounded, diseased and bleeding conditions predict the self-same states of the observer. If it is found falling to the ground from its accustomed height, it forebodes wealth to the observer, while if found soaring in the sky, it indicates future union with one's nearest relations. If it is seen in the morning on lotuses, cows, elephants, horses and big serpents, it predicts a kingdom to the observer, if found on grass, it indicates good news, while if found on ashes, bones, wood, nails, hairs and husk, it entails misery upon the observer for the period of one year. But if found seated in the morning on elephants, sheep, *śāla* groves, balconies of palaces, curd vessels and clean soil, or over gold and winnowing fans used for kings, or in clear sky, or on good shady trees with rich foliage and bent down with fruits, the *Khañjana* confers prosperity on the observer. If again it is seen in the morning to sit very suddenly and in a happy mood on a riverbank, a lotus, cowdung, the tail of a cow, *dūrvā* grass, royal palace, the topmost room of a house, *jambāla* fruit, new leaf, *ksīra* tree, household materials, or on the main arch of a house, it is then highly auspicious for the acquisition of water, food and drink, dear ones, cows, horses and cloths and for the recovery from diseases. Its position on a boat predicts the acquisition of a house to the observer. But if it is shown by another person, the first person secures the company of a woman. If found on ploughed soil or on a stack of paddy, in the

morning or in the sky, it foretells marriage, acquisition of paddy, union with one's dear ones and union with one's near relations respectively. If it is seen alighting from the sky, it indicates sufficient wealth; if found eating and drinking, it foretells the acquisition of food and drink; while if observed in other beautiful positions in the morning, it surely confers similar other desirable results on the observer. If it is found following an ass, a camel or a dog, or breaking its wings, it predicts death on the observer; and if it is found shaking its wings in the evening, or tied or dead, it forebodes evil. The observer as well as the intending traveller meets with the positions, good or bad, as attend the *Khañjana* bird in the morning. If seen in the south when the star '*Agastya*' is on the horizon, this bird fulfils the desire of the observer, who should, therefore, worship it with incantations and bow down to it with the head. The sight and the utterance of the name of this bird are equally auspicious and the desire of a traveller is fulfilled, if it is seen to go in a revolving fashion.

The following incantation is to be uttered at its sight:—

"O, you, the son of a sage, practising *yoga*, you disappear with the advent of summer but reappear after the close of the rains. I bow down to you, *khañjana*, who are full of wonders"

If a *Khañjana* bird is seen in an ugly body in a bad place, doing reproachable acts, the observer must then worship it particularly for the removal of the vices, indicated by it. He should abstain from sexual enjoyment and flesh-eating, lie down on the bare ground, bathe, mutter incantations, offer oblations to fire and worship the bird *Khañjana* for the period of seven days.

The Development of the Figure of Speech in the Ṛgveda Hymnology[1]

By

D. R. BHANDARKAR, Calcutta

Years ago the late Prof. MAX MULLER in his *Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature* propounded the theory that the first five centuries of the Christian era were a dark age for literary activity and that *Kāvya* or Artificial Poetry bloomed about the middle of the sixth century A.D. This theory held the field for a long period, and it was only in 1890 that it was demolished by G. BÜHLER on the strength of literary and epigraphic evidence. When MAX MULLER propounded this view, the dramas of Bhāsa (circa 300 A.D.) were not brought to light. Little was also known about the literary achievements of Aśvaghosa who was a contemporary of the Kusāna sovereign Kaniska (circa 125 A.D.) and was the author not only of the *Buddhacarita*, *Saundarānanda* and *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, but also of the drama *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*. These works of Aśvaghoṣa are genuine *kāvyas* in strict conformity with the rules laid down by the Science of Sanskrit Rhetorics. And the very fact that a Buddhist monk thought of setting forth the Life of Buddha with the help of the poetic art shows how popular artificial poetry was even in the first two centuries of the Christian era. Further there is evidence of an irrefragable character to convince an impartial mind that *Kāvya* or Artificial Poetry prospered in the age of Patañjali.

Now, one of the chief constituents of Kāvya is Alaṁkāra or Figure of Speech. It is this feature which makes poetry artificial and distinguishes principally an epic composition from a Kāvya *par excellence*. If we now take our stand upon the occurrence of Figures of Speech in a composition, we have to trace Artificial Poetry to the Vedic period itself. Thus there is a well-known text

1. This is an excerpt from a chapter entitled *Literary History* which has been written by me in connection with my revised edition of the *Gupta Inscriptions* (*C. I. I.* Vol. III. Pt I) The extract in question has been set forth here with a view to invite criticism to help me in the final redaction.

beginning with *dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā*, which occurs not only in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (IV. 6) and the Muṇḍaka (III. 1. 1.) but also in the Ṛgveda (I. 164. 20). The full text is as follows: *Dvā suparṇā sayujyā sakhāyā samānam vṛkṣam pariṣvajāte tayor=anyaḥ pippalam svādv=atty=anaśnann=anyo=bhicakāśīti..* "Two Birds, inseparables and friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other observes without eating." Anybody who has studied the Tenth Ullāsa of Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa will at once be able to say that the text in question is an instance of *Atiśayokti*, representing the first variety of it described in the words: *Nigīryādhyavasānam tu prakṛtasya pareṇa yat.* Another Upaniṣadic text in Śvetāśvatara (III. 19) is *apāṇi-pādo javano grahītā paśyaty=acakṣus=sa śṛṇoty=akarṇaḥ*, "Grasping without hands, quick-going without feet, he sees without eyes, he hears without ears." This is a clear instance of the Figure of Speech called Vibhāvanā. Similarly, in the Ṛgveda we have a philosophical hymn devoted to *Jñāna*. It comprises a text commencing with *uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa Vācam* (Ṛgveda X. 71 4). There can hardly be any doubt as to this being an apt illustration of the *Viśeṣokti-alamkāra*. Or we may take the well-known stanza opening with *catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādā*. It occurs not only in *Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad* (X. 1), *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (X. 10.2) and *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (I. 2.16) but also in *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā* (XL. 7), *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* (I. 6.2), *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* (XVII. 91) and, above all, *Ṛgveda* (IV. 58.3). Two traditional but different interpretations of this stanza have been adduced, one by Yāska in his *Nirukta* (XIII. 8) and the other by Patañjali about the beginning of his *Mahābhaṣya*. In both these interpretations the Figure of Speech is evidently Atiśayokti of the first variety such as that noticed above. Or we may take another philosophical stanza *Indram Mitram Varuṇam=Agnim=āhuḥ* which is to be found not only in the *Atharva* (IX. 10.28) but also in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 164.46). This obviously is an illustration of Ullekha which, though it is not noticed by Mammaṭa, has been taken cognisance of by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (X. 37). It may now be remarked that there are so many varieties of Upamā, simple and complicated, noticed in Sanskrit treatises on Rhetorics, and it may therefore be asked whether any instance can

be cited from the *Ṛgveda* of any full-developed Upamā. We can draw upon the same philosophical hymn upon which we drew for an instance of Viśesokti—Figure of Speech. The text in question runs as follows: *saktum=iva titaünā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācam=akrata* (*Ṛgveda*, X. 71.2). Evidently this aptly illustrates what is known as *Pūrṇa-Śrautī-Vākyagā* Upamā, where the *upamāna* is denoted by *saktum*, *upameya* by *vācam*, 'the word conveying comparison' by *iva*, and 'the common property' by *punanto*. The instances cited here of Alamkāras—occurring in Vedic literature are just a few out of many that are found there. It may however be contended that the texts quoted above are from hymns that are of religious or philosophical character. They are not from literature which may be reasonably styled Kāvya. But it may be urged against it that if the religious and philosophical hymns contain so many and so varied examples of Alamkāra, the secular literature of the period must have been as much characterised by this important element of Artificial Poetry as it was from 150 A.D. onwards.

Study of Manuscripts

By

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, Calcutta

Though the title of the subject is a broad one, as a student of Sanskrit I shall naturally confine my remarks to the study of MSS of Sanskritic works and give my impressions about the subject resulting from my work in the line for more than a decade. But I am sure most of these remarks will apply equally to MSS of works of other languages too.

It is scarcely necessary to emphasise the need and importance of the study of MSS which enshrine the vast treasures of ancient India in the form of her rich and valuable literature in different branches of learning, only a very small fraction of which has so far seen the light of day.

A diligent search for and a careful study of the MSS is essential for discovering the gems of our literature which lie hidden within the bewildering mass of MSS scattered all over the country. An intelligent collation of MSS is expected to clear up many apparently hopeless textual inaccuracies in the published portion of the literature. A study of MSS is however useful not to the students of literature alone but to the students of history in general as well. A thorough ransacking of the MSS material is essential before the reconstruction of a comprehensive history of the literature of the country may be possible and the trend of the literature may be visualised in its true perspective. Students of palaeography may collect important and valuable materials from a study of MSS—old and late—and supplement the information gathered from lithic records and copperplates. One may go so far as to say that MSS are the principal source of our paleographical knowledge for the later period of Indian history for which few epigraphical records are available Manuscripts, apart from the works, are often found to throw important light on different aspects of social history of the country. The place the MSS occupied in the estimation of the people of old days may be very clearly realised from the imprecatory verses occurring at the end of many MSS. All sorts of curses are heaped on thieves of MSS which, it was the desire of the copyists and owners, to preserve as their own children. As a matter of fact, we are distinctly told that at the time of the Marhatta depredations in Bengal, the people were

fleeing with their children, the images of their tutelary deities and loads of MSS they possessed. This shows that these were considered to be more valuable than all other earthly possessions. The idea of sanctity associated with books in general and dissemination of learning in particular would prompt even high personalities to prepare by their own hands copies of works, especially of a religious nature, not only for their own use but also for the use of all interested persons. Presentation of copies to scholars as well as to public institutions like temples for public recitation, and not the sale of MSS, was regarded as highly meritorious from a religious point of view. The existence of professional copyists and the sale of MSS were also not absolutely unknown. Some of the MSS which record the history of their sales throw interesting side-light on the price of a commodity that was regarded as precious and held in great respect.

From a study of MSS, we have an idea of the nature of the various materials of writing in use in olden times in different parts of the country. We meet with various types of country-made paper and ink which are found to be of a more lasting nature than what are generally used in the present days. It may be noticed in this connection that palm-leaf MSS which were far too numerous in older days seem to have later on become less popular in some parts of the country. It is especially significant that no work in the Bengali language and very few works in the Nāgarī script are known to exist in palm-leaf MSS. The beautiful art of calligraphy as noticed in some MSS is also of immense artistic interest. Examples of painting and decorative designs occasionally met with in certain MSS and covers thereof are of no small value to students of the development of art in the land and they have already attracted the attention of a number of art connoisseurs.

The beginning of the scientific study and investigation of MSS in India may be traced back to the year 1868-69 when the Government took initiative in the matter and introduced a systematic and regular search of MSS in different parts of India.[1] As a result, many

1. A report of the work done in different parts of the country in this connection was issued by the Central Government in 1878 It is a matter of great regret that since then no other report of the type has been compiled or published. Some provincial reports have, of course, been published from time to time giving account of only the work done under Government auspices. Thus we have little idea about MSS collections even in public libraries and scholarly institutions. A general survey of these collections of which there are a fairly large number in different parts of the country will be highly welcome and useful to scholars. Different Library Associations, busy in collecting materials for the

important MSS have been acquired both by Government as well as by private bodies, much useful information which throws welcome light on many a dark and little-known corner of the history of Indian literature has been collected from a number of MSS that could not be acquired and not a few valuable texts have been edited and published on the basis of the MSS thus brought to the notice of the world of scholars. Catalogues, in cases only of a superficial and mechanical character, containing descriptions of some of these collections have been published.

Though a fairly good number of MSS have thus been collected from different parts by different institutions and saved from unwelcome surroundings and very rapid destruction it cannot be said that everything that could be collected has been collected. The Dacca University, to mention only one of many institutions that began their collection of MSS only recently, has been able to acquire not only a good number of MSS but many that are very important as well. Besides, many of the important MSS that were only noticed by earlier scholars in the possession of private owners, could now possibly be acquired if serious attempts were made in that direction from influential quarters. In the absence of these attempts many of the private collections are meeting with rapid destruction.

The general lack of sympathy among the people for objects of historical interest has led to the wanton destruction and thoughtless disposal of many a small collection of MSS, which are often regarded as useless rubbish fit to be thrown into the dustbin or stacked along with not so very useful things of the house. It is in this way that the MSS of many old pandits have been destroyed or allowed to be totally damaged by their descendants some of whom claim to be educated. The sense of sanctity associated with MSS again has prompted many a fanatic to consign them into the sacred waters of the Ganges rather than allow them to be defiled by heterodox modern people [2] Neither could we remain satisfied with mere

preparation of Directories of Libraries, may do a service to Indology if they include within the province of their investigation not only the libraries of printed books but also those of MSS, some of which are attached to or included in the former. The University of Madras which has taken upon itself the self-imposed task of the preparation of an up-to-date edition of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* should also direct their attention to this matter. As a matter of fact, such a survey is essential for the preparation of this edition.

2. A definite case has been referred to in which an old Pandit had tied up and sealed all his books in bags, making a will that they were to be sunk in the Ganges as soon as his life was extinct—Gough, *Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of Ancient Sans. Lit. in Ind.*, Calcutta, 1878, p. 40.

collection and hoarding up. Our attempts should be directed as much, if not more, to the task of proper preservation and study, as to the work of exploration and collection. Proper steps need be taken for the scientific preservation of MSS especially against the attacks of worms. Special precautions have to be taken for MSS other than those on paper, particularly those on palm-leaf. It is not only more brittle than paper but more liable to the ravages of worms. And it is to be remembered that some of the oldest MSS are on palm-leaf. If prompt steps are not taken for their preservation or substitution much valuable material will be lost. As things stand at present, there are large stocks of these MSS lying uncared for and uncatalogued in many parts of the country exposed to the mercy of white ants and the ravages of a climate not at all favourable for the preservation of antiquities.

The condition of the huge collections of MSS even in various scholarly institutions is not ideal It is true that they are now in safe custody but without proper care and regular handling they stand the risk of being worm-eaten and jammed Scholarly owners of MSS of old were very particular about the preservation of the few MSS possessed by them, by regular and careful handling and sunning. It is a matter of joy to all students of old literature that the present Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which has under its charge one of the largest collections of MSS in India is taking active steps in this matter and it may be hoped the Society will also take the initiative in encouraging a proper study of MSS. It was the Society which took a leading part in the collection and study of MSS even from its inception long before the Government had taken up the matter.

But the problem of preservation is not a very easy one. And the ultimate aim of preservation is nothing but offering facilities for publication and study Hence, critical studies of the contents of the MSS and the publication of the results thereof seem to be the best way of preserving these brittle materials. It is however a pity that study of MSS does not appear to have received as much impetus and encouragement as the study and investigation of other types of antiquities in India. As a matter of fact, Archaeology, including Numismatics, apparently being more interesting and popular, has claimed far more attention from scholars and people at large.

What is all the more regrettable is that even a section of scholarly people appears to be not favourably disposed towards what seems to be useless waste of energy and time involved in the work of studying and cataloguing MSS. There are scholars again

who are of opinion that this is not the business of real scholars, as very little scholarship is in demand for the work. This attitude, which is shared by people in general, has gone to discourage this type of work in India to a great extent. Consequently, the study of MSS has not thrived as much as it should have. We have therefore not only not been eager to produce a book of the type of CLARKE's 'DESCENT OF MSS,' but also not taken the uncomfortable task of compiling scientific Descriptive Catalogues of MSS.

What is required in the first instance is a change of out-look and a proper realisation of the situation. An opinion needs be developed that the preparation of critical descriptions of MSS is as important as, if not more than, mere hoarding up of huge collections, and allowing them an undisturbed resting place in a commodious building.

It is true the difficulty in the study of MSS for the preparation of a Descriptive Catalogue and the consequent slow progress is often discouraging As a result, the number of scholars attracted by it is comparatively small. The hard labour, often fruitless, involved in the work of arranging and cataloguing MSS is seldom realised even by scholars who have no practical experience of the work. Usually a disarranged and imperfect MS that appears on first sight to be a new work and an important find loses much of its novelty when a proper arrangement and careful scrutiny extending for hours, and sometimes for days, reveal that it constitutes nothing but a portion of a work already well-known

As a matter of fact, the task of identifying the names of works and their authors at least in the case of fragmentary MSS is a really difficult one It is interesting to note how a copyist of a Manuscript belonging to Vangiya Sahitya Parishat frankly admits his inability to determine the name of a Vaisnava work and requests his readers to find it out. It will also be noticed that the identification of real names is occasionally quite difficult even in cases where names do occur. For these names are sometimes misleading referring as they do to titles of particular sections of the works and not to the titles of the works themselves. Confusion created by the occurrence of different names in different MSS of the same work is also not rare. A Tantric digest by Nijānandanātha is referred to by as many as four different names in four different Descriptive Catalogues.

The difficulties involved in the identification of the names of authors is due to several causes. Some MSS do not refer to the names of authors in the colophons. This has led to great confusion

with regard to the identification of the author of the well-known Vaiṣnava Kāvya *Govindalīlāmṛta*. Some MSS mention the name in the form of what would appear to be a riddle. A MS for instance, of the *Kālanirṇaya*, a medical work, refers to the name of the author in both the introductory and concluding verse as Kujaped, which is an unusual name. Happily the actual name is given in a marginal note as Rāmalocana while another note explains how Kujapeḍ really means Rāmalocana One Rāmacarana or Rāmapada refers to himself in various ways through the combination of the synonyms of the words Rāma and carana or foot. Thus he refers to himself in different ways in his different books, e. g. Raghupatipāda, Sītāpatipāda, Kujeśapada and Rāmacaraṇa. The difficulty is increased in the case of Tantra works, where either the pre- or post-initiation names are used in different works of the same author or in different MSS of the same work This has occasionally been responsible for a good deal of confusion and wrong identification.

Proper and clear indication of the subject-matter, which is an essential feature of a good catalogue, though unfortunately more often than not entirely neglected in practice, is another difficult task which demands patient work if not great scholarship. What is required for the purpose is a careful study of the MSS, for the titles or even the extracts from the beginning and the end are scarcely of any help in the matter Illustrative examples of how titles have misled scholars are given below[3] :—

Śivārcanacandrikā, a Tantric digest dealing with the details of the worship of various deities, has been described as 'a comprehensive digest on the worship of Śiva'. The *Kavirahasya*, a well-known work giving illustrations of the uses of roots in Sanskrit, has been described as 'a work on rhetoric'. The *Manoramākucamardanī*, another grammatical work, is described as a work on 'erotics'. The surname of the author, Gosvāmin, seems to have been responsible for the description of the *Siṃhasiddhāntasindhu* as a 'handbook of Vaiṣṇava religious duties.' The work however deals with the details of the worship of various deities, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta and Gāṇapatya.

It is these difficulties supplemented by an anxiety for speedy productions that are responsible for the defective and unsatisfactory output of materials that reflect little credit on the compilers. But it is seldom that the defects and even definite mistakes of a

3. I purposely desist from mentioning by name the works containing these wrong descriptions.

descriptive catalogue come to be detected. For very few people are interested in MSS. And defects when detected are scarcely taken seriously, as these are considered as almost normal features of a catalogue. Thus lack of appreciation on the one hand and absence of any censure on the other have combined to constitute stupendous obstacles in the way of the production of really good catalogues. And hence the defects usually met with in a Catalogue of MSS, to which attention was drawn by Prof. KIELHORN as early as 1870,[4] are persisting even now after the lapse of about three quarters of a century. It is not unknown to scholars that descriptive catalogues are generally full of superficial descriptions—indication of the substance, size, number of folios, lines on each page and mechanical reproduction of extracts from the beginning and the end. The subject-matter is not generally indicated or indicated in a very rough and slip-shod manner depending on the titles of the works They contain little reference to the special features of the manuscripts as revealed by a careful analysis and a comparison of the available printed editions or descriptions of other catalogues.

A few examples of obscure and imperfect indications of subject-matters are given below :—

A Tantric work, the *Saubhāgyaratnākara*, is described as a 'Tantric treatise of mystic worship.' The only description given of the *Haramekhalā*, a work on magic and incantations, is that it is 'somewhat interesting for a section of students'. The *Sāṅkhyānatantra* which deals with the details of the worship of Vagalāmukhī is described as containing 'a series of directions...regarding the means of obtaining supernatural power in warfare'.

It must, of course, be admitted that these defects are due, not in any way, to the incompetence of the compilers but to their absence of any seriousness in the matter. This is simply a question of supply and demand. It must have to be confessed that the study of MSS particularly the compilation of descriptive catalogues, is after all a thankless task The worker in this field cannot in most cases satisfy either himself or his readers and that inspite of his most sincere efforts For the difficulties, to which attention has been drawn, in many cases baffle attempts at solution and tend not infrequently to damp the spirits of the compiler. But inspite of all difficulties the compilation of scientific catalogues and not mechanical ones containing superficial descriptions, should be the aim of every library of MSS though the former may require

4. Gough, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–4.

more time and money. Mere lists are often more welcome than unscientific descriptive catalogues. An indication may be given here of the main points on which the compiler of a scientific descriptive catalogue should give special attention.[5]

1. Identification of the correct name of the work and the author.

2. Clear indication of the subject-matter, specially in the case of works not yet published or properly described.

3. Reference to the special features of the manuscripts—their extent, variations, if any, they may possess in comparison with printed editions or other MSS.

4. Quotation of important extracts only from manuscripts of works, not yet published, or properly described. Unnecessary swelling of the volume of a catalogue by the repetition of the same description of a work under different MSS of it ought to be avoided most scrupulously.

5. An introduction drawing attention to the important features of the collections described in a particular volume. Pointed attention requires to be drawn to the really valuable and important works in the collections described, as the collections more often than not abound with much that is of little use making preservation and cataloguing equally irksome.

A catalogue that ignores these points is of little use to scholars. In the absence, however, of a central organization to give impetus to and necessary guidance in the matter, very little systematic and valuable work can be expected, especially as most of the libraries possessing MSS have little idea of the nature and value of a scientific catalogue and scarcely the necessary funds and competent workers required for undertaking such a catalogue. Much valuable results may be expected if the Government might be induced to start a MSS Department like the Epigraphic Department to be attached to the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.[6] This Department may be engaged in the work of acquisition and preservation of MSS and in giving encouragement to, and lay down the principles to be followed in, the preparation of careful scholarly descriptions of them. A *Manuscriptia Indica* of the type of the *Epigraphia Indica*, publishing thorough analysis of important MSS pointing to their

5. Compare in this connection the remarks of Kielhorn—Gough, *op. cit*, pp. 194-5.

6. New legislation should also be made or existing laws should be so amended as to penalise vandalism with MSS.

importance and usefulness, may be inaugurated for rescuing and properly displaying the valuable gems contained in them. This will serve to furnish ideals for workers in different parts of the country to follow, and ultimately lead to discourage the haphazard and mechanical descriptions as usually found in many a catalogue of MSS.

It seems the Archaeological Department had at one time an intention of adding such a section and MSS had therefore been collected. But the intention unfortunately appears to have been given up. These MSS have now been transferred to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. So, if and so long as the Department is not agreeable to such a new venture, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the oldest institution which is systematically carrying on, for more than a century, work in connection with the investigation and study of MSS, or one of the many universities interested in Indological studies may take up the lead in the matter and set up an organization for the purpose The Universities may do much to popularise and arouse interest in the subject by including study of MSS in the curricula of Post-Graduate studies in Indian languages.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that if learned bodies of the country interested in the investigation of the cultural heritage of the country do not take an immediate and concerted move in the matter valuable treasures of MSS, still existing, will not take long to be lost irretrievably like those that have been lost or destroyed in the past through natural or human agencies.[7]

7. cf. Gough, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 24, 212.

Notes on a Vārtika (?) and its misplaced Occurrence in the Mahābhāṣya

By

S. P. CHATURVEDI, Nagpur

In the text of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* on the Sūtras (II-iii-26/7, षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे and सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च, there occurs a statement referred to by the author of the *Tattvabodhinī* Commentary as a *Vārtika*,[1] निमित्तपर्यायप्रयोगे सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम्. A doubt arises about the wording of this *Vārtika*. One would naturally expect to have the *Vārtika* as हेतुपर्यायप्रयोगे. For the Vārtika, besides allowing all case-endings, proposes to substitute हेतुपर्यायप्रयोगे for हेतुप्रयोगे in the Sūtra (II-iii-26) and (by anuvrtti) in (II-iii-27) This incongruity in the wording of the *Vārtika* leads to a suspicion about the genuineness of the *vārtika* as composed by *Kātyāyana*. On referring to p. 503 of "*Word-index to Pāṇini's Sūtra-pātha and its Pariśiṣṭas*" (published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1935) and according to Kielhorn's edition of the Mahābhāsya (Vol. I. p. 454) we know that there are no *Vārtikas* on the Sūtras (II-iii-23/7). The above suspicion thus receives the necessary confirmation.

Now enquiring further into the question we find that *Patañjali's* statement (Iṣti) on the same subject under (II-iii-23) differs materially from the so-called *Vārtika*. While the *Vārtika* admits *all* the synonyms of हेतु, Patañjali's *Iṣṭi* admits only the *three* specified words, viz. निमित्त, कारण and हेतु. This is another incongruity and we are tempted to hold the author of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* responsible for widening still further the scope of the *Pāṇini-sūtras* (II-iii-26–7). But a reference to the *Kāśikāvṛtti* on (II-iii-27), which quotes the *Iṣṭi* in the same way as a *Vārtika* is quoted, reveals the fact that the admitting of *all* the synonyms is suggested by the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* in the course of the interpretation of the *Vārtika*, to accommodate the usages of the post-Patañjali period. KAIYAṬA (on II-iii-23), however, refers to both the views, viz. admitting all the synonyms of हेतु or only the three specified words, as coming from अन्ये तु and केचित्तु[2] and does not commit himself. But NĀGEŚA

1. See the statement on the same sūtra,
‘ एतद्वार्तिकेन ’ ‘ षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे ’ ‘ सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ’ इति सूत्रद्वय गतार्थमिति बोध्यम् ।

2. पर्यायोपादानं केचित्पर्यायान्तरनिवृत्त्यर्थमिच्छन्ति ।
अन्ये तूपलक्षणार्थमिच्छन्तः प्रयोजनादिप्रयोगेऽप्येतद्विभक्तिविधानं मन्यन्ते ।
(कैयट on II-iii-23)

(in the *Uddyota* Commentary on II-iii-23) does not look with favour on the non-committing attitude of Kaiyaṭa and, strictly adhering to Patañjali's phraseology, restricts the scope of the *Iṣṭi* to the cases of the three specified words only.[3]

The above serves as one of the many instances to show that (i) the statements in the post-Patañjali Commentaries make no distinction between Kātyāyana's *Vārtikas* and Patañjali's *Iṣṭis* and mention both of them as *Vārtikas*, (ii) the so-called *Vārtikas* incorporate the modifications suggested in the post-Patañjali period, and (iii) Nāgeśa is not prepared to go even an inch beyond Patañjali's statements in accommodating the usages of the later period.

As regards the place of occurrence of the above *Iṣṭi*, we find it placed under (II-iii-23) in the present editions of the *Mahābhāṣya* and we know positively that it was there even in Kaiyaṭa's time[4] who unlike the author of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, tries to justify rather unconvincingly its occurrence there But a close scrutiny of the illustrations[5] of the two Sūtras (II-iii-23 and II-iii-26) will show clearly that the *Iṣṭi* is wrongly placed under (II-iii-23) For the latter does *not* enjoin the particular case-ending in the word हेतु itself and its accompanying word. The Sūtras (II-iii-26) and (II-iii-27) (by anuvṛtti) enjoin it And, as is quite clear from its illustrations,[6] Patañjali's *Iṣṭi also* enjoins the case-endings in the words निमित्त, कारण and हेतु and their accompanying words. The proper place, therefore, of Patañjali's *Iṣṭi* is the Sūtra (II-iii-26/7) and not (II-iii-23). Here we have thus got a clear case of a *Mahābhāṣya* passage found misplaced even in the time of Kaiyaṭa (c. 1050 A.D.).

---

3. अन्ये त्विति मतेऽनुग्राहकाभावोऽरुचिबीजम। (उद्योत on II-iii-23)

4. असर्वनाम्नोऽपि विधानार्थमत्र सूत्र इद पठितम, ननु (वृत्तिकारवत्-नागेश सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया चेत्यत्र। (कैयट on II-iii-23)

5. The Sūtra (II-iii-23); धनेन कुलम , कन्यया शोक., विद्यया यश ।
The Sūtra (II-iii-26); अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति ।

6. कि निमित्तं वसति, केन निमित्तेन वसति, कस्मै निमित्ताय, कस्मान्निमित्तात्, कस्य निमित्तस्य, कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति. Similarly in the case of कारण and हेतु words also, Patañjali (II-iii-23) gives examples in all the case-endings.

Bhārati and Keats

By

A. C. CHETTIAR, Annamalainagar

If the following lines of Keats :—

And they shall be accounted poet-kings
Who simply tell the most heart-easing things

are true, Poet Subramaniya Bhārati, who flourished in the first quarter of this century, must be regarded a poet-king. John Keats thought that it was easier to think what poetry should be than to write it. But modern writers such as Mr. HOUSMAN would tell us that it is far easier to say such and such lines are poetry than to define poetry. Just as a terrier is able to scent a mouse without being able to define it one can enjoy poetry without being able to say what poetry is. If, to be accounted a poet-king, one need simply "tell the most heart-easing things" Bhārati was certainly a poet-king For sheer simplicity of expression of high and noble thoughts he has a few compeers in Tamil literature In almost every part of the Tamil country, where nationalism is prevalent there are hosts of people on whose minds in particular he has a strong hold. They have an immense love for his poems and an irresistible desire to read or sing them aloud He has produced combinations which would give him a high rank among the Tamil poets of modern times because of their appeal to the ear Verses taken at random would illustrate this statement.

Among things that brought him to prominent notice must be mentioned his ardent love of the country in which he was born and for which he was prepared to offer sacrifices and undergo suffering. To him the Tamil country was sweeter than nectar :—

Amiḻtil iṉiyataḍi pāppā–nam
Āṉṟōrkal dēsamaḍi pāppā

As soon as he heard the word 'Tamiḻnāḍu' sweet honey poured into his ears and as soon as the word 'Fatherland' was uttered there came through the breath a marvellous spirit. This idea is contained in his following lines :—

Sen Tamiḻ nāḍeṉum pōti ṉilē–iṉpat
Tēṉvantu pāyutu kātiṉilē–eṅkal
Tantaiyar nāḍeṉṟa pēcciṉilē–oru
Sakti pirakkutumūcciṉilē—

To him Bhārata-dēsam or India appeared to be the best country in the world. Witness for instance his following lines :—

Pārukkullē nalla nāḍu-eṅkaḷ
Bhārata nāḍu.

He has sung in many places to the praise of the country where his father and mother and their fore-fathers had lived and played, where several women with golden bodies had played in broad moon-light or in the river, and where several women, giving birth to their golden children had nursed and fondled them. What a contrast to Keats who, though he said,

"Happy is England ! I could be content
To see no other verdure than its own ;
To feel no other breezes than are blown"

was anxious to see other climes and especially other beauties ! Keats, though he said,

"Happy is England, sweet her artless daughters ,
Enough their simple loveliness for me"

was burning to see "beauties of deeper glance, to hear their singing and to float with them about the summer waters". To Bhārati the ladies of Tamiḻnāḍ appeared to be quite angelic. Not that Bhārati did not want to see ladies of other climes but that to him angels, certain celestial beings and certain goddesses appeared as though they were women of Tamiḻnād.

Bhārati's poems abound in repetition of a word or phrase. Human nature requires that a thing should be said twice or thrice if it is to be believed. At any rate, that is the view of Mr E. A. G. LAMBORN. That ought to explain why Milton, in his cruel deprivation, cried :—

Oh dark, dark, dark amid the blaze of noon
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
Without all hope of day.

Bhārati was highly enamoured of the worship of Śakti, the Goddess of Energy who, according to him, stands supreme to the Hindu Triad. In order to emphasise the worship of her to the world he has repeated the expression Śakti ever so many times. For instance, under the title 'SAKTI TIRUPPUHAḺ' he has said :—

Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti eṉṟōtu
Sakti Sakti Sakti eṉpār–sākār eṉṟē niṉṟōtu

and again

Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti vāḻī nī
Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti vāḻi nī.

In another place he has said again

Ōm Sakti ōm Sakti ōm Sakti ōm Sakti
Ōm Sakti enṟu urai ceytiḍuvōm.

It appears as though Śakti would be conjured by means of uttering the expression time and again. Otherwise his 46 verses going under the title 'DEDICATION OF THE SOUL TO THE SAKTI' would cease to have great value. The burden of the song is "Sakti taṉakkē aḍimai ākku", Sakti taṉakkē aḍimai ākku". With these exquisite examples of his melody one can compare Keats'

Shed no tear! Oh, shed no tear
The flower will bloom another year.
Weep no more! Oh, weep no more
— — — — — — —
Dry your eyes, oh dry your eyes!
— — — — — — —
Shed no tear! Oh, shed no tear
— — — — — — —
Adieu, adieu—I fly, adieu,
— — — — — — —
Adieu, adieu.

Again with the melodious and creative beauty in the foregoing verses of Bharati one can compare Keats' song

"Spirit here that reignest!
Spirit here that painest!
Spirit here that burnest!
Spirit here that mournest!
Spirit! I bow
— — — — —
Spirit I look–
— — — —
Spirit here that laughest!
Spirit here that quaffest!
Spirit here that dancest!
Noble soul that prancest!
Spirit! With thee
I join in the glee."

Keats is reported to have said in his youth

"Give me women, wine and snuff
Until I cry out 'hold, enough'
— — — — — —
They aye shall be
My beloved Trinity."

Whether this is true or not, that he said "the poet enjoys light and shade and lives in gusto" in a letter to Woodhouse is beyond doubt. The latter statement applies to Bhārati in a remarkable manner, for he wished to enjoy moon-light and the shade of the cocoa-nut palms and to live in great gusto as is evident from his three verses entitled 'KĀṆI NILAM'. There he has said that he required a storeyed palace with a well, cocoa-nut trees numbering 10 or 12, tender cocoa-nuts, milk-white moon-light, and the sweet notes of a cuckoo. There he would require Goddess Śakti to guard the place while he, with an artless, chaste girl, would sing and dance. The verses under this title would bring to one's mind the following lines of Keats in "Sleep and Poetry":—

> First the realm I'll pass
> Of Flora, and old Pan: sleep in the grass,
> Feed upon apples red, and strawberries,
> And choose each pleasure that my fancy sees;
> Catch the white-handed nymphs in shady places,
> To woo sweet kisses from averted faces,—
> Play with their fingers, touch their shoulders white
>
> — — — — —
>
> — — — — —
>
> Another will entice me on, and on
> Through almond blossoms and rich cinnamon,
> Till in the bosom of a leafy world
> We rest in silence, like two gems upcurl'd
> In the recesses of a pearly shell.

Three ruling passions of Bhārati's life appear to have been poesy, fame and beauty. In this way he was like Keats who thought that verse, fame and beauty were intense, and unlike Keats who thought at the same time that death was intenser and that death was life's high meed. The nine verses going under the title 'MŪṈṞU KĀTAL' would indicate that Bhārati strove for poesy, fame and beauty. Stripped of the allegory this poem would represent that he was anxious to obtain the grace of Sarasvatī the Goddess of Learning, of Lakṣmī the Goddess of Wealth and of Kālī the beautiful Mother-God. This poem shows that he enjoyed the grace, in ample measure, of the first two Goddesses; but that they occasionally eluded his grasp has also been made plain. He did not, however, say as Keats did

> "O folly! What is Love! and where is it?
> And for that poor Ambition—It springs

4

From a man's little heart's short fever-fit;
For Poesy! —no—she has not a joy—
At least for me—".

Though Keats had a great passion for fame as is evident from a line in his Sonnet "Verse, fame and beauty are intense indeed", he scorned those people who strove for fame. Witness for instance the following lines on 'Fame'.—

Fame like a wayward girl, will still be coy
To those who woo her with too slavish knees,
But makes surrender to some thoughtless boy,
And dotes the more upon a heart at ease,
She is a Gipsey, will not speak to those
Who have not learnt to be content without her,

— — — — — —

Ye love-sick Bards! repay her scorn for scorn;
Ye Artists lovelorn! madmen that ye are!
Make your best bow to her and bid adieu,
Then, if she likes it, she will follow you

But Bhārati never scorned fame nor scorned those that were trying to attain fame. In several places we find him courting fame. For instance, under the caption 'VĒNDUM' he has said

"Dharaniyilē perumai vēṇḍum"

In the sixth verse under the title "VAIYAM MUḺUTUM" he has prayed for a long life of 100 years with fame. That he sought also beauty is evident from the following words "Nittam navam eṉac cudar tarum uyir kēttēṉ" contained in stanza 2 of his desiderata. That he had a craving for poesy is far more easily understood, for he has repeated that idea in many places. For instance, under the title "YŌGHA SIDDHI—VARAM KĒTTAL"—the following lines occur -

Pala pannir kōḍi vahaiyiṉpam—nāṉ
Pāḍat tiraṉ aḍaital vēṇḍum

Under the title "KĀNI NILAM" the following lines

Eṉraṉ pāttut tiṟattālē ivvaiyattaip
Pālittiḍa vēnum

and under the title "ŌM SAKTI" the following lines

Eḷḷattaṉai poḷutum payaṉiṉri irātu eṉraṉ nāviṉilē
Veḷḷameṉap poḻivāy

have occurred. There is no doubt therefore that fame, beauty and poesy were some of the ruling passions of Bhārati's life.

He yearned for wealth, joy and long life besides. He has given utterance to this idea in several places. For instance, in a poem entitled "VĒṆḌUM" he has said "Dhaṉamum iṉpamum vēṇḍum". In another poem, namely, "YŌGHA SIDDHI" he has eagerly sought great wealth to be used as capital for certain enterprises :—

Toḻil pannap perunitiyam vēṇḍum

If in the "Ode on Indolence" Keats has decried love, ambition and poesy, we are not to infer therefrom that never were they the ruling passions in his life On the other hand, it would be well if we said that these things which had great attraction for him at a certain period of his life ceased to interest him at a further stage when probably he lay on his sick-bed It is in this manner that the lines in the Sonnet

"Verse, fame and beauty are intense indeed,
But Death intenser—Death is life's meed"

are to be interpreted This records, as in the opinion of Mr. J. M. MURRY, "a grim and victorious struggle to detach himself from those passions" , "they dissolved away from him in a triumphant acceptance of Death". Similarly, Bhārati, who had an inordinate desire for joy and happiness, found one day that these joys and happiness were probably something ephemeral, if not illusory. That is why in his condemnation of Māya he has said "Ō māya ! Shall I take as true the happiness you give" (Verse 6.), and again "Ō māya ! What shall you do with those that know that this body is after all nothing" (Verse 4)

Even though Keats said in one place

"Ever let the Fancy roam,
Pleasure never is at home
At a touch sweet pleasure melteth,
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth ,
Then let winged Fancy wander
Through the thoughts still spread beyond her,"

he said at another

Welcome joy, and welcome sorrow
— — — — —
I do love you both together
— — — — —
Fair and foul I love together."

But Bhārati was always and invariably longing for joy and happiness. This is evident from his repeated requests to the Goddess of Energy that his lot must be joy alone and never grief, happiness alone and never sorrow. For instance, in "PŌRRI AGAVAL" he has stated

"Iṉpam kēṭṭēṉ īvāy pōṟṟi
Tuṉpam Vēṇḍēṉ tuḍaippāy pōṟṟi."

Further, the sixth verse relating to "DĒSA MUTTU MĀRI" runs as follows :—

Tuṉpamē iyaṟkai eṉum collai maṟantiḍuvōm
Iṉpamē vēṇḍi niṟpōm yāvum aval taruvāl.

Whereas Keats thought that Death was life's high meed and said

I know this Being's lease,
My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads,
Yet would I on this very midnight cease,

Bhārati has given expression in many places to his desire to survive and last long. One of the reasons why he asked people to worship Śakti was that they might thereby conquer Death. He himself was a staunch believer in an everlasting and imperishable life. At one place he has said that by the worship of Śakti people could live with fame for 100 years. In another (in St. 7 of Śiva Śakti Pugaḻ) he had stated that if there were the grace of Śakti people could live eternally. In yet another place (Mahā Śakti Venpā St. 4.) he has shown that he believed that the Goddess has made us all in order that we might live 100 years He has clearly expressed himself in "PŌṞṞI AGAVAL" (line 23) against Death —

Cāviṉai vēṇḍēṉ tavirppāy pōṟṟi.

Evidently his guru, by name, Kullaccāmi or Mānkottaiccāmi has told him that man could conquer Death He was therefore a firm believer in the theory of the immortality of the soul. What Bhārati apparently thought by saying that man could conquer death was that Man's soul was not mortal even though his body was. This could be inferred from the way in which he has appealed to Mahā Śakti either to kill his foul desire or to take away his breath, either to give light to his mind or to reduce him to a corpse :—

Mōgattaik koṉṟuviḍu—allāl eṉraṉ mūccai niṟuttiviḍu

— — — — —

Chintai teḻivākku—allāl itaic cetta uḍalākku.

Keats in his "Ode to a Nightingale" said

"Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird!
No hungry generations tread thee down;
The voice I hear this passing night was heard
In ancient days by emperor and clown"

and expressed himself in favour of leaving the world unseen, and fading away into the dim forest with the nightingale. He wanted

apparently to get away from the world "where but to think was to be full of sorrow". Even so Bhārati wanted to soar above and live like a bird, to eat without toil, to reap without sowing, to spend the night with stories, and to sleep and sleep during night :—

(1) Māṉuḍarē nīvir eṉ madhattaik
Kaikkonmiṉ ; pāḍupaḍal vēṇḍā.

(2) Viṭṭu viḍutalai āki niṟpāy intac
Ciṭṭuk kuruviyaip pōlē—unḍu
Maṟṟap poḻutu katai collit tūṅkip piṉ
Vaikaṟaiyākum muṉ pāḍi viḻippuṟṟu.

(3) Ciṉṉañ ciṟu kuruvi pōlē—nī
Tirintu paṟantu vā pāppā.

(4) Kāṭṭil ulla paṟavaikalpōl vāḻvōm appā.

Not that these poets had a brief for indolence but that they wanted to emphasise the pleasure of occasional idleness. In a Journal Letter of March-April 1819, as published by Miss Amy LOWELL, it is found that John Keats wrote "This morning I am in a sort of temper, indolent and supremely careless". In a previous letter he wrote "I do not know what I did on Monday—nothing—nothing—nothing" Despite this, he wrote in the poem "Sleep and Poetry"

"But off despondence, miserable bane
They should not know thee, who athirst to gain
A noble end, are thirsty every hour."

In a similar manner, though Bharati said in one place "hark, toil not, nature will give you food", has said in another (Bhārata-māthā Navaratnamālai St. 7) that those that serve the mother-country should never be despondent —

Cuḍutalun kuḻirtalum uyirkku illai ,
Cōrvu, viḻccigal tonḍarukku illai

In another point there is striking resemblance between Keats and Bhārati and that is in regard to relationship of Man and Woman.

"Woman !
When I see thee meek, and kind, and tender,
Heavens ! How desperately do I adore
Thy winning graces :—to be thy defender
I hotly burn—"

so said Keats. Bhārati's line of argument was that since all things in the world are said to be God woman being a thing of the world ought to be God. This is expressed in his poem entitled "WHERE IS GOD" (St. 3.) and in "BHĀRATI SIXTY-SIX" (St. 45). In

this part of the country he had even a sermon to preach: Respect woman (Taiyalai uyarvu cey—New Ātticūḍi).

In his "Ode to Fanny" Keats said "Love, love alone, has pains severe and many" and in his Sonnet commencing as "I cry your mercy—love!" he said

O! Let me have thee whole—all—all—be mine!
That shape, that fairness, that sweet minor zest
Of love, your kiss, those hands, those eyes divine

— — — —

Yourself—your soul—in pity give me all,
Withhold no atom's atom or I die

What a parallel to Bhārati whose burden of the song in the allegorical poem on the Indian Cuckoo is represented to be

Kātal kātal kātal,
Kātal pōyir kātar pōyir
Cātal, cātal, cātal!

The passage means "love, love, love, withhold love, withhold love, and I am dead, dead, dead". In a poem written to a lady in October 1819 Keats remarked

"Give me those lips again!
Enough! Enough! It is enough for me
To dream of thee!"

Bhārati similarly had a craving which has been expressed in "KANNAMMĀ—EṈ KĀTALI" —

Kāttiruppēṉōḍi—itu pār kaṇṇattu muttamoṉṟu.

Both Bhārati and Keats apparently could not brook philosophical obstruction in the path of love. Bhārati, for instance, in his vision of "Krṣṇa—a hunter—as his lover" was told by him, "Away with your Śāstras! I want only happiness with you" —

Ēḍi Sāttiraṅkaḷ vēṇḍēṉ—niṉatu iṉpam vēndumaḍi, kaṇiyē!

In another vision where Bhārati was the lover and Krṣṇa was the beloved, Krṣṇa told Bhārati, "Why this philosophy! Would those that are warm in love care for this philosophy?" The passage runs:—

Sāttiram pēsukiṟāy—Kannammā! Sāttiram ētukkaḍi?
Āttiram konḍavarkkē—Kannammā! Sāttiram unṭōḍi?

Apart from his appeal to the senses in other places, this alone would suffice to show that Bhārati would take a place by the side of John Keats as a poet of sensuous perfection. The way in which the wondrous serpent-woman has been developed from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy", transformed and re-created by Keats

contains a happy parallel. The poem "Lamia"—Part II—has the following words :—

Do not all charms fly
At the mere touch of cold philosophy ?
There was an awful rainbow once in heaven :
— — — She is given
In the dull catalogue of common things.
Philosophy will clip an angel's wings,
Conquer all mysteries by rule and line.

When the beautiful Lamia is about to be united in marriage with Lycius, there steps in Apollonius, his sage instructor, as an uninvited guest and with his eyes fixed on her, sends her into a swoon and cries out to Lycius

"Fool, fool — — from every ill
Of life have I preserved thee to this day
And shall I see thee made a serpent's prey ?"

Because of the approach of the philosopher, Apollonius, the whole charm of the lovers is fled

Bhārati in his vision of "Krsna as his Father" has represented Him as one that would laugh at the untrue Śāstras of mankind. Further in stanza 7 therein he has said that He was the giver of the Vedas but those Vedas are not in men's language and in what is called Veda to-day there is a small admixture of His Vedas. Thus, Bhārati lamented that the Vedas had been written and revised by persons interested in showing their own religion as the best. What a parallel to this is contained in the words of Keats relating to persons who have written the history of Jesus Christ ! Keats wrote "He (Jesus) was so great a man that though he transmitted no writing of his own to posterity, we have his mind and his sayings and his greatness handed to us by others It is to be lamented that the history of Jesus was written and revised by Men interested in the pious frauds of Religion"

Mr. F M. OWEN in his "Study of Keats" has told us that Keats was not merely a sensuous poet but something more That his imagination and poetic genius carried him beyond the earliest developments of the mind to the spiritual and more prominent elements of human nature is Mr OWEN's opinion If this is true of Keats, it is truer still of Bhārati. Keats in a letter is reported to have said as follows :—"Give me this credit—Do you not think I strive—to know myself ? Give me this credit (of knowing myself) and you will not think that on my own account I repeat Milton's lines

'How charming is divine philosophy
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose
But musical as is Apollo's lute'

no—not for myself—Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced." Bhārati similarly has said in several places "Know thyself" (Deivam nī eṉṟu uṇar—New Ātticūḍi). In "SARVA MADHA SAMARASAM" (St. 10) the following is found :—"Thou art God, thou art God ; God thou art ; it is Delusion that takes hold of thy mind and says 'thou art not God', Remove Delusion and thou wilt know thyself."

Bhārati and Keats, who lived in two different countries have many thoughts which are so like and yet unlike. It would be very interesting to make a further comparison of them

Viṣṇu in the Veda

By

R. N. DANDEKAR, Poona

One of the most outstanding problems of Indian mythology is the elevation of Viṣnu to great prominence given to him as the supreme god in the Hindu Trinity of gods, from a more or less minor position which he held in the Veda. He cannot be said to have ever been regarded, in the Vedic religion, as a living force. We come across a few Vedic references to Visnu (II. 1.3 ; II. 22.1 ; II. 34.11), which are absolutely general and pointless in character, and which therefore clearly indicate that he never dominated Vedic thought and faith, as, for instance, Varuna and Indra did. Hymns in praise of Viṣnu are indeed very few ; he is celebrated in not more than five whole hymns and in parts of others, while his name occurs only about a hundred times altogether in the *Ṛgveda* (RV) Even in those stray passages, Visnu is very casually mentioned among a great crowd of other divinities He thus seems to have occupied a comparatively subordinate position in the pantheon of Vedic gods, from which he apparently rises, more or less suddenly, to supreme eminence in Hindu mythology. Of all the Vedic gods, Visnu is the only god whose name is prominently preserved in the Hindu Trinity. Is it possible to account for this rather unique mythological phenomenon on the strength of the evidence derived from the Veda itself ? The assumption of certain scholars, like RAYACHAUDHARI, that Viṣnu was a great god even in the earliest Vedic times is difficult to accept. The statistical standard makes him out to be a deity only of the fourth rank. At the same time to assume that an ordinary god of the Veda, who was not much glorified in the hymns, became only in later times the god of ever-increasing importance is unconvincing. There are, according to MACNICOL (*Indian Mythology*), some hints in the Brāhmaṇa-literature of the progress which Visnu was making towards the position which he occupies later on. But the fact only that the Brāhmaṇas treat Viṣṇu as identical with the sacrifice and ask him to make good its defects does not necessarily indicate that Visṇu was attaining eminence. Moreover that assumption does not help the solution of the Viṣnu-problem. A workable hypothesis, in this connection, is therefore that there must have been some elements in the original nature and personality of Viṣṇu, which definitely made

him, at one time, an all-important god, and which were suppressed, perhaps consciously, by the Vedic poets and priests. He must have been an eminently-worshipped god even in very ancient times ; but he must have been put into the background in the Vedic religion on account of some intrinsic characteristics of his primary nature, which may have been disagreeable to the Vedic religious ideology. Does the available Vedic evidence corroborate this hypothesis to any extent ?

Visnu's personality as represented in RV is not rich in mythological details. The outstanding features of the Visnu-mythology in the Veda are mainly two : namely, the three strides which he is said to have taken in order to traverse the whole world and which are often glorified as the most distinctive achievement of his ; and secondly the help which he rendered to Indra at the time of the latter's fight with Vrtra These events in the career of Visnu are mentioned, in the Vedic literature, sometimes as two independent achievements (I. 154 2 3, I 155 4-5 ; VII. 100 3-5 ; VIII 29.7), and sometimes as connected with each other (IV 8 11, VIII 100.12). There are also some acts of even a higher character attributed to Visnu (I 154 1-2, VI 69 5, VII. 99. 2-3), but they are such as would be attributed to any Vedic god, as the result of the so-called henotheistic tendency in the Vedic religion, and may not be regarded as essentially distinctive of Visnu's nature. Let us therefore analyse the two above-mentioned features of the Visnu-mythology and see if they throw any light on the primary nature of Visnu

The first thing that would strike a critical student of the Vedic mythology is that the association of Visnu and Indra in RV is clearly superficial The references to the help which Visnu is said to have given to the Aryan war-god at the time of his glorious achievements of killing Vṛtra and ' letting the waters free ' could have been easily dispensed with The hymns addressed to Indra and Viṣnu together are again positively colourless The later Vedic passages (T. S. VI. 5 1 1, II. 4 12) also indicate that Indra hardly depended on Visnu for his help at the time of slaying Vrtra. We even see that the steps of Visnu, which form his distinctive characteristic, are sometimes (VI 69.5) transferred to Indra, thus clearly rendering Visnu superfluous The natural conclusion in this regard would therefore be that Visnu's comradeship of Indra at the time of the Vrtra-fight, which is obviously artificial, is necessarily an afterthought. This would also show, as HILLEBRANDT (*Vedische Mythologie*) has pointed out, that in the friendship of

Viṣṇu and Indra we have not to see the coalescence of any two natural phenomena. What then is at the bottom of this artificial bringing together of two intrinsically unconnected divinities? It is a well-known practice of the Vedic poets to connect any significant activity of any god with Indra and his achievements. Indra was by far the most prominent god of the Vedic Indians. As shown elsewhere (*Asura Varuṇa*, *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. 21), the changing environments of the conquering and ever-victorious Aryan tribes made them transfer their religious loyalty, which they originally showed to the World-sovereign, Asura Varuna, to the national war-god, Indra. But even after that, some ardent followers of the Varuna-religion, like the Vāsisthas, tried to preserve the primary greatness of Varuna's personality. One of the methods adopted to secure this was to bring about a compromise between the Varuṇa-religion and the new Indra-religion. Varuna was consequently associated with Indra, more or less artificially, as his comrade in a common cause वृत्राण्यन्यः समिथेषु जिघ्नते व्रतान्यन्यः अभिरक्षते सदा. If religious dignity and recognition had to be specially granted to any particular god, it was the practice of the Vedic poets to do so by associating that god with Indra and his fight with Vrtra That made the god, so to say, a 'legitimate' member of the Vedic pantheon This seems to have been the purpose of the obviously loose and artificial connection of the Visnu-mythology with the Indra-mythology

There are three distinct phases of the relation of Viṣnu with Indra, as seen in the Vedic hymns. Firstly, Indra and Visnu are brought together as equal partners in a common glorious deed (IV. 18.11 , VIII. 12.27 ; VIII. 52.3) , secondly, a clear attempt is made by the Visnu-glorifiers to place Visnu, in some cases (VIII. 31.10), in the eminent position which was usually held by Indra, by calling the latter, *visṇoh sacābhuvah* , and finally, Visnu is said to be the subordinate ally of Indra, deriving his power of taking three strides from the latter (VIII. 12.27), and is also represented (VIII. 15.9) as celebrating the praises of Indra.[1] All these phases indicate that there was no definite view-point held by the Vedic poets regarding the mutual relationship between Indra and Visnu It was more or less in a fluid condition! It was suggested in this connection that Visnu must have belonged to and been glorified by some circles outside the regular families of the Vedic poets. The Indra-Viṣṇu friendship may thus be regarded as an attempted treaty

1. It is this phase which gave Viṣnu, in later mythology, the name of Upendra.

between the respective followers of these two gods. This would explain the obvious awkwardness felt by the Vedic poets in bringing them together. The followers of the Viṣṇu-religion wanted to invest their god with necessary religious dignity by associating him with the 'official' national god, Indra. Not only that, but they even tried to make Visnu supercede Indra. It is of course not possible to accept the suggestion that the coalescence of the Viṣṇu-religion with the Indra-religion foreshadowed that of the Brāhmaṇas with the Ksatriyas. Two more reasonable explanations of this phenomenon may be offered. Either Visnu was a very important god of the indigeneous tribes of India, and was therefore not readily accepted by the Vedic Aryans at the time of the fusion of the two cultures. Or secondly Visnu was a god of great eminence among the masses of the Aryan nomads themselves and was not particularly liked by the orthodox families of the Vedic poets, perhaps on account of some 'revolting' traits in the primary nature of that god. Thus a thorough and a critical examination of Visnu's association with Indra gives us the necessary starting point for the discussion of the problem of Visnu's true personality.

The three strides of Visnu form a more inherent feature of the Visnu-mythology. What do these strides indicate? Yāska quotes in his *Nirukta* the views of his predecessors in this regard (XII 1):

यदिदं किं च तद् विचक्रमे विष्णुः। त्रिधा निधत्ते पदं त्रेधाभावाय पृथिव्यां अन्तरिक्षे दिवि इति शाकपूणिः। समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसि इति और्णवाभः।

The latter opinion was followed by the earlier Indologists like WILSON, ROTH, Max MÜLLER and KAEGI, who believed that the stepping of Visnu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun The solar nature of Visnu is undoubtedly most prominent in the Veda, since many other subsidiary features of Viṣṇu's personality mentioned there clearly confirm it. Vedic references to Visnu and his activity, such as, *prthivīm śatarcasam* (VII. 100.3), *svardrś* (I 155.5), *vibhūtadyumna* (I. 56.1) etc. definitely make him out to to be a god of light and splendour. There is a reference in the *Atharvaveda* (AV) (VII. 26.4) where the rays of the sun are clearly connected with Viṣṇu. In another AV passage (V. 26 7) Viṣṇu is said to be bestowing heat on the sacrifice. The common epithets of Viṣṇu in the RV are *urugāya* (wide-stepping), *eṣa* or *evayāvan* (full of motion), *dharmāṇi dhārayan*, *ṛtasya garbha*, *vedhāḥ* (upholding the ordinances), and *purvya* and *navya* (ancient and new). The sun-god is observed to be traversing the whole atmosphere from horizon to horizon through his wide strides; he completes the whole extensive course

just during one day; he never swerves away from the path and never misses the time; he is ancient because he has been seen since times immemorial and, at the same, he is young because he appears newly every morning. Thus the four prominent characteristics suggested by the above-mentioned epithets of Visnu—namely, wide-stepping, swift motion, regularity of course, and new and ancient forms on the same day—are found together only in the sun-god. The solar nature of Visnu, in the Veda, is consequently beyond doubt. In *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (S. P. B. XIV. 1.1.10) we have been told that Viṣnu's head was cut off and it later became the sun. But the most sure evidence in this regard is the passage in RV (I. 155.6) where Visnu is celebrated as setting in motion, like a revolving wheel, his ninety steeds with four names each. This reference taken in conjunction with I. 164.4 leaves no doubt that the steeds represent the days and the names represent the seasons. It is thus the description of the sun-god creating the solar year of 360 days. It is further likely that Visnu's title, *giriksit*, is indicative of the abode of the sun in the highest heavens. A mention may be made, in this connection, of the apparent parallelism, pointed out by SCHRODER, between the Vedic passage, विष्णोः परमे पदे मध्व उत्सः (I. 154.5) and a couplet in a Lettish song:

Der Uhsing bereitet Bier
In der Fussspur des Rössleins.

SHRODER presumes that this similarity is suggestive of the common idg. myth regarding Visnu. In the Lettish mythology Uhsing is the sun-god and therefore the Vedic Visnu must also have been a sun-god Visnu was thus distinctly a nature-god [2] There is also a corresponding Finnish myth mentioned in the second rune of *Kalevala*.

Even in the post-vedic representation of Visnu, there are certain features which are distinctly indicative of his original solar nature in the RV (The *sudarśana cakra*, which is the symbol of the orb of the sun,) the *padma*, which is the symbol of the life-awakening power of the heaven's light, the *pītāmbara*, which is suggestive of the clustre of bright rays—all these marks of Visnu, in later mythology, have clearly preserved his identity with the

2. On the basis of this assumption, SCHRODER would propose a striking theory regarding the genesis of the Hindu Trinity of gods. He maintains that the conception of the Hindu Trinity is an attempt to bring about a compromise among the three outstanding currents of religious thought in ancient India. Brahmā represents the abstract metaphysical point of view; Visnu represents the Vedic religion of 'naturalism', and Śiva stands for the popular worship of spirits by the masses.

sun-god. The imagery connected with 'hair', which are the usual symbol for sun's rays, is quite apparent in Viṣṇu's paurāṇic names, such as, *Keśava* and *Hṛṣīkeśa*. Visnu's names *Hayaśirāh*, *hayamukhah* (cf. MBH. *Śānti*, 339 59–60) have preserved the 'sun-horse' imagery. That god is further described as *ravilocana*, *sahasrārciḥ* etc.[3] Even Visnu's favourite vehicle, in the later Purāṇa-mythology, namely, Garuḍa, has his original in the Vedic Suparṇa, which is, on its part, the sun-bird itself The fight between Garuḍa and the serpents is symbolic of the conflict between light and the demons of darkness

It will thus be clearly seen that the evidence supplied by the RV and the later literature is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that at the back of the Vedic representation of Viṣṇu, there lies mainly the conception of the sun-god. There are no doubt other more or less obscure characteristics of that god mentioned in the Vedic hymns and the Vedic ritual, but these appear to be merely the traces of that aspect of the personality of Viṣnu, which the Vedic poets tried purposely to suppress They will be taken into consideration later on The orthodox Vedic poets accepted Visṇu, when that god was perhaps forced on them, mainly as the sun-god, as is evident from his picture presented in the RV. They associated Visnu, as a deity of mightly energy, with their national war-god Indra—only as his subordinate ally

The solar nature of Visnu is however not accepted by OLDENBERG (*Religion des Veda*). He says, rather guardedly, that it would not be impossible that, through an obscure conception, an original sun-god is transformed into Visnu, but it would not be very probable. Indeed he does not find a single definite trace of solar divinity in Visnu. The idea of the three strides, which forms the very starting point of the sun-theory is in itself, according to OLDENBERG, not very clear. The number three may be merely a mystically auspicious number and may not have anything to do with a concrete natural phenomenon[4] OLDENBERG believes that

3. The pauranic reference to Viṣnu's complexion being dark is the result of his being contaminated by the later Krsna-mythology.

4. BERGAIGNE also thinks that that number is merely a matter of 'mythological multiplications'. The facts that even Amesa Spentas are said, in the *Avesta*, to be making 'three' strides towards the solar region, that there is a reference to the 'three-fold' extension of Anra Mainyus, and that the spirits are described as taking 'three' steps on their way to heaven, may also seem to confirm the above suggestion. But the Vedic descriptions of the three strides of Visnu clearly refer to too concrete a natural phenomenon to be interpreted otherwise. The three Visnu-steps which the sacrificer takes during the full-moon and the new-moon

the principal motive in the Vedic Viṣṇu-mythology is the extent of space. The references about Viṣṇu such as, *urugāya*, *urukṣiti*, *uruṣu vikramaṇeṣu*, *vigāman* etc. make it clear that Viṣṇu was eminently a space-god. The emphasis is mainly put on Viṣṇu's measuring the vast space. Even in S. P. B. (I. 2.5.1), Viṣṇu's character of the traverser of space is prominent. Visnu is the god who traverses the space, puts it in order, and makes it available for human habitation OLDENBERG explains the name Visnu as 'Wanderer', thus signifying the notion of the wideness of space.

Against this theory put forth by that 'anti-solar mythologist', OLDENBERG, it must be first of all mentioned that the conception of the three strides, understood by him, as indicating exclusively the vastness of space is not warranted by the Vedic evidence. Moreover his objection, namely that Viṣṇu's characteristic three steps cannot refer to the sun's course, since what is said about them does not agree with morning, noon and evening, is absolutely without significance. The interpretation of the three steps of Visnu, mentioned by OLDENBERG in his objection, is certainly wrong but the Vedic descriptions of the three steps clearly connect them, as will be shown later on, with a different and quite a distinctive activity of the sun. Further OLDENBERG seems to translate the word *urugāya* as 'the lord of wide spaces', and not as 'wide-stepping', which latter would be the more correct rendering. The emphasis put on the notion of wide space appears to have been based more particularly on incidental ritualistic references than on actual Vedic descriptions. OLDENBERG and other scholars like GELDNER, for instance, who says that Visnu is the god whose main function is to create space in the world, seem to ignore altogether the solar traits in his nature. Monier WILLIAMS also first thought that the primary idea of Visnu (derived from the root *vis*') permeating and infusing his essence into material objects was originally connected with the personification of the infinite heavenly space. But he later on found that the Vedic evidence, which went against such assumption, made Visnu a form of the ever-moving solar orb (I. 22. 16–17). Even HILLEBRANDT, who originally believed that Viṣṇu was not necessarily identical with the sun-god, finally came to the conclusion that the sun-theory explained almost all the features of the Viṣṇu-mythology in the best possible manner. HOPKINS (*J.A.O.S.*

sacrifices are not at all suggestive of any mystic significance. On the other hand, they are clearly symbolical of the three regions (which is actually, as will be shown later, the true explanation of Viṣṇu's strides) सुवर्गाय हि लोकाय विष्णुक्रमा: क्रमयन्ते (T. S. I. 7. 6. 1).

XVI) summarises the position, in this regard, quite convincingly when he says that Viṣṇu was regarded as a sun-god not through any predilection for sun-gods in general, but because what little is said of him in the RV answers only to that conception. Other theories[5] regarding the true nature of Viṣṇu, as represented in the Veda, which also do not seem to take into account the emphatically solar traits in his personality, must likewise be set aside.

Though the predominantly solar nature of Viṣṇu is thus indicated by the Vedic evidence, as a whole, it is not correct to identify his three strides with the rising, the culmination and the setting of the sun, as ROTH, KAEGI, and Max MULLER did, following Aurṇavābha. The third step of Viṣṇu, which is described as very sublime and leading to the mysterious world of the highest heaven, shows no connection whatsoever with the sun-set. Not even the soaring winged birds venture to approach that third step of Viṣṇu (I. 155.5).[6] With it is also connected (III. 55. 10; I. 154. 5) the highest and the third place of Agni (I 72. 2-4), which is the sun. The gods enjoy themselves there (VIII. 29. 7), for in the third step of Viṣṇu there is a spring of honey (I. 154. 5).[7] The most beloved resort of Viṣṇu is his third step, which is said to be beyond this lower region (VII. 100.4). Viṣṇu's epithet, *girikṣit*, as well as the reference to the many-horned cows (clouds ?) (I 154. 6) moving at the highest

5. JOHANSSON holds that Viṣṇu represents primarily the fundamental spirit of the *pitars*. Rudolf OTTO believes that originally there were several Viṣṇus representing the 'power-numina'. N. N GHOSH sees in Viṣṇu a god of lightning having the Maruts for his attendants. A. C DAS identifies Viṣṇu with the Egyptian god, Bes, who is the protector of the world JACOBI thinks that Viṣṇu was, from very early times, a god of speculation, merely 'der Träger der abstrakten Idee' There are other scholars who look upon Viṣṇu as being originally a 'Herds-man' god, *gopāh* (I 22. 18, also I. 154. 6; X. 19, 4), which fact must have facilitated, according to them, the process of his assimilation, in later times, with Kṛṣṇa. HARDY puts forth a striking theory when he says that Viṣṇu halts twice during the day, morning and evening, then assuming the functions of the moon as the third step, which is characterised by the spring of honey (I. 154. 3). Accordingly there is said to be the conception of the moon at the back of the Vedic Viṣṇu and perhaps also of the Lettish Uhsing.

6. According to the explanation of Aurnavābha, namely that *samārohana*, *viṣṇupada*, and *gayaśiras* are the three steps of Viṣṇu, it would be necessary to recognise the second step as the highest step, which fact is however not suggested by the Vedic references. It may be mentioned here as a matter of interest that JAYASWAL believes that *viṣṇupada* represents the actual geographical locality of that name.

7. SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR thinks that the obscurity surrounding the third step of Viṣṇu helped to give him an association of mystery such as is necessary for a god that is to be acknowledged as sole and supreme.

step of Viṣṇu are further indicative of its being in the highest heaven. That step is also the abode of the pious dead (I. 154. 5–6; V. 3. 3). HOPKINS seems to put special emphasis on this characteristic of Viṣṇu's highest step. Viṣṇu is, according to him, the first god to represent, what he continues to represent through later ages, the sun-home of souls. It is at the same time the rule in RV that the spirits of the departed live in the top of the sky. This conception of the solar home of souls, which is too evidently connected with Viṣṇu to be easily set aside as of no account, makes two things quite clear: firstly, that in Visnu's personality solar nature is very prominent; and secondly, that his highest step is on the top of the sky and may not therefore be identified with the setting of the sun.[8] Other features of Visnu's three strides, such as that all beings live in them (I. 154. 2), that Visnu measured the whole universe with them (I. 154. 4), and that they commence on the earth (I. 22. 16) and end in the highest heaven (I. 154. 5)—all go to prove that the naturalistic interpretation of the three strides given by Aurnavābha and adopted by ROTH and others, is not at all warranted by the Vedic evidence. They do not represent the daily course of the sun from horizon to horizon. Through the Viṣṇu-mythology the Vedic poets have presented the picture of the sun as a swiftly-moving luminary which, with vast strides, traverses the whole universe in its threefold division of the earth, atmosphere, and heaven, so familiar to the Vedic cosmology. This explanation originally suggested by Śākapūni and later on accepted by a majority of scholars satisfactorily meets all the requirements of the three steps as described in RV. It is again this explanation, which prevails in the later Vedic literature (V. S. II. 25; T. S. I. 7. 5. 4; S. P. B. I. 9. 3. 9, VI. 7. 4, 7). The essential notion underlying the three steps of Visnu is thus the diurnal course of the sun in his ascent from the horizon of the earth, through the atmosphere, to the zenith, namely the solar paradise or the Vedic 'Elysion'. The reference to the three Viṣṇu-steps to be taken by the sacrificer in the full-moon and new-moon rituals (T. S. I. 7. 6. 1) is also clearly indicative of the three regions of the universe.[9] It is not a solar deity in its general character that is

8. It is perhaps this notion of the sun-home of souls which led JOHANSSON to see in Viṣṇu the 'Grundsubstanz der Manen'.

9. TILAK offers an astronomical explanation of Visṇu's three strides, which closely follows his 'Arctic Home' theory. They represent, according to him, the annual course of the sun divided into three parts; two of the steps are visible since the sun is above the horizon, while the third step becomes invisible because the sun goes below the horizon. Lately, R. SHAMSHASTRI has come forth with another astronomical explanation, according to which, the three strides are indi-

represented through the Vedic Viṣṇu; rather the Vedic poets have mythologically glorified the conception of the swift motion of the sun-god through the picturesque descriptions of the three strides.[10] GÜNTERT (*Der arische Weltkönig*) believes that even the notion of taking the three strides in the reverse order, namely from the zenith through the atmosphere, to the western horizon is also implied in the representation of Viṣṇu's strides in the RV Viṣṇu was the god who ascended, by means of his three strides, in the quickest possible manner, to the highest heaven from the earth, through the air; in other words, according to GÜNTERT, Viṣṇu was the only knower of the shortest and the best path to the divine domain of light. The same god again descends down to the earth, in the capacity of a 'saviour', only to go back to his highest abode.[11] That scholar thus seems to see the germ of the later *avatāra*-theory in this conception

It must be said that there is no clear reference to the *avatāra*-theory as such in the Veda. But the germs of some of the features of that conception are certainly to be found in some Vedic passages. As MACDONELL (*J. R. A. S.* 1895) has rightly pointed out, the *avatāra*-conception can ultimately be traced back to the frequent identification of one god with another. In the Brāhmana-literature, the gods are identified with 'substances' also. It will, however, be found that there are two characteristics of Viṣṇu's personality, which seem to have been directly developed into the conception of *avatāra*. In VII. 100. 6, Visnu is said to be capable of assuming a form different from his ordinary form[12] And secondly, Viṣṇu is described as taking the three strides for the deliverance of mankind in distress (VI 49. 13) MACDONELL brings forth other traces of Hindu Visnu's general character as the 'Preserver', in the Veda Visnu is beneficent (I. 156 5), is innocuous and bountiful

cative of the varying shadow-lengths. A reference may as well be made to the commentary of Durga on *Nirukta* (XII. 1) विष्णुः आदित्यः। कथमिति अग्निः विद्युत् सूर्यः...

10. OLDENBERG's objections that absolutely clear references to the sun's daily course and the annual course are absent in the Viṣṇu-mythology is untenable, since it is only one aspect of the solar activity, that is represented through Viṣṇu's strides.

11. GUNTERT puts great emphasis on the mystic and magical significance of the 'foot-prints' (?) of Visnu. He also refers in this connection to 'Holy foot-prints in India' by CHARPENTIER. But the Vedic mythology on the whole does not seem to be quite familiar with the glorification of foot prints.

12. It is a common primitive belief that gods can take any forms that they choose.

(VIII. 25. 12), and a generous protector (I. 155. 4). But only such features of an ordinary sun-god cannot adequately account for Viṣṇu's sudden rise to prominence in Hindu mythology. As pointed out elsewhere, Viṣṇu must have already been a great god among 'extra-Vedic' circles and his later eminence was merely a legitimately recognised come-back.

Though there is no reference to Vāmana in RV, the three strides of Viṣṇu form undoubtedly the foundation of the paurāṇic *vāmanāvatāra*. In the Brāhmana-literature (S. P. B. I. 2. 5, T. S. VI. 2. 4, A. B. VI. 15) Visnu's dwarf-form is actually connected with his three steps by means of which he covers the whole universe.[13] The faint traces of the later *varāhāvatāra* of Visṇu are also to be found in RV (I. 61 7, VIII. 77. 10), and the later Vedic literature (T. A X. 1. 8, T B 1. 1. 3. 5; T. S. VII. 1 5. 1.; S. P. B. XIV 1, 2. 11).[14]

Whatever the real factors were which contributed towards the elevation of Viṣṇu from a minor position which he occupied in the RV-mythology to be an important member of the Hindu Trinity of gods, it is evident that the faint traces of the beginning of this process are to be discovered even in the Brāhmana-literature. Visnu is said to be the highest among the gods (S. P. B. XIV. 1. 1. 5); he is their door-keeper (A. B. I. 30 19), the gods have their mouth in Viṣṇu (TS. I. 7.5). Though Visnu has only few insignificant offerings made to him in the Vedic ritual, a stage was reached when he was actually identified with the sacrifice as a whole. The A.B. (I.1) clearly states: अग्निर्वै देवानां अवमः विष्णुः परमः तदन्तरेण सर्वाः देवताः. It cannot, however, be said that Visnu had attained his paurānic supremacy in the Brāhmanas. The process had only begun. As the

13. What the primary notion underlying Visnu's dwarf-form was it is not easy to imagine. A KUHN thought that the dwarf represented the sun-light which shrinks into dwarf's size in the evening. OLDENBERG proposed that the idea evolved out of a fable about a wide-stepping giant who could turn himself into a dwarf. This is evidently far-fetched, since a fable-motive cannot be the centre of a myth. According to KEITH, MACDONELL and HILLEBRANDT, Viṣṇu assumed the dwarf-form only by way of a stratagem in order to mislead the Asuras An ethical interpretation of this *avatāra* is given by MACNICOL who believes that it is suggestive of strength and safety issuing out of smallness and weakness N. AIYANGAR thinks that Viṣṇu seen as a little dwarf in the form of the sacrificial fire on earth takes the giant strides in the forms of *vidyut* and *sūrya* R. SHAMASHASTRI refers to the 'dwarfish shadow', while explaining the *avatāras* on the basis of astronomical phenomena.

14. According to MACDONELL the earliest form of the myths of the *matsya* and *kūrma* incarnations occurs in S. P. B., though in neither case is Viṣṇu there mentioned as connected with the fish or the tortoise.

importance of Viṣṇu was gradually growing, that of Indra was correspondingly diminishing. This position was finally consolidated in the MBH. where we are told that Indra, in fear, hastens to Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu bestows upon him his power. Viṣṇu is there positively placed over and above Indra. The Viṣṇu-religion may thus be said to have overpowered the Vedic Indra-religion.

It would be greatly helpful to see what light the etymology of the name Viṣṇu throws on the whole Viṣṇu-problem. The most common way of explaining the name is to derive it from the root *viṣ*, 'to be active' (MACDONELL, KAEGI, SCHRODER, OTTO). The very quick and active movements of the sun-god are suggested through this explanation. But it is not made clear what suffix is added and how the word is grammatically formed.[15] BLOOMFIELD claims to have made a distinct contribution to the Viṣṇu-problem by proposing that the name was made up of two parts, *vi* (= through) and *snu* or *sānu* (= the back). Viṣṇu's strides through the back of the world are, according to that scholar, indicated by the word. It is however difficult to see how BLOOMFIELD could understand *vi* in the sense of 'through' and make Viṣṇu mean 'crossing the back'. GUNTERT also seems to accept the same etymology of the word. He however understands the prefix *vi* in the sense of 'apart from one another'. Viṣṇu therefore means one who sets the surfaces apart. The word, Viṣṇu, made up of the two component parts, *vi* and *snu* (*sānu*), can have only three senses: (i) one whose *sānu* are *vi* (= parted), (ii) one for whom the *sānu* have separated themselves wide apart (accepted by OLDENBERG); and (iii) one separated from *sānu*, that is, without *sānu*. Neither any of these three senses nor the one proposed by GUNTERT gives any satisfactory explanation of Viṣṇu's nature as directly represented in and indirectly implied by the Veda. It would be moreover really strange if a word, more or less artificially excogitated by the Brāhmaṇas in such a manner, could become not only the common name of the principal god of later Hinduism but also a name, which must have already been necessarily popular among certain culture-groups of old. The most

15. Mention may be made in this context of the paurāṇic attempts to connect the name Viṣṇu etymologically with the root *viś* (= to enter, to pervade). According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Viṣṇu enters into or pervades the universe agreeably to the text of the Veda, तमेव सृष्ट्वा त अनुप्राविशत्. In the *Padmapurāṇa* the name is made to refer to Viṣṇu's combining with *prakṛti* as *puruṣa*. According to the *Matsyapurāṇa* the name alludes to his entering into the mundane egg. The commentator of *Viṣṇusahasranāma* says. चराचरेषु भूतेषु वेशनाद विष्णुरुच्यते; and further, विशते. वा नुक्प्रत्ययस्य रूपं विष्णुरिति. 'In all these cases there would be the difficulty of accounting for the cerebralisation of '*ś*'.

satisfactory etymology of the word is to derive it from the root *vi* with the suffix *snu* (the same as we find in forms like *jiṣṇu*, *alaṁkariṣṇu*, *kṣeṣṇu*, *niṣetsnu* etc.). The root *vi*, on its part, is philologically connected with * uei (=fly). The other formations from the root are ; av. *vis*, lat. *avis*, ahd. *wio*, nhd. *weih*, arm. *hav* etc. The word Visnu therefore originally means 'the flyer'. It is also not unlikely that the name itself primarily indicated a bird. We shall, therefore, be justified in presuming that the bird-form is the earliest known feature of the personality of Viṣṇu. In the early Veda, Viṣṇu is clearly represented as the sun-bird, though it is not necessary to assume that this conception was the primary one. In many primitive mythologies the sun is seen to have been represented as a bird.[16] In some cases the sun is also represented as the 'flying horse', some faint traces of which may be available even in the descriptions of Visnu.[17] Very early in the evolution of religious thought people imagined of a divine being overrunning the three regions of the universe with the greatest possible speed. Such a being could only be a bird, which is popularly supposed to be the quickest among the creatures. Like many other peoples of antiquity, the Indians also represented the sun under the form of a bird which flies swiftly through the sky. That was Visnu! BLOCH (*Worter und Sachen* I) thinks that the beautifully-feathered bird, referred to in the Veda (X. 143.3), सुपर्णो अङ्ग सवितुर्गरुत्मान् पूर्वो जातः, is the same as the sun-bird. Through a critical and exhaustive study of the Vedic and post-Vedic references, JOHANSSON (*Solfågeln i Indien*) and CHARPENTIER (*Die Suparṇa-sage*) have convincingly proved (i) that the bird which is represented in the RV as stealing the Soma is no other than Visnu,[18] (ii) that this bird is identical with the *suparṇa*, Garuḍa of *Suparṇadhyāya* and the epic, and (iii) that the Garuḍa as the favourite vehicle of Visnu was originally Visnu himself in one of his forms. This bird, which is represented with a human head, is the most prominent sign of Visnu's original bird-form in later mythology[19]

16. A comparison of the following two couplets in a Lettish song

Die Lerche braut Bier
In der Fussspur des Pferdes, and
Der Uhsing bereitet Bier
In der Fussspur des Rösslems,

gives us the equation · Uhsing = Lerche, that is the sun-god = a bird (the lark).

17. Compare Viṣṇu's names, *hayaśiras*, *hayamukha*.

18. According to BLOOMFIELD, *śyena* = *gāyatri* (therefore) = *agni* (therefore) = lightning.

19. JOHANSSON believes that *śrīvatsa*, *kaustubha*, four arms, the lotus in the *nābhi* etc. are the other features of the paurāṇic Viṣṇu, which obviously betray his original bird-form.

It has so far been shown that the Vedic hymns represent Viṣṇu mainly as a solar deity, in the form of a bird, and that the ascent and the descent of the sun through the three regions are glorified through Viṣṇu's three strides, which form the outstanding feature of his nature in the Veda. These conclusions, however, do not substantially help the solution of the important problems regarding Viṣṇu. Firstly, if Viṣṇu was merely an ordinary sun-god, why should there have been the obvious hesitation on the part of the Vedic poets in legitimately admitting him to the pantheon of the Vedic gods? What otherwise is the significance of associating Viṣṇu with Indra, and that too in such a superficial and artificial manner? Secondly, why should a Vedic sun-god alone be chosen for the supreme position in the Hindu mythology? And why particularly Viṣṇu from among several solar divinities? These questions would ultimately lead us to the hypothesis that besides his solar nature, there was another more prominent aspect of Viṣṇu's personality and that an attempt to suppress it purposely was made by the Vedic poets and priests. As however the case is there have unmistakably remained some traces of that aspect of Viṣṇu's personality in the Vedic hymns and ritual.

The most significant word in this connection is *śipiviṣṭa*, which is exclusively employed in the Veda with reference to Viṣṇu. The passages where the word occurs in RV (VII. 99.7, VII. 100 5-6) seem to have been kept obscure with a purpose. The Vedic poets evidently sought to make a guarded and a casual reference to that aspect of Viṣṇu's personality which was indicated by the word. *śipiviṣṭa*. Many attempts have been made to explain the word, but few satisfy the requirements of philology[20] and none brings out the true nature of Viṣṇu. It is not possible to separate philologically the word *śepa* (=*penis*) from *śipi*. Other similar idg. forms

20. In the commentary to T. S. (5. 5. 5) पशव: शिपिरिति श्रुत्यन्तरात् शिपिशब्द: पशुवाची. In the comm. to T. M. B. (IX. 7. 8): शिपयो रश्मय: तै: आविष्ट:. In *Nirukta* (V. 8. 9) शिपिविष्टो विष्णुरिति विष्णोर्द्वे नामानि भवत:। कुत्सितार्थीयं पूर्वं भवति इति औपमन्यव:. Further, शेप इव निर्वेष्टित: अस्मि इति. According to MBH. शिपिविष्ट = bald, cf. शिपिविष्टेति चाख्याया हीनरोमा च यो भवेत्. According to OLDENBERG, the conception underlying the word is obscure, the word probably indicates baldness or skin-disease. HOPKINS accepts the former meaning. GELDNER thinks of Vāmana being meant; cf. यद् क्षोदिष्टं तत् शिपिविष्टम्. According to CHARPENTIER, शिपिविष्ट = hairy dwarf. TILAK understands the word as suggesting the sun's going below the horizon and therefore being temporarily concealed in a dark cover. According to A. C. DAS, the word implies that the sun's rays are obscured during night or rainy-season.

are *śiphā* (= a root), pkt. *chepa*, lat. *cippus*, *scipio* (= staff) etc. Even *Nirukta* (V. 7) seems to be vaguely supporting this view though its further explanation is not clear.[21] Added to that word is a form from the root *viṣ*, thus making the whole word mean 'the changing phallus; the swelling and diminishing penis'.[22] We may now easily understand why the Vedic poets speak in such guarded and obscure way about this form of Visnu. In this connection it is very significant to note what *Nirukta* (V. 8-9) says of this name of Visnu : कुत्सितार्थीयं पूर्वं भवति. The word *śipiviṣṭa* has thus unmistakably preserved Visnu's ancient phallic nature. There are also many other incidental references to Visnu in the Vedic hymns and ritual, which clearly associate him with the notions of fertility, productivity and sex-life .

One of the obscure features of the Vedic *śrāddha*-ritual is that the *angustha*, without nail, is to be dipped into the offering intended for the *pitars* This action is accompanied by an invocation to Visnu. The *angustha* is undoubtedly a symbol of the phallus. Visnu is, in this rite, clearly connected with the phallic aspect of the Vedic ritual. In later literature we find Visnu actually identified with the thumb.[23] In the T. S. passage (VI. 2. 4.2), यज्ञो देवेभ्यो निलायत विष्णुरूपं कृत्वा स पृथिवीं प्राविशत्, we find another piece of evidence in this regard. Visnu's entering into the mother earth is a symbolical description of a fertility-rite. The words, *tanvā vrdhānah*, used with reference to Visnu (VII 99.1 , VIII. 100.2) may further be understood to be indicative of his phallic nature. Visnu is significantly identified, in later literature, with *hiraṇyagarbha*, and *nārāyana*.[24] Visnu's close connection with Sinīvālī (AV. VII 46.3), the 'broad-hipped' divinity protecting the feminine sex-functions, throws considerable light on this aspect of Visnu's personality According to the *Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhyasūtra* (I. 22.13), the *mantra*, विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयतु (X. 184.1) accompanies the *garbha*-ceremony, thus suggesting that Visnu is the efficacious protector of the embryos. In AV (VII 17.4), Visnu is clearly connected with sex-functions. The two epithets of Visnu, *niṣiktapā* (VII 36.9) 'protector of the semen', and *sumajjāni* (I. 156.2) 'facilitating easy birth' speak for themselves. The word,

21. JOHANSSON makes शिपिविष्ट = appearing in phallic form

22. It is not unlikely that the later myth of the dwarf which exhibits giant strength has its germ in this explanation

23. Cf. Yama in *Hemādri* III. 1378 :

अंगुष्ठमात्रो भगवान् विष्णुः पर्यटते महीम् ।.

24. *Nārāyaṇa* is philologically connected with *ənra (= manly vigour).

paumsya 'manly vigour' is significantly used with reference to Viṣṇu in RV (I. 155. 3–4). In the *vṛṣākapi*-hymn (X. 86), Indra is said to have been exhausted, when a bold, lascivious monkey administered to him some medicine, through which Indra regained his manly power. This *vṛṣākapi* is identified, in later literature, with Viṣṇu, the word being also mentioned as one of his names in the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*. There is thus abundant indirect evidence provided by the Vedic hymns and ritual to prove Viṣṇu's connection with fertility and productivity rites.[25] As elsewhere, so also in India, popular customs and conceptions of the religion of the masses have naturally been the primary foundations of great Brahmanical sacrifices. The god of fertility and productivity occupied a very prominent place in the religion of the common people. The Aryans particularly, who had been mainly agriculturists must have glorified the vegetation-divinity and vegetation-rites to a very great extent. For instance, in the *Mahāvrata*, which was clearly a vegetation-ritual, the main features of generative rites and vegetation-rites are quite transperent. Through a very penetrating study of the *Mahāvrata*, from this point of view, JOHANSSON has proved that a conspicuous part was played in that ritual by a vegetation-divinity in bird-form. According to MANNHARDT and FRAZER, the fertility-fetish in many primitive vegetation-rites was a bird. This bird-motive is seen also in the bird-form of the *mahadukthya vedī* in *Mahāvrata*. A possibility is hereby suggested that it was Viṣṇu, as a bird, who was the most prominent figure in all such rites. The original nature of Viṣṇu as a bird has already been indicated. Viṣṇu was therefore also the fertility-bird. All this explains how Viṣṇu, as a god of fertility, must have occupied a prominent position in the primitive Aryan religious thought and ritual. Other so-called obscure references to Viṣṇu, such as *śipiviṣṭa*, agree perfectly well with this aspect of Viṣṇu's personality.

A well-reasoned account may thus be offered of the evolution of the whole Viṣṇu-religion. Viṣṇu must have been regarded as a bird, at least among certain culture-groups. In that form he was very closely connected with the vegetation-ritual. He was indeed the god of fertility and productivity and as such he must have been regarded as most eminent in the popular religion of the masses. It was, however, on account of the aversion, on the part of the Vedic priestly intellectuals and the conquering higher classes, for this

25. J. J. MEYER believes that the myth of Bali, the Indian Saturnus, and his dethronement reflects clearly the sudden displacement of 'chthonic' demon at the hands of the vegetation-god.

popular productivity-god and his uncouth, frivolous, and to a certain extent obscene fertility rituals, that Viṣṇu was not easily admitted to the pantheon of the Vedic gods. The Vedic poets could not, however, completely neglect him. They therefore celebrated him in his other aspect of the sun-bird ; and they tried to suppress, as far as possible, the true nature of this 'god of the people'. But those culture-groups[26] among whom Visnu was a prominent god forced him upon the 'official' Vedic religion, which was dominated by the Indra-mythology. This accounts for the obvious fluctuations in the artificial and superficial relationship between Viṣṇu and Indra. It is not necessary to assume non-Aryan influence in this regard.[27] It was merely a matter between the 'classes' and the 'masses' among the Aryans themselves.[28] In post-Vedic times when the popular religion again came into prominence, Visnu became the supreme god. He had by then inherited several features from the many earlier aspects of his personality. As KEITH has pointed out (*J. R. A. S.* 1915), Krsna himself was originally the spirit of reviving vegetation. The identification of Visnu with Krsṇa, in later Hinduism, was consequently an easy matter. It is also not unlikely that ancient rites concerning productivity and sex-life, connected with the primary conception of Visnu, have been retained in later religion through the doctrines of *bhakti* and *pusti*. Those ancient clumsy sexual orgies have been, to a great extent, ennobled and refined. The place of *libido* was taken by *amor dei*. As Max WEBER puts it : An die Stelle der realen Sexualorgiastic trat also der krypto-erotische Genuss in der Phantasie.

---

26. It is pointed out by KEITH that the Vāsiṣṭhas take greater notice of Visnu than normally. HILLEBRANDT and HOPKINS (*J. A. O. S.* Vol. XVI) have given a statistical analysis of the passages where Visnu is celebrated.

27. The suggestion that Visnu was worshipped by *giriksit* tribes (=hill-tribes) is too far-fetched.

28. GÜNTERT points out that some German folk-songs are quite similar to the hymns addressed to Viṣṇu and that there is a widely-spread belief in upper Bavaria and England that the rising sun, on the morning of Easter-Sunday, makes 'three jumps of pleasure', which remind one of Viṣṇu's three strides.

The Prose Kāvyas of Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa

By

S. K. De, Dacca

The peculiar type of prose narrative, which the Sanskrit theory includes under the category of Kathā and Ākhyāyikā, but which, accepting a broad interpretation, has been styled Prose Romance, first makes its appearance, in this period, in a fully developed form in the works of Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa But 'the origin of this species of literature is surrounded with greater obscurity than that of the Kāvya itself, of which it is presumed to be a sub-division. We know at least of Aśvaghoṣa as a predecessor who heralded the poetic maturity of Kālidāsa, but of the forerunners of Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa we have little information. The antiquity of this literature is undoubted, but no previous works, which might have explained the finished results, diversely attained by these authors, have come down to us We know that the Ākhyāyikā is specifically mentioned by Kātyāyana in his Vārttika, and Patañjali, commenting on it, gives the names of three Ākhyāyikās known to him, namely Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhaimarathī, but we know nothing about the form and content of these early works The very title of the *Bṛhat-kathā* and the designation Kathā applied to the individual tales of the *Pañcatantra*, one of whose versions is also called *Tantrākhyāyikā*, indicate an early familiarity with the words Kathā and Ākhyāyikā, but the terms are apparently used to signify a tale in general, without any specific technical connotation.[1] We know nothing, again, of the *Cārumatī* of Vararuci, from which a stanza is quoted in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, nor of the *Śūdraka-kathā* (if it is a Kathā) of Kālidāsa's predecessor Somila (and Rāmila), nor of the *Taraṅgavatī* of Śrīpālitta,[2] who is mentioned and praised in Dhanapāla's *Tilaka-*

1. The Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā are mentioned in *Mahābhārata* ii. 11.38 (Bom. Ed.), but WINTERNITZ has shown (*JRAS*, 1903, pp. 571-72) that the stanza is interpolated.—The Sanskrit Ākhyāyikā, as we know it, has no similarity to OLDENBERG's hypothetical Vedic Ākhyāna, for in the Ākhyāyikā the prose is essential and the verse negligible See KEITH in *JRAS*, 1911, p 1979 for a full discussion and references.

2. This is obviously the Jaina religious story or Dharma-kathā of Śrī-pādalipta or Śri-pālitta, who is already mentioned as Taraṅgavaīkāro in the *Anuogadāra* and who therefore must have flourished before the 5th century A.D. The work is

mañjarī and Abhinanda's *Rāma-carita* as a contemporary of Hāla Sātavāhana. Bāṇa himself alludes to the two classes of prose composition, called respectively the Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā, clearly intimating that his *Harṣa-carita* is intended to be an Ākhyāyikā and his *Kādambarī* a Kathā He also offers a tribute of praise to writers of the Ākhyāyikā who preceded him, and refers, as Subandhu also does,[3] to its division into chapters called Ucchvāsas and to the occurrence of Vaktra metres as two of its distinguishing characteristics Bāṇa even mentions Bhattāra Haricandra, to us only a name, as the author of a prose composition of high merit; to this testimony the Prakrit poet Vākpati, in the 9th century, subscribes by mentioning Haricandra along with Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Bāṇa.

It seems clear, therefore, that Bāṇa is no innovator, nor is Haricandra the creator, of the Prose Kāvya, which must have gradually evolved, with the narrative material of the folk-tale, under the obvious influence of the poetic Kāvya during a considerable period of time But an effort[4] has been made to prove, by adducing parallels of incident, motif and literary device, that the Sanskrit romance was directly derived from the Greek. Even admitting some of the parallels, the presumption is not excluded that they might have developed independently; while the actual divergence between the two types, in form and spirit, is so great as to render any theory of borrowing no more than a groundless conjecture The Sanskrit romance, deriving its inspiration directly from the Kāvya, to which it is approximated both by theory and practice, is hardly an exotic, it is differentiated from the Greek romance by its comparative lack of interest in the narrative, which is a marked quality of the Greek romance, as well as by its ornate elaboration of form and expression,[5] which is absent in the naivete

lost, but its romantic love-story (with a sermon at the end) is preserved in the *Tarangalolā* composed in Prakrit verses in 1643 A.D. According to E. LEUMANN, who has translated the *Tarangalolā*, Pādalipta lived as early as the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

3. Ed F. HALL, p. 184

4. WEBER in *SBAW*, xxxvii, p. 917 and *Ind. Stud.*; xviii, p. 456 ff, Peterson introd. to *Kādambarī*, 2nd ed., Bombay 1889, pp. 101-04. But Lacôte came to the opposite conclusion of the borrowing by the Greek romance from the Sanskrit. See discussion of the question by L. H. GRAY, introd to *Vāsavadattā* (cited below) p 35f, and KEITH in *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1103, 1915, p. 484f, *HSL*, p. 365f,

5 The Greek romance has, no doubt, a few specific instances of rhetorical ornaments, such as homoiteleuta, parisosis, alliteration and strained compounds, but they are not comparable to those in the Sanskrit romance, which essentially depends on them. There is hardly anything in Greek corresponding to the picaresque type of story which we find in Daṇḍin.

and simplicity of the Greek stories. It is true that the fact of difference need not exclude the possibility of borrowing; but, as in the case of the drama, no substantial fact has yet been adduced which would demonstrate the positive fact of borrowing by Sanskrit.

So far as the works of the rhetoricians are concerned, the earliest forms of the Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā are those noticed by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.[6] In the Ākhyāyikā, according to Bhāmaha, the subject-matter gives facts of actual experience, the narrator being the hero himself, the story is told in pleasing prose, divided into chapters called Ucchvāsas and containing metrical pieces in Vaktra and Aparavaktra, indicative of future happening of incidents, scope may be allowed to poetic invention, and the theme may embrace subjects like the abduction of a maiden (Kanyā-haraṇa), fighting, separation and final triumph of the hero; and it should be composed in Sanskrit. In the Kathā, on the other hand, the subject matter is generally an invented story, the narrator being some one other than the hero; there is no division into Ucchvāsas, no Vaktra or Aparavaktra verses, and it may be composed either in Sanskrit or in Apabhraṁśa. It will be seen at once that the prototypes of this analysis are, strictly, not the two prose narratives of Bāṇa, nor those of Daṇḍin and Subandhu, but some other works which have not come down to us. It is worth noting, however, that the older and more rigid distinctions, embodied by Bhāmaha, were perhaps being obliterated by the innovations of bolder poets, and we find a spirit of destructive criticism in the *Kāvyādarśa* of Dandin, who considers these refinements, not as essential, but as more or less formal requirements. Accordingly, Daṇḍin does not insist upon the person of the narrator, nor the kind of metre, nor the heading of the chapter, nor the limitation of the linguistic form as fundamental marks of difference. This is apparently in view of current poetical usage, in which both the types were perhaps converging under the same class of prose narrative, with only a superficial difference in nomenclature. It must have been a period of uncertain transition, and Daṇḍin's negative criticism (as also Vāmana's brushing aside of the whole controversy) implies that no fixed rules had yet been evolved to regulate the fluctuating theory or practice relating to them.

It is clear that the uncertain ideas of early theorists, as well as the extremely small number of specimens that have survived, do

6. See, on this question, S. K. De, The Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā in Classical Sanskrit in *BSOS*, iii, 1925, p. 507–17; also J. Nobel, *op. cit.*, p. 156f.

not give us much guidance definitely fixing the nomenclature and original character of the Sanskrit Prose Kāvya. Nevertheless, the whole controversy shows that the two kinds of prose narrative were differentiated at least in one important characteristic. Apart from merely formal requirements, the Ākhyāyikā was conceived, more or less, as a serious composition dealing generally with facts of experience and having an autobiographical, traditional or semi-historical interest; while the Kathā was essentially a fictitious narrative, which may sometimes (as Dandin contends) be recounted in the first person, but whose chief interest resides in its invention.[7] These older types appear to have been modified in course of time, and the modification was chiefly on the lines of the model popularised by Bāna in his two prose Kāvyas. Accordingly, we find Rudrata doing nothing more than generalising the chief features of Bāṇa's works into rules of universal application In the Ākhyāyikā, therefore, he authorises the formula that the narrator need not be the hero himself, that the Ucchvāsas (except the first) should open with two stanzas, preferably in the Āryā metre, indicating the tenor of the chapter in question, and that there should be a metrical introduction of a literary character. All these injunctions are in conformity with what we find in Bāna's *Harṣa-carita*. The Kathā was less touched by change in form and substance, but the erotic character of the story, consisting of the winning of a maiden (Kanyā-lābha), and not abduction (Kanyā-harana) of the earlier theorists, was expressly recognised, while, in accordance with the model of the *Kādambarī*, a metrical introduction, containing a statement of the author's family and motives of authorship, is also required. This practically stereotypes the two kinds in Sanskrit literature It is noteworthy, however, that the later rhetoricians do not expressly speak of the essential distinction based upon traditional fancy, although they emphasise the softer character of the Kathā by insisting that its main issue is Kanyā-lābha, which would give free scope to the delineation of the erotic sentiment.

It is obvious that the prescriptions of the theorists are interesting historical indications of later developments, but they do not throw much light upon the origin and early history of the Sanskrit Prose Kāvya. In the absence of older material, the problem is difficult and does not admit of a precise determination There can hardly be any affinity with the beast-fable of the *Pañca-tantra* type, which is clearly distinguishable in form, content and

7. The old lexicon of Amara also accepts (i. 5. 5-6) this distinction when it says: *ākhyāyikopalabdhārthā*, and *prabandha-kalpanā kathā*.

spirit; but it is perhaps not unreasonable to assume that there was an early connexion with the popular tale of heroes and heroines, including the fairy tale of magic and marvel. This appears to be indicated by the very designation of the *Bṛhatkathā* and the express mention of the work as a Kathā by Daṇḍin; and the indication is supported by the suggestion that this early collection was drawn upon by Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa. If this is granted, a distinction, at the same time, should be made; for the *Bṛhatkathā*, in conception and expression, was apparently a composition of a different type. The available evidence makes it more than probable that the popular tale, typified by Guṇāḍhya's work, never attained any of the refinement and elaboration which we find in the prose romance from its beginning,—in a less degree in Daṇḍin and in more extravagant manner in Subandhu and Bāṇa. From this point of view, the prose romance cannot be directly traced back to the popular tale represented by Guṇādhya's work, its immediate ancestor is the ornate Kāvya itself, whose graces were transferred from verse to prose for the purpose of rehandling and elaborating the popular tale It is not known whether the new form was applied first to the historical story and then employed to embellish the folk-tale, as the basis of the distinction between the Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā seems to imply, but it is evident that it was evolved out of the artistic Kāvya and influenced by it throughout its history. The theorists, unequivocally and from the beginning, include the prose romance in the category of the Kāvya in almost every respect, while the popular tale and the beast-fable are but tardily recognised and given that status.

It seems probable, therefore, that the prose romance had a two-fold origin It draws freely upon the narrative material of the folk tale, rehandles some of its incidents and motifs natural and supernatural, adopts its peculiar emboxing arrangement of tales and its contrivance of *deux ex machina*, and, in fact, utilises all that is the common stock-in-trade of the Indian story-teller. But its form and method of story-telling are different, and are derived essentially from the Kāvya. Obviously written for a cultured audience, the prose romance has not only the same elevated and heavily ornamented diction, but it has also the same enormous development of the art of description. In fact, the existing specimens combine a legendary content with the form and spirit of a literary *tour de force*. The use of unweildy compounds, incessant and elaborate puns, alliterations and assonances, recondite allusions and other literary devices, favourite to the Kāvya, receive greater

freedom in prose ; but stress is also laid on a minute description of nature and on appreciation of mental, moral and physical qualities of men and women. From the Kāvya also comes its love-motif, as well as its inclination towards erotic digressions. Not only was the swift and simple narrative of the tale clothed lavishly with all the resources of learning and fancy, but we find (except in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-carita*) that the least part of the romance is the narrative, and nothing is treated as really important but the description and embellishment. From this point of view, it would be better to call these works Prose Kāvyas or poetical compositions in prose, than use the alien nomenclature Prose Romances, which has a connotation not wholly applicable.

The evolution of the peculiar type of the Prose Kāvya from the Metrical Kāvya, with the intermediary of the folk-tale, need not have been a difficult process, when we remember that the term Kāvya includes any imaginative work of a literary character and refuses to make verse an essential. The medium is immaterial; the poetical manner of expression becomes important both in prose and verse If this is a far-off anticipation of WORDSWORTH's famous dictum that there is no essential distinction between verse and prose, the direction is not towards simplicity but towards elaborateness In the absence of early specimens of imaginative Sanskrit prose, it is not possible to decide whether the very example of the Prose Kāvya is responsible for this attitude, or is itself the result of the attitude , but the approximation of the Prose Kāvya to the Metrical Kāvya appears to have been facilitated by the obliteration of all vital distinction between literary compositions in verse and in prose. But for the peculiar type of expository or argumentative prose found in technical works and commentaries, verse remains throughout the history of Sanskrit literature the normal medium of expression, while prose retains its conscious character as something which has to compete with verse and share its rhythm and refinement. At no period prose takes a prominence and claims a larger place ; it is entirely subordinated to poetry and its art. The simple, clear and yet elegant prose of the *Pañcatantra* is considered too jejune, and never receives its proper development; for poetry appears to have invaded very early, as the inscriptional records show, the domain of descriptive, romantic and narrative prose. An average prose-of-all-work never emerges, and even in technical treatises pedestrian verse takes the place of prose, presumably because verse is easier to memorise and to utilise for condensed and effective expression.

Whatever the reasons may have been, there can be no doubt that verse gradually ousted prose from its legitimate employment. The result was that while in technical treatises the verse became prosaic, in literary works the prose assumed the colour and mode of verse. It was seldom recognised that the two harmonies had different spheres and values, and that the characteristics of the one are not desirable in the other. The verse attained a far greater degree of maturity, circulation and importance, having been adopted by a succession of gifted poets as the vehicle of their poetry, and the prose was consequently neglected. The preponderance of the one form of writing partially explains and is explained by the insufficiency of the other; but it is more than a case of preponderance. It is one of exclusive monopoly, doubtless aided by the inability to distinguish the two modes of formal writing. In theory, prose was as much available for poetical expression as verse, but in practice the separate existence of prose for that purpose was sparingly recognised, the writers fancying that prose is but a species of verse itself and of poetry which is conveyed in verse, and making their prose with florid rhetorical devices look as much as possible like their own verse and poetry

a. Daṇḍin

The *Daśakumāra-carita*[8] of Daṇḍin illustrates some of the peculiarities of the Sanskrit Prose Kāvya mentioned above, but it does not conform strictly to all the requirements of the theorists. This disregard of convention in practice may, with plausibility, be urged as an argument in support of the identity of our Daṇḍin with Daṇḍin, author of the *Kāvyādarśa*, who, as we have seen above, also advocates in theory a levelling of distinctions. But from the rhetorician's negative account no conclusive inference is possible, and the romancer may be creating a new genre without consciously concerning himself with the views of the theorists. The problem of identity cannot be solved on this slender basis alone, and there is, so far, no unanimity nor impregnable evidence on the question.

8. Ed. H. H. WILSON, London 1846, ed. G. BUEHLER and P. PETERSON, in two pts., Bombay 1887, revised in one vol. by G. J. AGASHE, Bombay 1919; ed. with four comms. (Padacandrikā, Padadīpika, Bhūsana and Laghudipikā) ed. N. B. GODBOLE and Vasudeva L. PANSIKAR, NSP, 10th ed., Bombay 1925 (1st ed. with two comm. only, 1883; 2nd ed. with three comm 1889). Trs. into English (freely) by P. W. JACOB (Hindu Tales), London 1873, revised by C. A. RYLANDS, London 1928, by A W. RYDER, Chicago 1927. Trs into German by J. J. MEYER, Leipzig 1902 and by J. HERTEL, in Ind. Erzahler 1-3, Leipzig 1922; trs. into French by H. FAUCHE in Une Tétrade, ou drame, hymne, roman et poéme (3 vols. 1861-63), ii, Paris 1862. Editions with Eng. trs. also published in India by M. R. KALE, Bombay 1926 and by C. Sankararama SHASTRI, Madras 1931.

Some critics are satisfied with the traditional ascription of both the works to one Daṇḍin,[9] and industriously search for points to support it. However good the position is, errors in traditional ascription are not rare and need not be final. On the other hand, the name Daṇḍin itself, employed to designate a religious mendicant of a certain sect, may be taken as a title capable of being applied to more than one person, and therefore does not exclude the possibility of more than one Daṇḍin. A very strong ground for denying identity of authorship is also made out[10] by not a negligible amount of instances in which Daṇḍin the prose-poet offends against the prescriptions of Daṇḍin the rhetorician. It is a poor defence to say that a man need not practise what he teaches, for the question is more vital than mere mechanical adherence to rules, but touches upon niceties of diction, taste and general outlook. The presumption that the *Daśakumāra*° belongs to the juvenilia of Daṇḍin and the *Kāvyādarśa* is the product of more mature judgment is ingenious, but there is nothing immature in either work. The general exaltation of the Vaidarbha Mārga in the *Kāvyādarśa* and its supposed illustration in the *Daśakumāra*° supply at best a vague argument, which need not be considered seriously. That both the authors were Southerners is suggested, but not proved, for while the indications in the *Kāvyādarśa* are inconclusive, there is nothing to show that, apart from conventional geography,[11] the author of the romance knows familiarly the eighteen different countries mentioned in the course of the narrative. The geographical items of *Daśakumāra*° only reveal a state of things which existed probably in a period anterior to the date of Harsavardhana's empire,[12] and suggest for the work a date much earlier than what is possible to assign to the *Kāvyādarśa*. It is true that the time of both the authors is unknown; but while the date of the *Kāvyādarśa* is approximated to the beginning of the 8th century,[13] there is nothing to

9. The attribution of three works to Daṇḍin by Rājaśekhara and the needless conjectures about them are no longer of much value; see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i. p 62 note and p. 72

10. Agashe, *op. cit*, pp. xxv–xxxv.

11. See Mark Collins, *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvaṃśa and the Daśakumāracarita* (Diss.), Leipzig 1907, p. 46.

12. Mark Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 9f.

13. S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i. p. 58f, in spite of Keith's advocacy (*Studies in Honour of Lanman*, Cambridge Mass., 1929, p. 167f) of an earlier date for the *Kāvyādarśa* on the ground of Daṇḍin's priority to Bhāmaha. This is not the place to enter into the reopened question, but there still remains much to believe that the presumption of Bhāmaha's priority will survive Keith's strenuous onslaught, for reasons adduced elsewhere by the present writer.

show that the *Daśakumāra*° cannot be placed much earlier.[14] The use of rare words, grammatical solecisms and stylistic peculiarities of the *Daśakumāra*°, again, on which stress is sometimes laid for a comparatively late date, admit of an entirely opposite, but more reasonable, explanation of an early date, which is also suggested by the fact that the romance has certainly none of the affected prose and developed form of those of Subandhu and Bāna. The picture of the so-called degenerate society painted by Dandin is also no argument for a late date; for it would apply equally to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Caturbhāṇī*, the earliness of which cannot be doubted and to which the *Daśakumāra*° bears a more than superficial resemblance in spirit, style and diction.[15]

The *Daśakumāra-carita*, in its present form, shows, with Bāṇa's two romances, the peculiarity of having been left unfinished, but it also lacks an authentic beginning. The end is usually supplied by a Supplement in four Ucchvāsas, called Uttara-pīthikā or Śesa, which is now known to be the work of a comparatively modern Deccan writer named Cakrapāni Dīksita,[16] son of Candramauli Dīksita, but a ninth or concluding Ucchvāsa by Padmanābha[17] and a continuation by Mahārājādhirāja Gopīnātha[18] are also known to exist. The beginning is found similarly in a Prelude, called Pūrvapīthikā[19] in five Ucchvāsas, which is believed on good grounds to be

14 The alleged relation of Bhāravi to Dandin of the *Daśakumāra* (see S. K. De in *IHQ*, i, p. 31f, iii, p. 395–96) would place him towards the close of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century A.D. a date which is near enough to that of Dandin of the *Kāvyādarśa*, but the reliability of the account is not beyond question (see Keith, *HSL*, preface p. xvi)

15. Weber (*Indische Streifen*, Berlin 1868, i, pp. 311–15, 353), Meyer (*op. cit.*, pp. 120–27) and Collins (*op. cit.*, p. 48) would place *Daśakumāra* sometime before 585 A.D. In discussing the question, however, it is better not to confuse the issue by presuming beforehand the identity of the romancer and the rhetorician.—Agashe's impossible dating at the 11th or 12th century is based on deductions from very slender and uncertain data. The fact that the *Daśakumāra* is not quoted in the anthological literature before the 11th century or that adaptations in the vernacular were not produced before the 13th, are arguments from silence which do not prove much. Agashe, however, does not rightly accept the worthless legend, relied upon by Wilson, which makes Daṇḍin an ornament of the court of Bhoja. The reference to Bhoja-vaṃśa in Ullāsa viii (ed. Agashe, p. 129) does not support this hypothesis, for Kālidāsa also uses the name Bhoja, referring probably to the rulers of Vidarbha.

16. Eggeling, *Ind. Office Cat.*, vii, No 4069/2934, p. 1553.

17. Agashe, *op cit*, p xxiv

18. Wilson, introd., p 30, Eggeling, *op. cit.*, vii, No. 4070/1850, p. 1554.

19. Some Mss (e g. India Office Ms. No. 4059/2694; Eggeling, *op. cit.* vii, p. 1551) and some early editions (e.g. the Calcutta ed. Madana Mohana Tarkālaṃkāra, 1849) do not contain the Pūrvapīṭhikā. The ed. of Wilson and others

the work of some other hand than that of Daṇḍin. The title *Daśa-kumāra-carita* suggests that we are to expect accounts of the adventures of ten princes, but the present extent of Daṇḍin's work proper contains, with an abrupt commencement, eight of these in eight Ucchvāsas. The Pūrva-pīthikā was, therefore, obviously intended to supply not only the framework of the stories but also the missing stories of two more princes;[20] while the Uttara-pīthikā undertakes to conclude the story of Viśruta left incomplete in the last chapter of Dandin's work. Like the Uttara-pīthikā, the Pūrva-pīthikā, which was apparently not accorded general acceptance, exists in various forms,[21] and the details of the tales do not agree in all versions nor with the body of Daṇḍin's genuine text.

So far as Dandin's own narrative goes, each of the seven princes, who are the friends and associates of the chief hero, Rājavāhana, recounts his adventure, in the course of which each carves out his own career and secures a princely spouse. But the work opens abruptly with an account of Rājavāhana, made captive and led in an expedition against Campā, where in the course of a turmoil he finds all the rest of his companions. By his desire they severally relate their adventures which are comprised in each of the remaining seven chapters The rather complex story of Apahāravarman, which comes in the second Ucchvāsa, is one of the longest and best in the collection, being rich in varied incidents and interesting characters The seduction practised on Marīci the ascetic by the accomplished courtesan Kāmamañjarī, who also deceives the

---

include it WILSON ventured the conjecture that the Prelude is the work of one of Dandin's disciples; but in view of the various forms in which it is now known to exist and also because it is missing in some Mss. this conjecture must be discarded Some of the versions are also obviously late productions

20. The version, which begins with the solitary benedictory stanza *brahmāṇḍacchatra-daṇḍa* and narrates in five Ucchvāsas the missing stories of the two princes Puspodbhava and Somadatta, along with that of missing part of the story of Rājavāhana and his lady-love Avantisundarī, is the usually accepted Prelude, found in most Mss and printed editions. Its spurious character has been shown by AGASHE. It is remarkable that the usual metrical beginning required by theory at the outset of a Kathā or Ākhyāyikā is missing here. The benedictory stanza, however, is quoted anonymously in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (ed. BOROOAH, 1884, p 114), the fact would indicate that this Prelude must have been prefixed at least before the 11th century.

21. Another Prelude by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana is given in App to Agashe's ed., while still another in verse by Vināyaka in three chapters is noticed by EGGELING, *op. cit.*, vii, No. 4067/586a, p. 1553. M. R. KAVI published (Madras 1924) a fragmentary *Avantisundarī-kathā* in prose (with a metrical summary called *Kathā-sāra*), which is ascribed to Daṇḍin as the lost Pūrva-pīṭhikā of his romance, but this is quite implausible; see S. K. DE in *IHQ*, i, p. 31f and iii, p. 394.

merchant Vastupāla, strips him to the loin-cloth and turns him into a Jaina monk; the adventure in the gambling house; the ancient art of thieving[22] in which the hero is proficient, the punishing of the old misers of Campā who are taught that the goods of the world are perishable, the motif of the inexhaustible purse, all these, presented with considerable humour and vividness, are woven cleverly into the tale of the Indian Robin Hood, who plunders the rich to pay the poor, unites lovers and reinstates unfortunate victims of meanness and treachery The next tale of Upahāravarman is not equally interesting, but it is not devoid of incident and character; it is the story of the recovery of the lost kingdom of the hero's father by means of a trick, including the winning of the queen's favour, murder and pretended transformation by power of magic into the dissolute king who had usurped. The succeeding story of Arthapāla is very similar in its theme of resuscitation of his father's lost rank as the disgraced minister of the king of Kāśī, and incidental winning of Princess Manikarnikā, but it has nothing very striking except the pretended use of the device of snake-charm. The fifth story of Pramati introduces the common motif of a dream-vision of the Princess Navamālikā of Śrāvastī, and describes how the hero, in the dress of a woman, contrives by a trick to be left as a pledge in the royal apartments and have access to the princess, but it also gives an incidental account of the somewhat unconventional watching of a cock-fight by a Brahman! The sixth story of Mitragupta, who wins Princess Kandukavatī of Dāmlipta in the Suhma country, is varied by introducing adventures on the high seas and on a distant island, and by enclosing, after the manner of the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati*, four ingenious tales, recounted in reply to the question of a demon, namely, those of Dhūminī, Gominī, Nimbavatī and Nitambavatī, which illustrate the maxim that cunning alone is the way to success. The seventh tale of Mantragupta is a literary *tour de force*, in which no labial letters are used by the narrator, because his lips have been made sore by the passionate kisses of his beloved! It begins with the episode of a weird ascetic and his two ministering goblins, repeats the device of pretended transformation through magic into a murdered man, and places the incidents on the sea-coast of Kalinga and Andhra. The last incomplete narrative of Viśruta relates the restoration of

22. On the art of thieving in ancient India, see BLOOMFIELD in *Amer. Journal of Philology*, xliv, 1923, pp. 97–123, 193–229 and *Proc. of the Amer. Philosophica. Soc.*, lii, pp. 616–650 On burglary as a literary motif, see L. H. GRAY in *WZKM* xviii, 1904, pp. 50–51. Śarvilaka in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is also, like Apahāravarman, a scientific thief furnished with his paraphernalia.

the hero's protege, a young prince of Vidarbha, to power by a similarly clever, but not over-scrupulous, contrivance, including the ingenious spreading of a false rumour, the use of a poisoned chaplet and the employment of a successful fraud in the name and presence of the image of Durgā; but the arguments defending idle pleasures, which speak the language of the profligate of all ages, as well as the introduction of dancers and jugglers and their amusing sleight of hand, are interesting touches.

It will be seen at once that Daṇḍin's work differs remarkably from such normal specimens of the Prose Kāvya as those of Subandhu and Bāṇa, and it is no wonder that its unconventionality is not favoured by theorists, in whose rhetorical treatises Daṇḍin is not cited till the 11th century A. D The *Daśakumāra-carita* is rightly described as a romance of roguery. In this respect, it is comparable, to a certain extent, to the *Mrcchakaṭika*, which is also a drama full of rascals, and to the four old Bhāṇas, ascribed to Śyāmilaka, Īśvaradatta and others, but rascality is not the main topic of interest in Śūdraka's drama, nor is the Bhāṇa, as a class of composition, debarred by theory from dealing with low characters and themes of love, revelry and gambling. Daṇḍin's work, on the other hand, derives its supreme flavour from the vivid and picturesque exposition of such characters and themes. Although the romantic interest is not altogether wanting, and marvel and magic and winning of maidens find a place, it is concerned primarily with the adventures of clever tricksters. Daṇḍin deliberately violates the prescription that the Prose Kāvya, being a subdivision of the Kāvya in general, should have a good subject (Sadāśraya) and that the hero should be noble and high-souled. Gambling, burglary, cunning, fraud, violence, murder, impersonation, abduction and illicit love form, jointly and severally, the predominating incidents in every story, and Mantragupta's definition of love as the determination to possess is indeed typical of its erotic situations. WILSON, with his mid-Victorian sense of propriety, speaks of the loose principles and lax morals of the work, and the opinion has been repeated in a modified form by some modern critics, but the point is overlooked that immorality, rather than morality, is its deliberate theme. The *Daśakumāra*° is imaginative fiction, but it approaches in spirit to the picaresque romance of modern Europe, which gives a lively picture of rakes and ruffians of great cities. It is not an open satire, but the whole trend is remarkably satirical in utilising, with no small power of observation and caricature, the amusing possibilities of incorrigible rakes, unscrupulous rogues, hypocritical ascetics, fraudulent priests,

light-hearted idlers, fervent lovers, cunning bawds, unfaithful wives and heartless courtesans, who jostle with each other within the small compass of the swift and racy narratives. The scenes are accordingly laid in cosmopolitan cities where the scum and refuge of all countries and societies meet. Even the higher world of gods, princes and Brahmans is regarded with little respect. The gods are brought in to justify disgraceful deeds in which the princes engage themselves, the Buddhist nuns act as procuresses; the teaching of the Jina is declared by a Jaina monk to be nothing but a swindle; and the Brahman's greed of gold and love of cock-fights are held up to ridicule. Two chief motives which actuate the princes of wild deeds are the desire for delights of love and for the possession of a realm, but they are not at all fastidious about the means they employ to gain their ends. Their frankness often borders on cynicism, and if not on a lack of morality, on fundamental non-morality.

It is a strange world in which we move, life-like, no doubt, in its skilful portraiture, but in a sense unreal, being sublimated with marvel and magic, which are seldom dissociated from folk-tale. We hear of a collyrium which produces invisibility, of a captive's chains transformed into a beautiful nymph, of burglar's art which turns beggars into millionaires, and of magician's charms which spirit away maidens. This trait appears to have been inherited from the popular tale, and Daṇḍin's indebtedness of the *Bṛhatkathā* has been industriously traced.[23] But the treatment undoubtedly is Daṇḍin's own. He is successful in further developing the lively elements of the popular tale, to which he judiciously applies the literary polish and sensibility of the Kāvya, but the one is never allowed to overpower the other. The brier of realism and the rose of romance are cleverly combined in a unique literary form. In the laboured compositions of Subandhu and Bāṇa, the exclusive tendency towards the sentimental and the erotic leads to a diminishing of interest in the narrative or in its comic possibilities. The impression that one receives from Daṇḍin's work, on the other hand, is that it delights to caricature and satirise certain aspects of contemporary society in an interesting period. Its power of vivid characterisation realises this object by presenting, not a limited number of types, but a large variety of individuals including minor characters not altogether devoid of reality and interest. There can be little doubt that most of these are studies from life, heightened indeed, but faithful; not wholly

23. AGASHE, *op. cit.*, p. xli f.

agreeable, but free from the touch alike of mawkishness and affectation. It is remarkable that in these pictures the realistic does not quench the artistic, but the merely finical gives way to the vividly authentic. We pass from pageantry to conduct, from convention to impression, from abstraction to fact There are abundant instances of the author's sense of humour, his wit and polite banter, his power of gentle satire and caricature, which effectively contribute to the realism of his outlook. For the first time, these qualities, rare enough in the normal Sanskrit writing, reveal themselves in a literary form, and make Dandin's delightfully unethical romancero picaresco not a conventional Prose Kāvya, but a distinct literary creation of a new type in Sanskrit.

There is more matter, but the manner has no difficulty in joining hands with it. Daṇḍin's work avoids the extended scale and leisurely manner of proceeding, the elaborate descriptive and sentimental divagations, the eccentricities of taste and extravagance of diction, which are derived from the tradition of the regular Kāvya and developed to its utmost possibilities or impossibilities in the imaginative romances of Subandhu and Bāna The arrangement of the tales is judicious, and the comparatively swift and easy narrative is never overloaded by constant and enormous digressions. The episodic method is old and forms a striking feature of Indian story-telling, but in the *Daśakumāra°* the subsidiary stories never beat out, hamper or hold up the course of the main narrative. Even the four clever stories in the sixth Ucchvāsa are properly emboxed, and we are spared the endless confusion of curses and changing personalities and stories within stories.

Not only Daṇḍin's treatment, but also his style and diction are saved from the fatal fault of over-elaboration by his sense of proportion and restraint. He is by no means an easy writer, but there are no fatiguing complexities in his diction , it is energetic and yet elegantly articulated. It is not marked by any inordinate love for disproportionate compounds and sesquipedalain sentences, nor by a weakness for far-fetched allusions, complex puns and jingling of meaningless sounds The advantage of such a style free from ponderous construction and wearisome embellishment, is obvious for the graphic dressing up of its unconventional subjects of a cheat, a hypocrite, an amourist or a braggadocio and the Kāvya refinements would have been wholly out of place Occasionally indeed Dandin indulges in florid descriptions, such as we find in the pictures of the sleeping Ambālikā or the dancing Kandukavatī, but even in these cases he keeps within the limits of a few long

sentences or only one printed page. There is an attempt at a literary feat in the avoidance of labial sounds in the seventh Ucchvāsa, but it is adequately motived; and Daṇḍin wisely confines himself to a sparing use of such verbal ingenuity. It is not suggested that Dandin makes no pretension to ornament, but, in the main, his use of it is effective, limited and pretty, and not recondite, incessant and tiresome. The highest praise goes to Dandin as the master of vigorous and elegant Sanskrit prose, and his work, in its artistic and social challenges, is undoubtedly a unique masterpiece, the merits of which need not be so reluctantly recognised by modern taste for not conforming to the normal model.

b Subandhu

In theory and accepted practice, the normal type of the Prose Kāvya is illustrated, not by the work of Dandin, but by those of Subandhu and Bāṇa. In these typical Prose Kāvyas, however, there is less exuberance of life, the descriptions are more abundant and elaborate, the narrative is reduced to a mere skeleton, learning loads the wings of fancy, and the style and treatment lack ease and naturalness. They have no ruffian heroes, nor dubious adventurers, but deal with chaste and noble, if somewhat sentimental and bookish, characters. They employ all the romantic devices, derived from folk-tale, of reborn heroes and transformed personages in a dreamland of marvellous but softer adventure, and present them in a gorgeous vehicle of elaborately poetical, but artificial, style. The Prose Kāvya becomes an exclusive and curious type The poet overlays, diffuses, adorns, sentimentalises, into unsubstantial woof of story are woven irredescent pageants of preternatural exploits and fantastic adventure, there is no simplicity nor directness, but whatever is pointed is wrapped up in loose but heavy garment of embroidered heap of phrases The alien attraction of poetry not only affects the disposition and behaviour of prose, which ceases to be real prose, but it also tends to detach story, which ceases to be real story, from the root and mainstay of the genre in vigorous and terse narrative The myth-world which these romances depict are remote from nature and humanity, but the poets do not always show any intention of making it appear natural and human. On the other hand, they fasten, with the enthusiasm of pure artists, upon every arabesque contortion of incident which offer a vantage ground, not only for such pictorial or poetic efforts as riot in Bāṇa's romance, but also for such hard and enamelled brilliance of art and phrase as we find in Subandhu's composition. The story, it is clear, cannot thrive well in such an

atmosphere : it loses its native vigour in breathing the ethereal air and feeding on the romantic nourishment ; but the story in the Prose Kāvya is of as little importance as in the Metrical Kāvya, whose characteristics are reflected, not with limpid grace, but with gorgeous extravagance.

The date of Subandhu, author of the *Vāsavadattā*[24] is not exactly known. Attempts have been made to establish its upper and its lower terminus, respectively, by Subandhu's punning allusion, on the one hand, to the Uddyotakara[25] and to a supposed work of Dharmakīrti,[26] belonging at least to the middle of the sixth century A. D., and, on the other, by Bāṇa's allusion to a *Vāsavadattā*, which is supposed to be the same as Subandhu's work of that name, in the preface to his *Harṣa-carita*[27] composed early in the seventh century.[28] But it must be recognised that the question is not free from difficulty Neither the date of Dharmakīrti nor that of the Uddyotakara can be taken as conclusively settled ; nor is it beyond question, in the absence of the author's name, that Bāṇa really alludes to Subandhu's work Even if the early part of the 7th century is taken to be the date of Dharmakīrti and the

24. Ed. F HALL, Bibl. Ind., with comm of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin, Calcutta 1859, reprinted almost verbatim by J VADYASAGAR, Calcutta, 1874, 3rd ed. 1907 ; ed. R. V. Krishnamachariar with his own comm., Śrī Vāṇī Vilāsa Press, Srirangam 1906 ; ed. Louis H. GRAY, in roman characters, Columbia Univ. Press, New York 1913. Śivarāma belongs to the 18th century, see S. K. DE, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 318. There is also an earlier commentary by Jagaddhara which deserves publication.

25 *Nyāya-sthitim* (v. l. *vidyām*) *iv oddyotakara-svarūpām* (ed HALL, p 235, ed. Srirangam, p 303, ed. GRAY, p. 180).

26 *Bauddha-saṃgatim* (v. l. *sat-kāvya-racanām*) *ivālaṃkārabhūṣitām*, loc. cit. It is remarkable that the reading is not found in all Mss (HALL p. 236), and no work of Dharmakīrti's called Bauddhasaṃgatyalaṃkāra has yet been found. LÉVI (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1903, p. 18) denies that Subandhu alludes to Dharmakīrti s literary activity.

27 Stanza 11 The argument that Bāṇa, by the use of Śleṣa in this stanza, means to imply Subandhu's fondness for it, is weak , for Bāṇa uses Śleṣa also in the stanzas on Bhāsa and the *Bṛhatkathā*.

28 Among other literary or historical allusions made by Subandhu, the reference to Vikramāditya and Kanka in the tenth introductory stanza has been made the basis of entirely problematic conjectures by HALL (p. 6), HOERNLE (*JRAS*, 1903, p. 545f) and B. C MAZUMDAR (*JRAS*, 1907, p. 406f), see L. H. GRAY, introd., p. 8f. The description of Kusumapura and Subandhu's practice of the Gauḍī Rīti may suggest that he was an eastern writer, but the geography of the work is too conventional and the argument on Rīti too indefinite to be decisive. There are two other punning allusions by Subandhu, apparently to a Gaṇa-kārikā with a Vṛtti by Surapāla (ed. Srirangam, p. 314) and an obscurely mentioned work by Kamalākara-bhikṣu (p. 319) , but these have not yet been sufficiently recognised and traced.

Uddyotakara, it would make Subandhu a contemporary of Bāṇa. The traditional view that Bāna wrote his romance to surpass that of Subandhu probably arose from Bāna's qualification of his *Kādambarī* (st 29) by the epithet *ati-dvayī* 'surpassing the two', these two being, according to the very late commentator,[29] Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* and Gunāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*. But the doubt expressed,[30] though later abandoned,[31] by Peterson has been lately revived.[32] Since the arguments on both sides of the question[33] proceed chiefly on the debatable grounds of the standard of taste and morals, and of style and diction, it is scarcely possible to express a final opinion without being dogmatic The only one characteristic difference of Subandhu's prose from that of Bāna, apart from its being uninspiring, is the excessive but self-imposed, use of paronomasia (Śleṣa), but this argues neither for priority nor posteriority, but only suggests the greater currency of this figure of speech in this period. The only certain point about Subandhu's date is the fact that in the first half of the 8th century, Vākpati in his Prakrit poem *Gauḍavaho* (st. 800) connects Subandhu's name with those of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Haricandra, and a little later in the same century, Vāmana quotes anonymously[34] a passage which occurs, with slight variation, in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* [35]

29. Bhānucandra the commentator belongs to the 16th century

30 Introd. to *Kādambarī*, pp 71–73.

31. Introd. to *Sbhv*, p. 133.

32. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, introd. to his ed.

33 See P. V KANE, introd. to *Harṣa-carita*, p. xif, A. WEBER, *Indische Streifen*, Berlin 1868, i. pp. 369–86, TILANG in *JBRAS*, xviii, 1891, p 147f, Cartellieri in *WZKM*, xii, pp. 21–33; KEITH in *JRAS*, 1914 (arguing that Subandhu cannot be safely ascribed to a period substantially before 650 A D.), Sivaprasad BHATTACHARYA in *IHQ*, iv, 1929, p 699f —There is one passage to which attention does appear to have been drawn, but it is no less important It describes the passionate condition of Vāsavadattā at the sight of Kandarpaketu and runs thus: *hṛdayaṃ vilikhitam iva utkīrṇam iva pratyuptam iva kīlitam iva vajralepaghaṭitam iva marmāntara-sthitam iva*, which appears to be reproduced in a metrical form in the following three lines from Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-mādhava* (v 10)

līneva pratibimbiteva likhitevokīrṇa-rūpeva ca
pratyupteva ca vajralepa-ghaṭitevāntarnikhāteva ca |
sā naś cetasi kīliteva viśikhaiś cetobhuvaḥ pañcabhiḥ.

The verbal resemblance cannot be dismissed as accidental; but considering that Bhavabhūti here improves upon what he weaves into the texture of his poem and also the fact that Bhavabhūti is known to have borrowed phrases from Kālidāsa, the presumption of borrowing on the part of Bhavabhūti is likely.

34. *Kāvyālaṃkara*, i. 3 25 (*kuliśa-śikhara-khara-nakhara*) = *Vāsavadatta*, ed. Srīraṅgam, p 331 and ed. HALL, p. 266.

35. For other references to Subandhu and his work see GRAY, pp. 3–7. GRAY is right in thinking that the reference in the *Daśakumāra* to Vāsavadattā clearly alludes to the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, and not to Vāsavadattā of Subandhu's romance.

With the Vāsavadattā of the Udayana legend, made famous in Sanskrit literature, Subandhu's romance has nothing common except the name; and since the story, as told by Subandhu, does not occur elsewhere in any form, it appears to be entirely invented and embellished by our poet. But the plot is neither rich nor striking. The handsome prince Kandarpaketu, son of Cintāmaṇi, beholds in a dream a lovely maiden, and, setting out with his friend Makaranda in search of the unknown beloved, and resting at night in the Vindhya hills under a tree, he overhears the conversation of a couple of parrots that princess Vāsavadattā of Pātaliputra, having similarly dreamt of Kandarpaketu, has sent her pet parrot, Tamālikā, to find him. With the help of the kindly bird, the lovers unite; but as Śṛṅgāraśekhara, father of the princess, plans her marriage with a Vidyādhara chief, the lovers elope on a magic steed to the Vindhya hills. Early in the morning, while Kandarpaketu is still asleep, Vāsavadattā, straying into the forest, is chased by two gangs of Kirātas, but as they fall out and fight for her, she eludes them and trespasses into a hermitage, where she is turned into stone by the curse of the unchivalrous hermit Kandarpaketu, deterred from self-destruction by a voice from the sky, finds her after a long search, and at his touch the curse terminates.

It will be seen that the central argument of such tales is weak and almost insignificant. The general scheme appears to consist of the falling in love of a passionate hero with a heroine of the fair and frail type, and their final union after a series of romantic adventures in which all the narrative motifs[36] of dream-vision, talking parrot, magic steed, curse, transformation and voice in the air are utilised. But the interest of the story-telling lies, not in the incident, but in minute portraiture of the personal beauty of the lovers and their generous qualities, their ardent, if sentimental, longing for each other, the misfortune obstructing the fulfilment of their desires, their pangs of thwarted love, and the preservation of their love through all trials and difficulties until their final union. All this is eked out lavishly by the romantic commonplaces of the Kāvya, by highly flavoured descriptions of cities, battles, oceans, mountains, seasons, sunset, moonrise and the like, and by the display of enormous Śāstric learning and technical skill. Subandhu's poverty of invention and characterisation, therefore, is not surprising, and criticism has been, not unjustly, levelled against the absurdities and inconsistencies of his story. The slenderness of the theme is

36. A list of these is made out by CASTELLIERI, *op. cit.* For a study of these motifs as literary devices, see L. H. GRAY in *WZKM*, xviii, 1904, p. 39f.

not so much a matter of importance to Subandhu as the manner of developing or overdeveloping it. Stress has been rightly laid on his undoubted, if somewhat conventional, descriptive power, but the more than occasional descriptive digressions, forming the inseparable accessory of the Kāvya, constitute the bulk of his work, and are made merely the means of displaying his luxuriant rhetorical skill and multifarious learning. The attractions of the lady of Kandarpaketu's vision, for instance, is outlined in a brief sentence of some hundred and twenty lines only. The wise censure of Ānandavardhana[37] that the poets are often regardless of theme and sentiment and exceedingly engrossed in verbal tricks is more than just in its application to the Prose Kāvya of this type.

It must, however, be said to Subandhu's credit that he is not over-fond of long rolling compounds, and even when they occur, they are not altogether devoid of majesty and melody. When he has no need for a long sentence, he can write short ones, and this occurs notably in the brief dialogues. The sound-effects are not always tedious, nor his use of words always atrocious. What becomes wearisome in its abundance is Subandhu's constant search for conceits, epithets and similes expressed in endless strings of paronomasia (Ślesa) and apparent incongruity (Virodhābhāsa). For this reason, even his really coruscating ideas and images become more brilliant than luminous. When we are told that a lady is *rakta-pāda* like a grammatical treatise, her feet being painted with red lacquer as sections of grammar with red lines, or that the rising sun is blood-coloured, because the lion of dawn clawed the elephant of the night, we are taken to the verge of the ludicrous fancy, but such instances abound from page to page.[38] In a stanza, the genuineness of which, however, is doubted, Subandhu describes his own work as a treasure-house of literary dexterity, and declares that he has woven a pun in every syllable of his composition. We have indeed the dictum of the *Kāvyādarśa* (ii.362) that paronomasia generally enhances the charm of all poetic figures, and the extraordinary resources of Sanskrit permit its effective use, but the rhetorician probably never means that the paronomasia should overshadow everything. The richness of Subandhu's fancy and his ingenuity in this direction are indeed astonishing and justifies his boasting ; but it cannot be said that he has used this figure with judgment or with the sense of visualisation which makes this, as well as other, figures a means of beautiful expression. Subandhu's paronomasias

37. *Dhvanyāloka*, ed. NSP, Bombay 1911, p. 151

38. KRISHNAMACHARIAR has given (*op. cit.*, p. xixf) an almost exhaustive list of instances of Subandhu's verbal accomplishment.

are often far-fetched and phantasmagoric, adduced only for the sake of cleverness, and involving much straining and even torturing of the language. It is true that in the stringing together of puns, Subandhu does not stand alone. Bāna also makes much use of it, and refers to this habit of the Kathā when he describes it as *nirantara-śleṣa-ghana*. But Bāna never indulges in unceasing fireworks of puns and other devices, and his poetic imagination and power of picturesque description make ample amends for all his weakness for literary adornment. Subandhu, on the other hand, lacks these saving graces; nor does he command the humour, vigour and variety of Daṇḍin. He becomes, therefore, a willing victim of the cult of style, which believes that nothing great can be produced in the ordinary way.

In order to appreciate Subandhu's literary accomplishment this fact should be borne in mind, and it is as unnecessary as it is hypercritical either to depreciate or exaggerate his merits unduly It should be conceded that, in spite of its fancy, pathos and sentiment, Subandhu's work is characterised by an element of mere trick which certainly impairs its literary value, but it should not be assumed that it is a stupendous trifle, which enjoyed a fame and influence disproportionate to its worth Bāna is doubtless a greater poet and can weild a wonderful spell of language, but Subandhu's methods and manner of story-telling do not differ much from those of Bāna, and conform to the general scheme of the Prose Kāvya. But for his excessive fondness for paronomasia, Subandhu's style and diction are no more tyrannically mannered than those of Bāna, and parallelisms in words and ideas have been found in the respective works of the two poets. It is true that Subandhu's glittering, but somewhat cold, fancy occupies itself more with the rhetorical, rather than with the poetical, possibilities of his subject; but making allowance for individual traits, one must recognise the same technique and paraphernalia in both Subandhu and Bāna. They deal with the self-same commodities, and if richness of vocabulary, wealth of description, profusion of epithets, similes and conceits, and frequency of learned allusions are distinctive of Subandhu, they are also found in Bāṇa. Whatever difference there is between the two romancers, it is one not in kind but in degree.

It would appear, therefore, that both Subandhu and Bāna exhibit in their works certain features of the Sanskrit prose narrative which, being of the same character, must have belonged to the general literary tendency of the time. The tendency is not so apparent in Daṇḍin, but in Subandhu and Bāna it is carried to its extreme; and

we find, more or less, a similar phenomenon in poetry, as we pass from Bhāravi to Māgha. It is, however, a facile explanation which puts it down to incompetence, bad taste or queer mentality; the question has a deeper historical significance, perhaps more in prose than in poetry. Louis H. Gray calls attention to certain stylistic similarities between Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* and Lyly's *Eupheus*; but if there is any point in drawing a parallel, it lies precisely in the fact that the work of the Sanskrit stylist, like that of the Elizabethan mannerist, is a deliberate attempt to achieve a rich, variegated and imaginative prose style, although like all deliberate attempts it is carried to fantastic excess. The ornate and fanciful style tends to the florid and extravagant, and needs to be restrained and tamed; but the plain style inclines equally towards the slipshod and jejune, and needs to be raised and inspired. The plain style, evidenced in the *Pañcatantra*, is indeed well-proportioned, clear and sane, and is suitable for a variety of literary purpose, but it is ill fitted for fanciful, gorgeous or passionate expression, it is constantly liable, when not used with something more than ordinary scholarship and taste, to degenerate into commonness or insipidity. Neither Subandhu nor Bāna may have evolved a properly ornate style, suitable for counteracting these perils and for elevated imaginative writing, but their inclination certainly points to this direction. It is not the rhetorical habit in these writers which annoys, but their use of rhetoric, not in proportion, but out of proportion, to their narrative, description, idea or feeling Perhaps in their horror of the commonplace and in their eagerness to avoid the danger of being dull, they proceed to the opposite extreme of too heavy ornamentation, and thereby lose raciness, vigour and even sanity, but for this reason the worthiness of their motive and the measure of success which they achieve should not be missed. We have an interesting illustration here of what occurs everywhere, namely, the constantly recurring struggle between the plain and the ornate style; but in trying to avoid plainness, these well-meaning but unbalanced writers practically swamp it with meaningless ornateness, by applying to prose the ill-fitting graces and refinements of poetry. The gorgeous standard, which they set up, is neither faultless nor easy to follow, but it is curious that it is never questioned for centuries. It is a pity that their successors never realise their literary motive, but only exaggerate their literary mannerisms. It was for the later writers to normalise the style by cutting down its early exuberant excesses, but it is strange that they never attempted to do so. Perhaps they fell under the fascination of its poetical magnificence, and were actuated by

the theory which approximated prose to poetry and affiliated the prose Kāvya to metrical. There has never been, therefore, in the later history of Sanskrit prose style, a real ebb and flow, a real flux between maxima and minima. It is for this reason perhaps that the perfect prose style, which keeps the golden mean between the plain and the ornate, never developed in Sanskrit.

There is, thus, no essential difference of literary inspiration between Subandhu and Bāna, only, Subandhu's gifts are often rendered ineffectual by the mediocrity of his poetic powers. There is the sameness of characteristics and of ideas of workmanship, but while Subandhu often plods, Bāna can often soar. The extreme excellence, as well as the extreme defect, of the literary tendency, which both of them represent in their individual way, are, however, better mirrored in Bāna's works, which reach the utmost limit of the peculiar type of the Sanskrit prose narrative.

c. Bānabhaṭṭa

In the first two and a half chapters of his *Harsa-carita* and in the introductory stanzas of his *Kādambarī*,[39] Bānabhatta gives an account of himself and his family as a prelude to that of his royal patron He was a Brahman of the Vātsyāyana-gotra, his ancestry being traced to Vatsa, of whom a mythological account is given as the cousin of Śāradvata, son of Sarasvatī and Dadhīca. In the family was born Kubera, who was honoured by many Gupta kings, and whose youngest son was Pāśupata. Pāśupata's son was Arthapati, and among the many sons of Arthapati, Citrabhānu was Bāna's father. They lived in a place called Prītikūta on the banks of the Hiranyabāhu, otherwise known as the river Śona. Bāna's mother Rājyadevī died while he was yet young, but his father took tender care of him. When he was about fourteen, his father died ; and in the unsettled life which followed, Bāna wandered about from place to place, mixed in dubious company, acquired evil repute as well as rich experience, returned home and lived a life of quiet study. He was summoned to the presence of King Harsavardhana, ostensibly for being taken to task for his misspent youth, at his camp near the town of Manitārā on the Ajiravatī. He was at first received

39. The accounts agree, except in one omission, namely, the name of Bāṇa's great-grand-father, Pāśupata, is not found in the *Kādambarī*. For a recent summary of all relevant questions relating to Bāna and his works, as well as for a full bibliography, see A. A. Maria Sharpe, *Bāna's Kādambarī*, Diss. (N. V. de Vlaamsche, Leuven 1937), pp. 1-108, which also contains a Dutch trs. of the work, with indices and concordances.

with coldness, but afterwards with much favour.[40] After some time, on a visit home, Bāṇa was requested by his relatives to speak of the great king. He began his narrative, after having warned his audience of his inability to do full justice to his theme. The story is told in the remaining five Ucchvāsas, but it is left unfinished. It was possibly never his intention to offer a complete account; for he tells us that even in a hundred lives he could not hope to recount the whole story of Harṣa's mighty deeds, and asks his audience if they would be content to hear a part.[41]

The value of the important metrical preface to the *Harṣa-carita*[42] which speaks of the famous literary predecessors of Bāna, is well known. The story begins with a description of Sthānvīśvara and of the glorious kings, sprung from Puspabhūti, from whom is descended Harsavardhana's father, Prabhākaravardhana. Harsa's elder brother is Rājyavardhana, and his sister Rājyaśrī is married to Grahavarman of the Maukhari family of Kānyakubja. Then we have a more brilliant than pathetic picture of the illness and death of Prabhākaravardhana, whose queen Yaśomatī also ascends the funeral pyre, of the return of Rājyavardhana from his successful campaign against the Hūnas, and of his reluctance to ascend the throne. But before Harsa could be installed, news reaches that the king of Mālava has slain Grahavarman and imprisoned Rājyaśrī. Rājyavardhana succeeds in defeating the Mālava king, but he is treacherously killed by the king of Gauḍa. Harsa's expedition to save his sister follows, but in the meantime she escapes from prison and is rescued by a Buddhist monk. The story abruptly ends with the meeting of Harsa and Rājyaśrī while the tale of her recovery is being told. The work gives us nothing about the later career of Harsa, nor any information regarding the later stages of Bāna's own life.

40. It is not known at what stage of Harsa's career Bāna met him. It is assumed that Bāna was fairly young when Harsa in his greatness patronised him, and that there is no reason to presume that Bāna wrote in the early part of Harṣa's reign, which ended in 647 A.D. Bāna never alludes to troubles of poverty among other troubles he mentions in Ucchvāsa i, and we are also told that he inherited wealth from his ancestors. He acknowledges gifts from his patron, but there is nothing to support the legend that he sold some of his literary works to Harṣa.

41. The earliest quotation from Bāna, though anonymous, occurs in Vāmana's *Kāvyālamkāra* (2nd half of the 8th century) v. 2. 44, *anukaroti bhagavato nārāyaṇasya* (= *Kādambarī*, ed. PETERSON, p. 6). In the middle of the 9th century, Bāṇa and his two works are mentioned by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* (ed. NSP, pp. 87, 100, 101, 127).

42. Ed. A. A. FUEHRER, with comm. of Śamkara, Bomb. Skt. Ser., 1909; ed. K. P. PARAB, with same comm., NSP, Bombay 1892 (5th ed. 1925); ed. P. V. KANE (without comm. but with notes etc.), Bombay 1918. Trs. into English by E. B. COWELL and F. W. Thomas, London 1897

The *Harṣa-carita* has the distinction of being the first attempt at writing a Prose Kāvya on an historical theme. Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, as well as Bāṇa's other prose narrative, the *Kādambarī*, deals with legendary fiction, and everything is viewed in these works through a highly imaginative atmosphere. The *Harṣa-carita* is no less imaginative, but the author takes his own sovereign as his hero and weaves the story out of some actual events of his career. In this respect it supplies a contemporary picture, which, in the paucity of other records, is indeed valuable; but its importance as an historical document should not be overrated. The sum-total of the story, lavishly embellished as it is, is no more than an incident in Harsa's career, and it cannot be said that the picture is either full or satisfactory from the historical point of view. Many points in the narrative, especially the position, action and identity of the Mālava and the Gauḍa kings, are left obscure; and the gorgeously descriptive and ornamental style leaves little room for the poor thread of actual history. Even if the work supplies picturesque accounts, into which the historian may profitably delve, of the actualities of life in camp and court and in monastery and village retreat, of military expeditions, and of social and religious observances and practices, we learn very little indeed of the political facts of the great emperor's reign as a whole.

It is clear that Bāna writes his *Harṣa-carita* more as a romantic story than a sober history of the king's life, and stops when he is satisfied that his Muse has taken a sufficiently long flight. The term 'Historical Kāvya', which is often applied to this and other works of the same kind, is hardly expressive, for, in all essential, the work is a Prose Kāvya, and the fact of its having an historical theme does not make it historical in style, spirit and treatment. The reproach that India had little history and historical sense is perhaps not entirely just, but India was little interested in historical incident as such, and never took seriously to chronicling, much less to what is known as history in modern times. The uncertainties of pre-history, therefore, have continued in India to a comparatively late period. It is also important to note that the idea of evolution is in the same way scarcely recognised in the sphere of thought and speculation. Perhaps the explanation is to be sought in the psychology of the Indian mind, which takes the world of imagination to be more real than the world of fact; perhaps we in modern times attach too much importance to fact or incident and make a fetish of history or evolution. In any case, history had little place in the Kāvya, which apparently considered the mythological heroes to be more interesting than the actual rulers of the day.

Even when a real personage is taken for treatment, as in the case of Harṣa, he is elevated and invested with all the glory and some of the fiction of the mythological hero. The Sanskrit theory of art also, in its emphasis on imaginative and impersonalised creation, encouraged abstraction, admitted belief in magic and miracle, and had little feeling for the concrete facts and forces of human nature and human life. The same spirit, which tended against the creation of a vigorous and sensitive drama, stood also in the way of clear and critical historiography. The poets who, like Bāṇa, write on an historical theme, never claim merit as historians, but conceive their duty to be that of a poet. It would not be proper, therefore, to attach the qualification 'historical' to what is essentially a Kāvya.

The imposition of keeping even within the semblance of fact is absent in the *Kādambarī*, which is an entirely imaginative creation, but which, like the *Harṣa-carita*, is also left unfinished. It was, however, death which cut off the work, and we are told by Bāṇa's son, Bhūṣana,[43] that he wrote the latter part, not out of literary ostentation, but as a task of filial duty We do not know in what way Bāṇa himself would have rounded off the inherent difficulties of the remainder of the plot, but the inferiority of the supplement is generally admitted It gives the impression of introducing complexities, but there is also an anxiety of bringing the story to a somewhat hurried close. The command over the ornate style and diction is undoubted, and the son possesses some of the excellences of the father, but to the mannerisms of the father, which are often exaggerated, are added a few peculiar to the son.

The story of the *Kādambarī*,[44] which deals with the lives and loves of two heroes, each of whom is reborn twice, is too well known to require a detailed summary here. But it is noteworthy that Bāṇa's portion of the composition stops even before the theme is properly developed. It introduces the Caṇḍāla maiden and her speaking parrot into the court of Śūdraka and puts the entire narrative in the mouth of the parrot.[45] Apart from absurdity of the device,

43. In some Mss. (e.g. STEIN *Jammu. Cat.*, Bombay 1894, p. 299) he is called Pulina or Pulinda. Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* (pref. st. 26) seems to suggest that Pulinda was the name

44. Ed. P. PETERSON, Bomb. Skt. Ser., 1882, ed P V. KANE, Bombay 1920 (3rd ed. 1921), Pūrvabhāga only; ed. K. P. PARAB, with comm. of Bhānucandra and Siddhacandra, NSP, Bombay 1890 (7th ed. revised by V. L. PANSHIKAR 1928). Engl. trs. C. M. RIDDING, London 1896. Summaries of the story will be found in these editions. One of the earliest editions is that by MADANA MOHANA Tarkālaṃkāra, Sanskrit Press, Calcutta, 1850.

45. The role of the parrot in story literature is discussed by L. H. GRAY, *WZKM*, xviii, 1904, p. 42.

it is noteworthy that the old method of emboxing tale within tale is also retained; for the parrot's tale includes that of the sage Jābāli concerning Candrāpīḍa and Vaiśampāyana, along with the story told by Mahāśvetā of her love for Puṇḍarīka. After the meeting of Candrāpīḍa with Kādambarī, whose entrance into the story is too long delayed, and his hurried return to Ujjayinī, Bāṇa's work ends abruptly with the welcome news which Patralekhā brings to him of Kādambarī's assurance of love. It is clear that, like Spenser, Bāṇa conceived of too large a plan and never lived to finish it. The plot is only begun but hardly unfolded. It is completed ingeniously enough by his son, but we have no means, except from scattered and uncertain hints in the narrative itself, of knowing whether Bāṇa wanted to develop it with all its later bewildering turn and confusion of curses and changing personalities of reborn heroes. Half-told as the tale is by him, we cannot be sure if he meant Śūdraka, the hearer of the story, but a redundant figure at the outset, is to become the real hero in the end as the reborn Candrāpīḍa, who in his turn is to be the moon-god in his former birth, or whether Vaiśampāyana is to turn out as the transformed parrot itself recounting the tale; for these elaborate intricacies occur in the second part of the work. This important fact is ignored when one criticises Bāṇa for his lightly complex plot and charges him with deficiency of constructive power. The striking parallelism of the story of the *Kādambarī* to the much humbler one of King Sumanas (or Sumānasa), narrated in the two Kashmirian versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*,[46] may suggest that Bāṇa may have wanted to utilise the motif of curse and rebirth, but there is no certainty that this story was contained in the original *Bṛhatkathā*, and even if it were, it would be useless to speculate whether Bāṇa would have utilised the motif in the same way as we have it now. The complications of the plot, as developed in Bhūṣaṇa's supplement, can hardly be inferred from the dry bones of the much simpler and less refined original, occurring in late versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, which has a somewhat different denouement and which attaches degrading forms of birth to the heroine Mandārikā and her father, on the rather frivolous ground of a curse proceeding from wild grief in the one case and repentance for pronouncing the curse in the other.

That the method of emboxing tales can be carried to a confusing extent is seen in the arrangement of Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-*

46. Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, x. 3 (TAWNEY's trs., Calcutta 1884, ii. p. 17f; the whole passage is reproduced in PETERSON's introd. to the *Kādambarī*, pp. 84–95); Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī*, xvi. 185f.

sāgara, where, often with an insignificant framework, we have A's account of B's report of C's recounting of D's relating of what E said, and so forth, until we have the disentangling of the entire intricate progression or until reversion to the main story, which the reader in the meantime probably forgets. The form is not ill suited to a succession of disconnected tales, as in the *Pañcatantra*, where they are narrated generally by the characters of the frame-story or of the inset stories. There is further improvement in the *Daśakumāra-carita*, where their several experiences are narrated, with a semblance of realism, by the princes themselves in the first person, and in the *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*, where all the separate tales are connected to serve one main purpose In the *Kādambarī*, the old machinery is adapted, with a clever plan, to the conditions of the complex narrative. The device of firsthand narration is made an essence of the form, for the inset stories explain matters which the main narrator could not himself know and which each subsidiary narrator is allowed to describe as coming within the scope of personal experience. The main narrative here is not recounted by the hero, but in effect by the sage Jābāli, who is supposed by his insight to know vividly what he relates, and who can describe freely and objectively; but each of the minor narratives, like that of Mahāśvetā, gives effective expression to intimate knowledge and feeling, and is made essential to the development of the plot.

The denouement, as developed by Bhūṣaṇa, is sometimes criticised as flat. To a certain extent, this is true, but, making allowance for the device of curse and rebirth common enough in folk-tale,[47] one should admit that there is an element of surprise in the discovery at the end that Śūdraka, who is only the listener to the story, is himself the real hero, who had loved in vain in two lives, and whose listening to the story is a necessary condition of the re-awakening of his love for Kādambarī and of bringing his second life to an end by his revived longing for reunion. As a rule, the romance-writers, like the poets, are rather poor inventors of plot, and make use of all the paraphernalia of conventional story-telling, as well as the fantastic ornateness of an over-worked diction; but there is more arrangement, progress and interest in Bāṇa's narrative than in Subandu's; and, in spite of the complexes of past and present lives, there cannot be much doubt that the threads of

47. See L. H. GRAY, *op. cit*, p. 53f. Gray cites an instance from the story of Arthapāla in the *Daśakumāra-carita*, where there is a hint, not fully developed, of a very complex scheme of three incarnations involving six persons. It is noteworthy, however, that it is Bāṇa's heroes, and not heroines, who undergo three rebirths each.

the stories of the loves of the two maidens, which form his main theme, are skilfully interlaced.

The chief obstacle to our appreciation of Bāṇa's constructive gift, however, is his weakness for elaborating the tales, by dwelling too much on details, in a style which draws prose and poetry together in an unnatural alliance. The lack of proportion is due partly to largeness of handling, and partly to a prodigal imagination which prefers lawless splendour to decent insipidity. But the sense of proportion is the very foundation of style and treatment. There is no need, for instance, to lose sight of the narrative in a lavish description of Ujjayinī, of Śukanāsa's palace, of the Vindhya forest and hermitage, of the temple of Caṇḍikā, of night and moon-rise, all of which give us wonderful word-pictures, no doubt, but most of which are certainly overdone. Bāna's power of observation and picturesque description, his love of nature, his eye for colour and ear for music, the richness of his fancy and his wealth of words, are excellences which are unquestioned, but they are seldom kept within moderate bounds. His choice of subject may be good, but his choice of scale is fatal. The readiness of his resources is truly astonishing, but the exaggeration often swamps the reality of his pictures. The description of Ujjayinī, for instance, is too extravagant in its terms to give us a vivid notion of what it actually was in his time. The delineation of Mahāśvetā's beauty is too undiscriminating in its heaping of metaphors and epithets to present a convincing visual picture. Nor are absurdities excluded in matters of detail. The physician, a youth of eighteen, who attends upon the dying Prabhākaravardhana, is so fanatically attached to his king that he must also burn himself on the funeral pyre on his patron's death. It is not that Bāna's imageries lack visualisation and proper phrasing; Bāna can be forcible and direct when he chooses; the sense of humour is not altogether wanting in his picture, for example, of the Drāviḍa ascetic, or in his description of Skandagupta as having a nose as long as his sovereign's pedigree; the advantage of contrast is utilised in the characterisation of the pairs of lovers, all this and more is admitted. But the censure is just that Bāna allows no topic to pass until he can squeeze no more out of it. Whether in description or in speeches of lamentation and exhortation, no possible detail is missed, no existing variety of synonymous epithets omitted, no romantic symbolism and conceit overlooked, nor any brilliant rhetorical device ignored.

It is clear that Bāṇa's evident relish in this extended and over-ostentatious method is a hindrance not only to vigorous narrative,

but also to the realities of sentiment and character. Comments have been made, not unjustly, on the shadowy nature of his personages, some in their second and even third birth, and their exaggerated sentiments. But, making allowance for aberrations inevitable in a rich and exuberant talent, it should be said that Bāṇa's power of characterisation or delineation of sentiment is not entirely divorced from reality. The world he depicts is removed in time and character, but not in appreciation and sympathy, from our own. The tale is strange, as also its manner of telling, but the element of marvel and magic is a recognised concomitant of the popular tale and need not of itself diminish its value as a romance, any more than the imaginative character of Spenser's *Faery Queene* impairs its interest as a poem. The scene is laid as much in Kādambarī's home, situated beyond the Himalayas and peopled by Gandharvas and Kinnaras, as in Ujjayinī where Candrāpīḍa's very human father Tārāpīḍa and his practical minister Śukanāsa hold court in royal splendour. The world of fancy is conceived as vividly as the world of humanity; but the whole unreal machinery fades away when we are brought face to face with a tale of human love and sorrow, set forth in its idyllic charm as well as in its depth of pathos. It cannot be denied indeed that these old-time romancers are not always good at assessing the fine shades of human conduct, they see life as an affair in which black is black and white is white, black and white seldom merge in dubious grey. Bāṇa attempts to infuse some diversity of colouring into his Patralekhā and his Śukanāsa, but they are too fine to be life-like. His two heroes are endowed with nobility, courtesy, devotion and charm, but they give the impression, more or less, of broad types of character; they are hardly human beings All this must be frankly admitted. But it must also be admitted that Bāṇa possesses a wonderful insight into the currents of youthful passion and virgin modesty, in their varying impulses of joy and grief, hope and despair; and this forms the pith of his work in its surrounding embroidery. It is perhaps for this reason that he is more successful in delineating his two heroines. The maidenly love of Kādambarī, with its timid balancing of the new-born longing and cherished filial duty, is finely set off by the pathetic fidelity of the lovelorn Mahāśvetā, awaiting her lover for long years on the shores of the Acchoda lake. If they are overdressed children of his poetic imagination, his romantic ideas of love find in them a vivid and effective embodiment; they are no less brilliant types, but they are at the same time individualised by the sharpness of the impression.

Indeed, the chief value of Bāṇa's unique romance lies, not in its narrative, nor in its characterisation, nor in its presentation, but in its sentiment and poetry. In this extraordinary tale Bāṇa gives us a poetic treatment, in two different ways, of youthful love, having its root not only in the spontaneous emotion of this life, but in the collective affection of cycles of existence, in what Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti describe as friendship of former births firmly rooted in the heart. It is a study of the poetic possibilities of the belief in transmigration; it conceives of a longer existence which links the forgotten past and the living present in bonds of tender and unswerving memories If love in this work moves in a strange and fantastic atmosphere of myth, folk-tale and romance, the unreality of the dream-pageant acquires a vitality and interest from the graceful and poetic treatment of the depth and tenderness of human love, chastened by sorrow and death, enlivened by abiding hope and faith, and heightened by the touch of an intrepid idealism And the extravagance of its luxuriant diction is perhaps a fit vehicle for this extravagantly romantic tale of love.

There are some critics, however, who on formal grounds would deny to Bāna a high rank as a prose writer, and the classic onslaught of WEBER[48] has been repeatedly quoted. The charge, in brief, is that Bāna's style and diction suffer from the vices of an unduly laboured vocabulary, syntax and ornamentation. His prose has been compared to an Indian jungle, where progress is rendered impossible by the luxuriant undergrowths, until the traveller cuts out a path for himself, and where wild beasts lie in wait for him in the shape of recondite words, far-fetched allusions, vast sentences, undiscriminated epithets upon epithets in a multitude of aggressive compounds, and a whole battalion of puns, similes, hyperboles, alliterations and assonances. His erudition, it is complained, is heavy in its outrageous tendency to overloading and subtlety; his sense of proportion is faulty in its excessive use of literary embellishments and in the construction of really enormous sentences, in which the verb or the subject is held over to the second, third, nay, even to the sixth page of print, all the interval being filled with more dazzling than illuminating series of phrases and phrases upon phrases; his weakness for play upon thought or word is incessant and irritating; he is dominated by the perverse desire of producing the graces of poetry in prose; the grandeur of his style is ponderous and affected and often falls into the grandiose,—in fact,

48. In *ZDMG*, 1853, quoted by PETERSON, *op cit.*, introd. p. 38. On this romance, see WEBER, *Indische Streifen*, i, pp. 308-386.

he has all the worst faults of verbal and mental bombast which can characterise a prose writer. While some measure of imperfect sympathy may be suspected in this unqualified denunciation, there is a great deal in this view which is justifiable. But it should not be forgotten that richness of vocabulary, wealth of description, frequency of rhetorical ornaments, length of compounds and elaborateness of sentences, a grandiose pitch of sound and sense, are common features of the Prose Kāvya, and in this respect Bāṇa is perhaps less reprehensible than Subandhu, whose unimaginative stolidity aggravate, rather than lessen, the enormity of the blemishes. The author of the *Kāvyādarśa* asserts that a profusion of compact compounds is the very life of Sanskrit prose, and that paronomasia is the very soul of poetic figures; this dictum is exemplified only too well by these writings. Whether Bāṇa felt himself fettered by the literary cannons of the rhetoricians, or whether these fetters themselves were forged on the model of the works composed by himself and his compeers, is a question which need not be discussed here, but it must be admitted at once that in Bāṇa's romance, floridity, subtlety and horror of the obvious get altogether the upper hand, as compared with succintness, simplicity and directness That Bāṇa can write with force and beauty and achieve considerable diversity of style has been pointed out by his apologists, but this cannot be taken as his general practice. He can seldom write without elegancies, and his manner has a tendency to degenerate into mannerism. He is often unable to condense in a terse phrase the force of concentrated passion, but he dilutes its strength by diffusing it into graceful and sonorous periods. All this and even more cannot be denied Bāṇa is not faultless, he is indeed very faulty. But all this should not lead us to compare his works with those of Daṇḍin, which are differently conceived and executed, nor emphasise points in which he is obviously deficient. We should judge him on his own merits, and not by any standard which he does not profess to follow. It is useless to expect things which he does not aim at, but it is necessary to find out in what he is truly efficient.

It seems strange that one should be capable of denying the splendour of Bāṇa's prose at its best It is eccentric, excessive and even wasteful, but its organ-voice is majestic in movement and magnificent in volume and melody. It would often seem that the nobly wrought diction moves along in its royal dignity and in its panoroma of beautiful pictures, while the poor story lags behind in the entourage and the humble sentiment hobbles along as best as it

can. But it should not be forgotten that it is mainly by its wonderful spell of language and picturesqueness of imagery that Bāṇa's luxuriant romances retain their hold on the imagination, and it is precisely in this that their charm lies. It is an atmosphere of gracious lunar rainbows rather than that of strong sunlight. No one denies that Bāṇa's prose is useless for average purposes, but the question is whether it suits the purpose for which it is intended, whether the high-flown style is able to shape the rough stones of popular literature into gems of romantic beauty. It may be said that a more terse and simple style would have been appropriate for his account of King Harṣa, but the work, as we have already said, should be taken more as a Prose Kāvya than as an historical production, more as a stupendous panegyric than as a real biography. Still more should the *Kādambarī* be taken as a gorgeous and meandering tapestry work, in which an over-fertile fancy weaves endless patterns of great but fantastic beauty. It is conceded that prose in its normal proportion is hardly Bāṇa's natural organ of speech, nor is poetry, if one is to judge from his *Caṇḍī-śataka*, but he affects a kind of prose-poetry in which he is unique. If he is swayed by the rhetorical passion of the Sanskrit poets, he is not merely rhetorical; if he writes long sentences, his sentences are seldom obscure, if he has a fondness for epithets and compounds, they are not always devoid of vividness, harmony and stateliness. Bāṇa is neither an imaginative recluse, nor a lover of the abstruse and the difficult, but he has an undoubted gift for the picturesque, the tender and the pathetic. He has a rare mastery over a certain gamut of feeling and fancy, but his prettiness or succulence never lack dignity or become namby-pamby. In spite of their long-drawn-out brilliance and overwhelming profusion, his elaborate sentence-pictures are seldom wanting in the variety, swing and cadence of balanced phrase. Bāṇa has an amazing command over words and an irrepressible talent for melodious and majestic phrase; but he is not so much a creator of words and phrases as an architect of sentences and paragraphs. In the combination of pictorial effect with the elegance and splendour of word-music, they form an unparallelled series of vignettes of astonishing lavishness. Bāṇa would be monotonous and tiresome to one who determines to plod doggedly through the whole work, but he is attractive if attention is confined at a time to the marvellous richness of his fancy revealed in one or two of his delightful episodes or descriptions. Bāṇa pours out the whole farrago of his ideas, and has a provoking, and sometimes meaningless, habit of heaping them up in the enormous

mass of a single sentence. He is verbose, not in the sense that he takes many words to express an idea, but in the sense that he gives expression to a multitude of ideas where a few would suffice. He is always in the danger of being smothered by his own luxuriance. Indeed, Bāṇa's work impresses us by its unfailing and unrestrained wealth of power; we have not an abundance, but a riot. It is useless to seek a motive behind his work, a sobriety of judgment and workmanship; what we have here is the sheer delight of voluminous expression, the largeness of tumultuous fancy, and the love of all that is grand and glorious in fact or fiction.

The Arthaguṇa "Śleṣa"

By

C. R. DEVADHAR, Poona

Vāmana, in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, enumerates and defines ten "Arthagunas" whose names are identical with those of the "Śabdagunas" treated of in the previous section (III. 1). Among these is Śleṣa defined and explained thus :—

घटना श्लेषः ।

क्रमकौटिल्यानुल्बणत्वोपपत्तियोगो घटना । स श्लेषः ।

After illustrating it by means of the well-known verse from Amaru "दृष्ट्वैकासन" etc., he remarks

शूद्रकादिविरचितेषु प्रबन्धेषु अस्य भूयान् प्रपञ्चो दृश्यते ।

"That we find an extensive use of this feature in the works of Śūdraka and others." It is to this remark that BHATTANATHA SWAMIN makes a reference in his article in the *Indian Antiquary* 1916 (p. 193) on the Bhāsa problem, when he says that Vāmana praised Śūdraka and not Bhāsa for his skill in developing plot and hence Vāmana knew the *Mrcchakatika* of Śūdraka, and not the *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa.

Georg MORGENSTIERNE, however, takes exception to this observation on the ground that Vāmana is not at all speaking of the plot here, but only of the "Arthaguna" Ślesa But what exactly is this "Arthaguna" Śleṣa, whether it is not a mere peculiarity of plot-construction, and if so, whether BHATTANATHA SWAMIN is not justified in making the remark, are questions which deserve to be critically looked into, since an answer to them will positively advance the inquirer towards a solution of the vexed problem of the relation between the *Clay Cart* and the *Cārudatta.*

Let us, therefore, first understand the definition of Ślesa as given by Vāmana. Ślesa (Coalescence), he says, is a combination or commingling (घटना). He explains घटना as क्रमकौटिल्यानुल्बणत्वोपपत्तियोगो घटना । and cites the following verse from Amaru in illustration .—

दृष्ट्वैकासनसंस्थिते प्रियतमे पश्चादुपेत्यादरा—
देकस्या नयने निमील्य विहितक्रीडानुबन्धच्छलः ।
ईषद्वक्रितकन्धरः सपुलकः प्रेमोल्लसन्मानसा—
मन्तर्हासलसत्कपोलफलकां धूर्तोऽपरां चुम्बति ॥

" On seeing two of his most beloved girls seated side by side, the cunning lover came up from behind, and under the pretence of sportive dalliance closed with his hands the eyes of one of them and then twisting his neck a little kissed the other whose heart was over-flowing with love and whose face was flushed with suppressed smiles. "

Despite slight divergences all rhetoricians seem to be in agreement with regard to the meaning of the word घटना , and they hold that Vāmana's Ślesa is nothing more than cleverness in the arrangement of facts or incidents. Unfortunately all of them cite over and again the same verse from Amaru and hence no fresh light is shed on the question from that invaluable source.

Vāmana's घटना—क्रमकौटिल्यानुल्बणत्वोपपत्तियोगो घटना। according to the commentary Kāmadhenu, means a combination of a series of actions and ingenuity which by its reasonableness and by its absence of any far-fetched representation is conducive to probability. (नेत्रनिमीलनादीनां यः क्रमः परिपाटी कौटिल्यं च तयोः अनुल्बणत्वेन उपपत्त्या युक्ततया पृच्छाक्षेपरूपतया बाधाभावस्वभावतया च योजनं घटना विवक्षिता।) What is meant is there must be a number of ingenious actions which contain nothing impossible and are capable of a reasonable explanation.

The author of the *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa* defines श्लेष—as संविधाने सुसूत्रता ॥ I. 78 , and cites the same verse— दृष्ट्वैकासन etc. He remarks:-

अत्रैकासनसंस्थितयोः प्रियतमयोर्विलासिना ह्येका नयनमीलनकेलिकर्मणा वञ्चिता। अन्या तु वदनचुम्बनेन रञ्जितेति। सेयं संविधाने सुसूत्रता श्लेषो नाम वाक्यार्थगुणः ॥

Accordingly a clever arrangement of acts or incidents is the quality श्लेष.

The *Kāvyaprakāśakāra* says—

क्रमकौटिल्यानुल्बणत्वोपपत्तियोगघटनात्मा श्लेषोऽपि विचित्रत्वमात्रम्। He, like Bhoja, holds the view that this is nothing but cleverness in the combination of ingenious incidents

The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* also speaks in the same strain :—

श्लेषो विचित्रतामात्रम्—VIII 16

श्लेषः क्रमकौटिल्यानुल्बणत्वोपपत्तियोगरूपघटनात्मा। तत्र क्रमः क्रियासंततिः, विदग्धचेष्टितं कौटिल्यम्, अप्रसिद्धवर्णनाविरहः अनुल्बणत्वम्, उपपादकयुक्तिविन्यासः उपपत्तिः, एषां योगः सम्मेलनं स एव रूपं यस्या घटनायास्तद्रूपः श्लेषो वैचित्र्यमात्रम् ॥

" श्लेष is merely strikingness of description. It is a composition consisting of a combination of a succession of acts (क्रम), cunningness (कौटिल्य), absence of extravagance (अनुल्बणत्व) and probability

(उपपत्ति). '*Krama*' is a series of actions, '*Kauṭilya*' is ingenious behaviour, '*Anulbaṇa*' means absence of far-fetched representation, while '*upapatti*' is the adjustment of reasonable circumstances conducive to probability. A commixture of these four elements forming what is termed '*Śleṣa*' produces only a striking effect. In the verse under question (दृष्ट्वैकासन etc.) the actions are "seeing" and so forth; the cunningness is the paying court to both; an absence of extravagance consists here in the natural behaviour; the circumstances conducive to probability are expressed in the words "seated together", "having approached from behind", "having closed the eyes" and "gently twisting the neck".

We need not cite the views of Jagannātha or of the commentators of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, or of Hemacandra and others who reiterate the view that श्लेष is nothing but mere cleverness in the arrangement of ingenious incidents (संविधानकभवं वैचित्र्यमात्रमिदं न गुणः।). Viśvanātha says that inasmuch as in such an arrangement or combination the reader's attention is engrossed in apprehending the probable circumstances mentioned, the enjoyment of the flavour (रस) is postponed in some measure, and consequently there is no positive merit

From the foregoing discussion, it will be seen that *Śleṣa*, according to Vāmana and other rhetoricians, is a feature of plot-construction And when Vāmana refers to Śūdraka's works as abounding in the use of this device, one naturally turns to the *Mrcchakatika* to examine if the remark is borne out by the evidence of that play A critical investigation of the play reveals the following among many other situations, as envisaging the truth of the remark, though it must be admitted that the word *Krama*—a sequence of actions—requires to be interpreted in a more comprehensive sense, meaning *all kinds of acts*—*including the acts of* "speaking" and "hearing" and "comprehending", or rather the words क्रम has reference to the dialogue which gradually unfolds the sequence of the various acts that develop a dramatic situation.

Let us consider the following situations –

संस्थानकः—भावे भावे एशा गब्भदाशी कामदेवाअदणुज्जाणादो पहुदि ताह दलिद्दचालुदत्ताह अनुलत्ता ण मं कामेदि। वामदो तश्श घलं। जधा तव मम अ हत्थादो एशा ण पलिब्भंशदि तथा कलेदु भावे।

विटः—(स्वगतम्) यदेव परिहर्तव्यं तदेवोदाहरति मूर्खः। कथं वसन्तसेनार्यचारुदत्तमनुरक्ता। सुष्ठु खल्विदमुच्यते रत्नं रत्नेन संगच्छत इति। तद्गच्छतु। किमनेन मूर्खेण। (प्रकाशम्) काणेलीमातः वामतस्तस्य सार्थवाहस्य गृहम्।

संस्थानकः—अध इं । वामदो तश्श घलं ।

वसन्तसेना—(स्वगतम्) अम्महे, वामदो तश्श गेहं त्ति नं सच्चं अवरज्झन्तेण वि दुज्जणेण उवकिरं जेण पिअसङ्गमं पाविदा ।

Saṁsthānaka :—But, master, ever since this slave-wench went to the gardens of the temple of Kāma, she has been in love with poor Cārudatta, and she does not love me. His house is to the left. So have a care and let her not give us the slip.

Viṭa :—(*Aside*) Poor fool, he blurts out what he should have concealed. So Vasantasenā is in love with Cārudatta! The proverb is right. "Pearls go with pearls". Well, let her go. I have had enough of this fool. (*Aloud*) Well, bastard, did you say the good merchant's house is here to the left?

Saṁsthānaka :—Yes, his house is to the left.

Vasantasenā :—(*Aside*) What! If his house is here to my left, then the scoundrel, in seeking to harm me has really obliged me, inasmuch as he has guided me to my love.

Here there is a sequence of acts (क्रम), the Śakāra expresses his fear that Vasantasenā might elude them as they were close to Cārudatta's house, the Vita on learning that Vasantasenā was in love with Cārudatta, changes his mind and wants her to escape; he, therefore, makes Śakāra reiterate what he had said with a view to give Vasantasenā a hint, and the latter comprehends it. There is cunning (कौटिल्य), for it is clear that the clever Vita by making Śakāra repeat the sentence वामतः तस्य गृहं wants Vasantasenā to make good her escape. There is no far-fetched representation in this (अनुल्बणत्व) and the whole thing is rendered probable by the fact that the Śakāra is a dolt and blurts out what he should have concealed (उपपत्ति).

Here is another scene, where also we come across all the four elements of क्रम, कौटिल्य, अनुल्बणत्व and उपपत्ति.

संस्थानक·—भावे भावे अण्णेशामि वशन्तशेणिअं ।

विटः—काणेलीमातः अस्ति किंचिच्चिह्नं यदुपलक्षयसि ।

संस्थानकः—भावे भावे किं विअ ।

विटः—भूषणशब्दं सौरभ्यानुविद्धं माल्यगन्धं वा ।

संस्थानकः—शुणामि मल्लगन्धं । अन्धआलपूलिदाए उण णाशिआए ण शुव्वत्तं पेक्खामि भूषणशद्दं ।

विटः—(जनान्तिकम्) वसन्तसेने—

कामं प्रदोषतिमिरेण न दृश्यसे त्वं सौदामनीव जलदोदरसन्धिलीना ।
त्वां सूचयिष्यति तु माल्यसमुद्भवोऽयं गन्धश्च भीरु मुखराणि च नूपुराणि ॥

4

श्रुतं वसन्तसेने ।

वसन्तसेना—(स्वगतम्) सुदं गहीदं च । (नाट्येन नूपुराणि उत्सार्य माल्यानि चापनीय किंचित्परिक्रम्य हस्तेन परामृश्य ।) etc.

Saṁsthānaka :—Master, I am looking for Vasantasenā.

Viṭa :—But is there anything you can track her by, you bastard?

Saṁsthānaka :—Like what, master?

Viṭa :—Say—the chime of her ornaments or the perfume of her garlands.

Saṁsthānaka :—I hear the perfume of her garlands. But my nostrils are stuffed so full of darkness that I do not see the chime of her jewels very clearly.

Viṭa :—(*Aside*) Vasantasenā!

It is true that you are not seen in the darkness of the night like the lightning veiled in the cloud; but the perfume of your garlands, and your tinkling anklets will yet betray you. Do you hear me, Vasantasenā?

Vasantasenā :—(*To herself*) I hear and understand. (*She removes the anklets and garlands and gropes her way.*)

The following situations will be found to be built upon the same pattern —

माथुरः—(आलोक्य सवितर्कम्) अले विप्पदीवु पादु । पडिमाशुण्णु देउलु । (विचिन्त्य) धुत्तु जूदिअरु विप्पदीवेहिं पादेहिं देउलं पविट्ठु ।

द्यूतकरः—ता अणुमरेम्ह ।

माथुरः—एव्वं भोदु ।

(उभौ देवकुलप्रवेशं निरूपयतः । दृष्ट्वान्योन्यं संज्ञाप्य)

द्यूतकरः—कधं कट्ठमयी पडिमा ।

माथुरः—अले ण हु ण हु । शेलप्पडिमा । (इति बहुविधं चालयति । संज्ञाप्य च) एव्वं भोदु । एहि जूदं किलेम्ह । (बहुविधं द्यूतं क्रीडतः ।)

संवाहकः—(द्यूतेच्छाविकारसंवरणं बहुविधं कृत्वा स्वगतम्) अले

जाणावि ण कीलिश्शं शुमेलुशिहलपडणशण्णिहं जूअं ।
तह वि हु कोइल महुले कहाशहे मणं हलदि ॥

द्यूतकरः—मम पाठे मम पाठे ।

माथुरः—ण हु मम पाठे मम पाठे ।

संवाहकः—(अन्यतः सहसोपसृत्य) णं मम पाठे ।

द्यूतकरः—लद्धे गोहे ।

Māthura—(*Looks reflectively*)—Ah! the feet are turned around; and the temple hasn't any idol. (*Reflecting*) That rogue of a gambler has gone into the temple with his feet turned around!

Gambler—Let's follow him.

Māthura—All right. (*They enter the temple, look about and make signs to each other*)

Gambler—What ! a wooden image !

Māthura—By no means ! By no means ! It's stone. (*He shakes it in a variety of ways, then makes signs.*) Well, let be , come, let's have a game. (*They indulge in a variety of gambling.*)

Saṁvāhaka—(*Striving with all his might to repress the gambling fever, aside*) I know I shall not play, for it would be as well to leap down from the summit of Meru as to gamble And yet the rattle of dice charms the mind as the Koil's song

Gambler—My turn ! my turn !

Māthura—No, no ! It's my turn ! mine !

Saṁvāhaka—(*Coming up quickly from another side*).. Isn't it my turn ?

Gambler—We have got our man

संवाहकः—ता कुदो दइश्शं ।

माथुरः—अले गन्थु कुलु कुलु ।

संवाहकः—एव्वं कलेमि । (द्यूतकरमुपस्पृश्य) अद्धं ते देमि । अद्धं मे मुञ्चदु ।

द्यूतकरः—एव्वं भोदु ।

संवाहकः—(सभिकमुपसृत्य) अद्धश्श गन्थु कलेमि । अद्धंपि मे अज्जो मुञ्चदु ।

माथुरः—को दोसु । एव्वं भोदु ।

संवाहकः—(प्रकाशम्) अज्ज अद्धं तुए मुक्के ।

माथुरः—मुक्के ।

संवाहकः—(द्यूतकरं प्रति) अद्धं तुए पि मुक्के ।

द्यतकरः—मुक्के ।

संवाहकः—सम्पदं गमिश्शं ।

माथुरः—पअच्छ तं दशसुवण्णं । कहिं गच्छसि ।

संवाहकः—पेक्खध पेक्खध भट्टालआ । हा ! शम्पदं जेव्व एक्काह अद्धे गन्थु कडे । अवलाह अद्धे मुक्के । तहवि अवलं शम्पदं जेव्व मग्गइ ।

Saṁvāhaka—Where can I get the money to pay him ?

Māthura—Well then, you must give surety.

Saṁvāhaka—I have an idea. (*Taking the Gambler's hand*) I will give you half. Forgive me the other half

Gambler—All right.

Saṁvāhaka—(*Going to Māthura*)—So I give you surety for a half. You might forgive me the other half.

Māthura—Very well. I see nothing wrong in that.

Saṁvāhaka—(*Aloud*) So, sir, you consider half of it paid ?

Māthura—Yes.

Saṁvāhaka (*To the Gambler*)—And you forgave me a half ?

Gambler—Yes.

Saṁvāhaka—Then I think I will be going.

Māthura—Pay me my ten gold-pieces. Where are you going ?

Saṁvāhaka—Look at this, gentlemen, look at this ! I just gave surety to one of them for a half, and the other forgave me a half. And yet he is dunning me, poor helpless me !

माथुरः--अले अले दुट्ठछिणालिआपुत्तअ फलं वि पाविहसि ।

दर्दुरकः--अरे मूर्ख अहं त्वया मार्गगत एव ताडितः । श्वो यदि राजकुले ताडयिष्यसि तदा द्रक्ष्यसि ।

माथुरः--एसु पेक्खिस्सं ।

दर्दुरकः--कथं द्रक्ष्यसि ।

माथुरः--(प्रसार्य चक्षुषी) एव्वं पेक्खिस्सं ।

(दर्दुरो माथुरस्य पांशुना चक्षुषी पूरयित्वा संवाहकस्यापक्रमितुं संज्ञां ददाति । माथुरोऽक्षिणी निगृह्य भूमौ पतति । संवाहकोऽपक्रामति ।)

Māthura—Oh, oh, you filthy strumpet's bastard ! But I will pay you for this

Darduraka—You dolt ! I was walking along the street, and you struck me Strike me to-morrow in court and I will make you see a few things.

Māthura—Yes, I'll see

Darduraka—How will you see ?

Māthura—(*Staring with wide open eyes*) I'll see like this !

[*Darduraka throws dust in Māthura's eyes, and signals to the masseur to flee. Māthura shuts his eyes and falls down. The masseur makes his escape.*]

वर्धमानकश्चेटः--हीमाणहे । आणीदे मए जाणत्थलके । लदणिए णिवेदेहि अज्जआए वसन्तशेणाए अवत्थिदे शज्जे पवहणे । अहिलुहिअ पुप्फकलण्डअं जिण्णुज्जाणं गच्छदु अज्जआ ।

आर्यकः--(आकर्ण्य) गणिकाप्रवहणमिदं बहिर्यानं च । भवत्वधिरोहामि । (इति स्वैरमुपसर्पति ।)

वर्धमानकः--(श्रुत्वा) कधं णेउलशद्दे । ता आअदा क्खु अज्जआ । अज्जए इमे णश्शाकडुआ बइल्ला । ता पिट्ठदो जेव्व आलुहदु अज्जआ । (आर्यकस्तथा करोति ।)

वर्धमानकः--पादुप्फालचालिदाणं णेउलाणं वीशान्तो शद्दो । भलक्कन्ते अ पवहणे । तथा तक्केमि शम्पदं अज्जआए आलूढाए होदव्वं । ता गच्छामि । जाध गोणा जाध । (इति परिक्रामति ।)

The Slave Vardhamānaka—There now, I have brought the cushions. Radanikā, tell mistress Vasantasenā that the cart is ready and waiting for her. Let her get in and drive to the old garden Puspakaranḍaka.

Āryaka (*Listening*)—Ah, it is a courtesan's cart and is going out of the town. Good, I will climb in. (*He approaches slowly.*)

Vardhamānaka (*Listening*)—Ah, the jingling of anklets! So my mistress is come. Mistress, these bullocks are skittish with nose-string. Do please climb in at the back (*Āryaka does so.*)

Vardhamānaka—The sound of the anklets that tinkle with each step has ceased; and the cart is heavy. I am sure the lady must have got in. So I will drive on Get along, bullocks, get along. (*He drives forward.*)

Consider the following situation in Act VIII.

विटः—(स्वगतम्)

अस्मत्समक्षं हि वसन्तसेना शौण्डीर्यभावाद् न भजेत मूर्खम् ।
तस्मात्करोम्येष विविक्तमस्या विविक्तविश्रम्भरसो हि कामः ॥

(प्रकाशम्) एवं भवतु । गच्छामि ।

वसन्तसेना—(पटान्ते गृहीत्वा) णं भणामि सरणागदम्हि ।

विटः—वसन्तसेने न भेतव्यं न भेतव्यं । काणेलीमातः वसन्तसेना तव हस्ते न्यासः ।

संस्थानकः—एव्वं । मम हत्थे एशा णाशेण चिट्ठदु ।

विटः—सत्यम् ।

संस्थानकः—शच्चं ।

विटः—(किञ्चिद्गत्वा) अथवा मयि गते नृशंसो हन्यादेनाम् । तदपवारितशरीरः पश्यामि तावदस्य चिकीर्षितम् । (इत्येकान्ते स्थितः)

संस्थानकः—भोदु मोडिश्शं । अधवा कवडकावडिके एशे बम्हणे वुड्ढखोडे कदावि ओवालिदशलीले गडिअ शिआले भविअ हुलभुलिं कलेदि । ता एदश्श वञ्चणाणिमित्तं एव्वं दाव कलइश्शं । (कुसुमावचयं कुर्वन्नात्मानं मण्डयति ।) वाशू, वाशू, वसन्तशेणिए एहि ।

विटः—अये कामी संवृत्तः । हन्त निर्वृतोऽस्मि । गच्छामि । (इति निष्क्रान्तः ।)

Viṭa:—(*To himself*) Vasantasenā is too proud to own her love for this imbecile, in my presence. I should leave her here with him alone, for the joys of love can be tasted only in the secrecy of solitude. (*Aloud*) Very well, I am going

Vasantasenā:—(*Seizing his cloak*) Didn't I throw myself upon your protection?

Viṭa—Fear nothing, Vasantasenā. Now, bastard, Vasantasenā is a pledge entrusted to you.

Saṁsthānaka:—All right, I will attend to her all right!

Viṭa :—Upon your honour.

Saṁsthānaka :—Yes, upon my honour

Viṭa :—(*Moving a little*) No, the wretch might kill her as soon as I have gone. I will hide myself for a moment and see what he intends to do. (*Stands apart.*)

Saṁsthānaka—Good ! I'll murder her But no, this deceitful rogue of a Brahmin, this old fox, might conceal himself and might play me a trick, like the jackal he is. So I must trick him in this way. (*He gathers flowers and adorns himself*) Vasantasenā, my little girl, my love, come

Viṭa :—Ah, he has turned lover Good, I am content ; I will go. (*Exit.*)

Here is another.

सर्वे—अहो तुए मारिदा । ण अज्जचारुदत्तेण ।

संस्थानकः—के एव्वं भणादि ।

सर्वे—(चेटमुद्दिश्य) णं एस्मा माहू ।

संस्थानकः—(अपवार्य सभयम्) अविदमादिके, अविदमादिकें । कधं थावलके चेडे शुट्ठु ण मए शअदे । एशे क्खु मम अकज्जश्श शक्खी । (विचिन्त्य) एव्वं दाव कलइश्शं । (प्रकाशं) अलिअं भट्टालका हो । एशे चेडे शुवण्णचोलिआए मए गहिदे पिट्टिदे मालिदे बद्धे अ । ता किदवेले एशे जं भणादि किं शव्वं शच्चं । (अपवारितकेन चेटस्य कटकं प्रयच्छति । स्वैरकम्) पुत्तआ थावलका चेडा एदं गेण्हिअ अण्णधा भणाहि ।

स्थावरकः—(गृहीत्वा) पेक्खध, पेक्खध भट्टालकाहो । शुवण्णेण मं पलोभेदि ।

संस्थानकः—(कटकमाच्छिद्य) एशे शे शुवण्णके जश्श कालणाहो मए बद्धे । (सक्रोधम्) हंहो चाण्डाला मए क्खु एशे शुवण्णभण्डाले णिउत्ते शुवण्णं चोलअन्ते मालिदे पिट्टिदे । ता जदि ण पत्तिआअध ता पिट्ठिं दाव पेक्खध ।

चाण्डालौ (दृष्ट्वा) शोहणं भणादि । विडत्ते चेडे कि ण प्पडवदि ।

All :—You murdered her, not the noble Cārudatta

Saṁsthānaka —Who dares say that ?

All :—(*Pointing to the servant*) This worthy man.

Saṁsthānaka :—(*Terrified, to himself*) Merciful heavens ! Why didn't I chain up this slave Sthāvaraka more securely ? Why, he was a witness of my crime. (*Reflecting*) Well, I will do it this way. (*Aloud*) It is a lie, gentlemen. I caught the slave stealing gold, and I beat him, struck him, and chained him up. So he hates me. Who would believe that he is telling the truth ? (*Aside to Sthāvaraka, offering a bracelet, coaxingly*) Here, my son, Sthāvaraka, my slave, take this and say something different.

Sthāvaraka :—(*Takes it*) Look, sirs, look, he is trying to bribe me with gold !

Saṁsthānaka :—(*Snatching the bracelet*) That is the very gold for the theft whereof I had put him in chains. (*Angrily*) Yes, Candalas, I put him in charge of my gold-chest, and when he stole gold, I struck him and beat him. If you don't believe it, just look at his back.

Cāṇḍālas :—(*Seeing*) Yes, quite true. And when a servant is branded that way, no wonder he tells lies

Here are a number of scenes which weave the same pattern. As already remarked the word क्रम has to be understood in a very comprehensive sense as meaning a series of acts including even mental acts, though in some of the scenes, the word can be interpreted in the narrow sense of physical acts In every one of them there is cunning and cleverness (कौटिल्य); there is nothing extravagant (अनुल्बणत्व) and consequently the whole scene produces the impression of probability (उपपत्ति)

It will be seen that this Arthaguna Śleṣa is no other than a peculiarity of plot-construction, it is a definite pattern, and its repetition in Śūdraka's play is so frequent and so obvious as to justify Vāmana's remark that it is an outstanding characteristic of Śūdraka's plays.

One more point before I conclude. In regard to the meaning of the word क्रम—sequence of actions—it is possible that they refer to the same agent (एककर्तृक) or different agents (भिन्नकर्तृक). Whether this distinction was intended by Vāmana or not is not clear, although in the verse cited in illustration एककर्तृकत्व or सामानाधिकरण्य appears to be prominent Even if this limitation of एककर्तृकत्व were insisted on, it will be found that many of the dramatic situations given above will yet reveal the essential features of this quality of Śleṣa; only the various acts of one and the same individual will be interposed by the acts of other individuals, since we are dealing here with drama in which dialogue and, therefore, an intermixture of acts of various individuals, is the essential source of expression.

The Anumiti-nirūpaṇam of Rāmanārāyaṇa

By

G. V. DEVASTHALI, Nasik

Going through the Jaṭā Śaṅkara Collection of MSS. deposited at present in our College library I came across a curious little work named the *Anumiti-nirūpaṇam*—a small work by Rāmanārāyana who has therein tried to give an exposition of the Anumiti (one of the four pramānas) and also of the fallacies or the hetvābhāsāḥ. This little work attracted my attention by the close resemblance it bears to the corresponding sections of the *Tarka-saṁgraha* of Annambhatta

Little has as yet been said about Rāmanārāyana, the author of the work under notice, and yet looking up in AUFRECHT's *Catalogus Catalogorum* I was surprised to find more than half a dozen works ascribed to him. Inspite of this pretty large number of works to his credit, this Rāmanārāyana has failed to cut a notable figure partly because the majority of his works are mere commentaries on famous works already commented upon by writers of great fame, and also partly because the two or three independent works he has composed are neither very original nor very erudite. And yet the work under notice has a peculiar interest for us on account of its close resemblance to the *Tarka-saṁgraha* and its utility in adding to evidence in favour of an earlier date being assigned to Annambhatta.

To begin with the works of our author, we find that he has written commentaries on five different works. The *Tātparya-bodhinī*, his commentary on the *Pañcadaśī* of Vidyāranya has been noticed by von Richard GARBE in his *Tubingen Catalogue* (1865-1899) under No. 95. He is also said to have commented on the *Vijñāna-naukā*, a small work on the Vedānta philosophy ascribed to Śankarā-cārya. We have in the Jaṭā Śaṅkara collection of MSS. in our College library a MS. of this commentary together with the text which, however, does not give the name of the commentator. AUFRECHT has also credited him with a commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*. Besides these there is also another commentary on the *Rāsa-Pañcādhyāyī* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* composed by one Rāmanārāyaṇa who is very probably to be identified with the author of of the work under notice. MSS. of this last mentioned commentary have been noticed by Prof. VELANKAR in his *Catalogue of the Sk. & Pr. MSS. in the B. B. R. A. Society* under Nos. 943-44. One more MS. of the same will also be found in

the Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection of MSS. now deposited in the University Library, Bombay.

Important for our purpose, however, are our author's commentaries on the *Tarka-saṁgraha* of Annambhatta and on the *Tattvānusaṁdhāna*, a Vedantic work composed by Mahādevānanda-Sarasvatī. The date of Annambhatta has not as yet been fixed and the dates to which he is referred by different scholars vary between 1600 and 1700 A.D.[1] The date of the second of the above mentioned writers is, however, fixed by the fact that he wrote his commentary on the *Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma* in 1694 A D The earliest date, therefore, to which we can refer Rāmanārāyana, who has commented on Mahādeva's work, cannot be earlier than the closing years of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D.

As for the *terminus ad quod* of our author, the only means we have at present to fix it with tolerable certainty is a MS. of his work on metres, called the *Chandomālā*, which is dated Samvat 1894 and is deposited in the University Library, Bombay. Taking both these limits into consideration one may say that Rāmanārāyana must have flourished in the latter half of the eighteenth century A.D.

Now coming to the work under notice we find that it is almost an *ad verbatim* copy of the corresponding portion of the *Tarka-samgraha* with slight changes here and there and a few additions by way of simplification. The only noteworthy innovation introduced by our author lies in the examples which he has taken from the Vedānta system setting aside the original ones given by Annambhatta Such wholesale incorporation of the work of one writer by another into his own can easily warrant us in postulating a period of more than a century as separating the two ,[2] and in the case under consideration

1. DR. BELVALKAR assigns him 'to the early decades of the seventeenth century.' Cf *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 50, para 33 According to Prof A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR and Prin. KARMARKAR he could not have lived later than 1700 A.D. and earlier than the first quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. Cf. Their edition of the *Tarka-samgraha*, Intr. p ii. MR. BODAS places him between 1625 and 1700 A.D. DR. WINTERNITZ notes MR. BODAS' view and remarks that he must be older since a MS. of the *Tarkasamgraha* is dated 1585. But the Doctor had not formed any definite opinion in this connection as is apparent from his remark, "Seine Zeit ist unsicher." (Cf. *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Dritter Band, p. 477 and n. 1)

2. Students of Indian Medical Literature may easily be reminded of a similar phenomenon in the *Cikitsāsārasamgraha* (also known by the name of *Cikitsamahārnava*) of Vangasena, the son of Gadādhara. This Vangasena is said to have composed his work in the 11th or the 12th century after Christ; while the *Rugviniścaya* (which is incorporated by Vangasena) is said to have been written by Mādhavakara in the 8th or the 9th century A.D (Cf. WINTERNITZ, *Geschichte*, III, p. 550).

this period will have to be still longer when it is borne in mind that the two authors involved here are Annambhaṭṭa, a southerner and Rāmanārāyana, who is certainly a northerner. Taking into consideration the probable date of our author arrived at above and also bearing in mind his relation with Annambhatta as brought to light by the work under notice one may be justified in assigning Annambhatta to the latter half of the sixteenth century approximately. This conclusion regarding the date of Annambhatta is also borne out by the fact that one of the MSS. of his *Tarka-saṁgraha* (noticed by A. VENIS in a bibliographical note to his edition of the *Lakṣaṇāvalī*) is dated 1585 A.D. and finds further corroboration in the fact that in his commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra* Annambhatta quotes from and refers to Nrsimhāśrama, who wrote two of his works in 1547 and 1558 respectively;[3] but makes no mention of the voluminous writer of the closing years of the sixteenth century, I mean, Appayya Dīkṣita or his highly esteemed *Parimalā*, a commentary on the *Kalpataru* which, of course, he has referred to and cited more than once.

One more curious circumstance about this work is the prominent use of the Vedanta doctrines by way of illustrations of the various definitions which form its central theme. But these illustrations far out-weigh the central matter with the result that the reader is led to class it among works on the Vedānta (as PETERSON has actually done it in his *Ulwar Cat.* No. 488, Extra. No 122.)

As for personal account, our author supplies us with only few details about himself in his *Chandomālā* or *Vanamāli-kīrti-chandomālā*. Rājā Sucetarāma was the name of his father and those of his preceptors were Rāmasimha, Harinātha and Sadāsukha. The title of '*Viṣṇudāsyāpanna*' or '*Viṣṇusakhyāpanna*' which he applies to himself in the colophons shows that he was a staunch devotee of Viṣnu. We have also seen that he composed more than half a dozen works which have all been already noted above but for a small Vedantic pamphlet (probably of the defensive type) named *Kaṇṭakoddhāra*, noticed by A. V. KATHAVATE in his *Report*, 18-19 1895, No. 754.

3. For these dates I am indebted to my friend Mr. P. K. GODE, M.A., Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, who also informs me that according to the evidence collected by him Annambhaṭṭa can be assigned to a period between 1530 and 1565 A.D., which would make him a contemporary of king Rāmarāj of Vijayanagara (1542-1565 A.D.).

अनुमितिनिरूपणम् ।[4]

सच्चिदानन्दरूपाय कृष्णायाक्लिष्टकर्मणे ।
नमो वेदान्तवेद्याय गुरवे बुद्धिसाक्षिणे ॥ १ ॥
रामसिंहं गुरुं नत्वा हरिनाथं सदासुखम् ।
वर्णदं पितरं बालबोधायानुमितिं ब्रुवे ॥ २ ॥

अनुमितिकरणमनुमानम् । परामर्शजन्यं ज्ञानमनुमितिः । साध्यव्याप्तिविशिष्टपक्षधर्मताज्ञानं परामर्शः । यथा ब्रह्माभेदव्याप्यसच्चिदानन्दरूपत्ववान् प्रत्यगात्मेति ज्ञानम् । यथा च स्वप्नादौ मिथ्यात्वव्याप्यदृश्यत्ववद् विश्वम् । यत्र सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वं तत्र ब्रह्माभेदो यथा ब्रह्मणि इति हेतुसाध्यसाहचर्यनियमो व्याप्तिः । यथा च यत्र यत्र दृश्यत्वं तत्र तत्र मिथ्यात्वं यथा स्वप्नादौ ॥ ३ ॥

अनुमानं द्विविधम् । स्वार्थं परार्थं च । स्वार्थं स्वानुमितिहेतुः । तथाहि । यथा 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म' (तै. उ. २, १, १), 'आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजानात्' (तै. उ. ३, ६, १) इत्यादिभिः श्रुतिभिः यत्र सत्यज्ञानानन्दरूपत्वं तत्र ब्रह्मत्वमिति निश्चित्य प्रत्यगात्मनि सत्यत्वं चिद्रूपत्वं नित्यप्रेमास्पदत्वेनानन्दरूपत्वं च दृष्ट्वा व्याप्तिं स्मरति 'यत्र सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वं तत्र ब्रह्मत्वम्' इति । तदनन्तरं 'ब्रह्मत्वव्याप्यसच्चिदानन्दरूपोऽयं प्रत्यगात्मा' इति ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । अयमेव लिङ्गपरामर्शः । तस्माद् 'ब्रह्मस्वरूपोऽयं प्रत्यगात्मा' इति ज्ञानमनुमितिरूपमुत्पद्यते । यथा च स्वप्नादौ यद्यद् दृश्यं तत्तन्मिथ्येति व्याप्तिं निश्चित्य विश्वगतदृश्यत्वेन व्याप्तिं स्मरति 'यद्यद् दृश्यं तत्तन्मिथ्या' इति । तदैव 'मिथ्यात्वव्याप्यदृश्यत्ववद् विश्वम्' इति ज्ञानं लिङ्गपरामर्शरूपमुत्पद्यते । ततो 'विश्वं मिथ्या' इति ज्ञानमनुमितिरूपमुत्पद्यते । तदेतत् स्वार्थानुमानम् ॥ ४ ॥

यत्तु स्वयं सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वेनात्मनि ब्रह्मत्वं, दृश्यत्वेन जगति मिथ्यात्वं चानुभूय परं जिज्ञासुं बोधयितुं तेन पञ्चावयववाक्यं प्रयुज्यते तत् परार्थानुमानम् । यथा प्रत्यगात्मा ब्रह्माभिन्नः । सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वात् । यत् सच्चिदानन्दरूपं तद् ब्रह्माभिन्नं यथा ब्रह्म । तथा चायम् । तस्मात् तथा ॥ यथा च विमतं विश्वं मिथ्या । दृश्यत्वात् । यद्यद् दृश्यं तत्तन्मिथ्या यथा स्वप्नविश्वम् । तथा चेदम् । तस्मात् तथा । अनेन प्रतिपादितात्लिङ्गादन्योऽप्यात्मनो ब्रह्मत्वं द्वैतमिथ्यात्वं च प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ५ ॥

प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनमिति पञ्चावयवाः । पक्षे साध्यापादनं प्रतिज्ञा । साधितुमिष्टं हेतुव्यापकं साध्यम् । साध्यव्याप्यलिङ्गकथनं हेतुः । व्याप्तिग्रहणस्थलं सव्याप्तिकमुदाहरणम् । हेतोः पक्षे स्मारक उपनयः । पक्षे साध्यनिर्धारणं निगमनम् । 'प्रत्यगात्मा ब्रह्माभिन्नः', 'विश्वं मिथ्या' इति प्रतिज्ञा । 'सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वात्', 'दृश्यत्वात्' इति हेतुः । 'यत् सच्चिदानन्दरूपं तद् ब्रह्माभिन्नं यथा ब्रह्म', 'यद्यद् दृश्यं तत्तन्मिथ्या यथा स्वप्नविश्वम्' इति उदाहरणम् । 'तथा चायम्' इत्युपनयः । 'तस्मात्तथा' इति निगमनम् ॥ ६ ॥

स्वार्थानुमितिपरार्थानुमित्योर्लिङ्गपरामर्श एव करणम् । तस्माल्लिङ्गपरामर्शोऽनुमानम् ॥ ७ ॥

---

4. This text of the अनुमितिनिरूपणम is based on the only MS. that was available to me from the जटाशंकर collection of MSS. in the library of the H. P. T. College, Nasik.

लिङ्गं त्रिविधम् । अन्वयव्यतिरेकि, केवलान्वयि, केवलव्यतिरेकि च । अन्वयेन व्यतिरेकेण च व्याप्तिमदन्वयव्यतिरेकि । यथा ब्रह्माभिन्नत्वे साध्ये सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वम्, मिथ्यात्वे साध्ये दृश्यत्वम् । 'यत् सच्चिदानन्दरूपं तद् ब्रह्माभिन्नं यथा ब्रह्म', 'यद्यद् दृश्यं तत्तन्मिथ्या यथा स्वाप्नविश्वम्' इत्यन्वयव्याप्तिः । 'यत्र ब्रह्ममुख्याभेदाभावस्तत्र सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वाभावो यथा घटादौ', 'यत्र मिथ्यात्वाभावस्तत्र दृश्यत्वाभावो यथात्मनि' इति व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिः ॥ ८ ॥

अन्वयमात्रव्याप्तिकं केवलान्वयि । यथा 'सर्वं ब्रह्माव्यतिरिक्तसत्ताकं तद्भिन्नसत्त्वासंभवात् ब्रह्मवत्' । अत्र ब्रह्माव्यतिरिक्तसत्ताकत्वतद्भिन्नसत्त्वासंभवयोर्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिर्नास्ति विश्वस्य बाधेनात्मनश्च मुख्यत्वात्तदव्यतिरिक्तसत्ताकत्वात तद्भिन्नसत्त्वासंभवाच्च ॥ ९ ॥

व्यतिरेकमात्रव्याप्तिकं केवलव्यतिरेकि । यथा 'आत्मा परमार्थतः सन् सर्वथा अबाध्यत्वात्, चेतनः सर्वावभासकत्वात, परमानन्दरूपः परमप्रेमास्पदत्वात् । यत् सच्चित्परमानन्दरूपं न भवति तत् सर्वथाऽबाध्यं, सर्वावभासकं, परप्रेमास्पदं च न भवति यथा शुक्तिरूप्यम् । न तथा चायम् । तस्मान्न तथा' । अत्र 'यत् सर्वथाऽबाध्यं, सर्वावभासकं, परप्रेमास्पदं तत परमार्थसच्चिद्रूपं परमानन्दरूपम्' इत्यन्वयव्याप्तिर्नास्ति । आत्मनः पक्षत्वात्, तदितरस्य कस्यचित् तथात्वाभावात । तथा 'द्वैतं सर्वं न परमार्थसत्, अनात्मत्वात् । यत् परमार्थमसन्न तद् अनात्मापि न यथा चैतन्यम् । न तथा चेदं किन्तु अनात्मकमेव । तस्मान्न तथा किन्तु परमार्थतोऽसदेव ।' अत्राप्यन्वयव्याप्तिर्नास्ति । आत्मेतरस्य सर्वस्य पक्षत्वात्, आत्मचैतन्यस्य तद्धेतुसाध्यवत्त्वाभावात् ॥ १० ॥

सन्दिग्धसाध्यवान् पक्षः । यथा ब्रह्माभिन्नत्वे साध्ये प्रत्यगात्मा, मिथ्यात्वे साध्ये जाग्रद्विश्वम् । निश्चितसाध्यवान् सपक्षः । यथा ब्रह्माभिन्नत्वे साध्ये ब्रह्म, मिथ्यात्वे साध्ये स्वप्नविश्वम् । निश्चितसाध्याभाववान् विपक्षः । यथा मुख्ये ब्रह्माभेदे साध्ये विश्वम्, मिथ्यात्वे साध्ये ब्रह्म ॥ ११ ॥

सव्यभिचारविरुद्धसत्प्रतिपक्षासिद्धबाधिताः पञ्च हेत्वाभासाः । सव्यभिचारोऽनैकान्तिकः । स त्रिविधः । साधारणासाधारणानुपसंहारिभेदात । तत्र साध्याभाववद्वृत्तिः साधारणोऽनैकान्तिकः । यथा 'प्रत्यगात्मा ब्रह्माभिन्नो वस्तुत्वाद् घटवत्' । तद्वस्तुत्वं तद्भेदाभाववति ब्रह्मण्यपि वर्तते । यथा च 'विश्वं सत्यं सत्यत्वेनावभासमानत्वात् आत्मवत्' । तत सत्यत्वाभाववत्सु सर्वस्वाप्नदृश्येष्वपि बाधात्पूर्वं वर्तते । सर्वसपक्षविपक्षव्यावृत्तः पक्षवृत्तिरसाधारणः । यथा 'जीवो ब्रह्मभिन्नः कर्तृत्वाद् भोक्तृत्वाच्च' । अत्र कर्तृत्वं भोक्तृत्वं च सर्वस्माद् ब्रह्मभिन्नाद् घटादिजगतः सपक्षाद् ब्रह्मभेदाभाववतो विपक्षाच्च व्यावृत्तः पक्षवृत्तिः । यथा च 'जाग्रद्विश्वं सत्यं व्यावहारिकसत्त्ववत्त्वात' । एतद् व्यावहारिक-सत्त्ववत्त्वं सत्यत्वसाध्यावत आत्मनः सपक्षात सत्यत्वाभाववतः स्वाप्नादिविपक्षाच्च व्यावृत्तः पक्षमात्रवृत्तिः । अन्वयव्यतिरेकदृष्टान्तरहितोऽनुपसंहारी । यथा 'सर्वं परमार्थसत्यं पदार्थत्वात्' । अत्र सर्वस्य पक्षत्वादन्वयव्यतिरेक्युभयविधदृष्टान्ताभावः॥१२॥

यत्र यत्र हेतुस्तत्र तत्र साध्याभाव इति साध्याभावव्याप्तो हेतुर्विरुद्धः । यथा 'जीवात्मा ब्रह्मभिन्नः, सच्चित्परानन्दरूपत्वात्' । अत्र सच्चित्परानन्द[रूपत्वं] ब्रह्मभिन्नात्ममात्रसपक्षाद् व्यावृत्तं ब्रह्मभेदसाध्याभावेनैव ब्रह्मणि व्याप्तम् । यथा 'जाग्रद्विश्वं

सर्वं सुखदुःखादिव्यवहारप्रदत्वात्'। एतत् सत्ये निर्विक्रिये ब्रह्मणि सपक्षेऽवर्तमानं सत्यत्वाभावेनैव स्वप्नादौ व्याप्तम् ॥ १३ ॥

साध्याभावसाधकं हेत्वन्तरं यस्य स सत्प्रतिपक्षः। यथा 'जीवो ब्रह्मभिन्नोऽसर्वज्ञत्वात् व्यतिरेके ब्रह्मवत्'। "जीवो ब्रह्माभिन्नः सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वाद् ब्रह्मवत्।" यथा च 'जाग्रद्विश्वं सत्यमर्थक्रियाकारित्वाद् व्यतिरेके स्वप्नवत्'। "जाग्रद्विश्वं मिथ्या दृश्यमानत्वात् स्वप्नादिवत्" ॥ १४ ॥

असिद्धस्त्रिविधः। आश्रयासिद्धः, स्वरूपासिद्धो, व्याप्यत्वासिद्धश्च। तत्रासिद्धपक्षक आश्रयासिद्धः। यथा 'अणुर्मध्यमो वाऽऽत्मा ब्रह्मभिन्नः परिच्छिन्नत्वाद् घटवत्'। 'परमाणवो जगत्कारणं तदारम्भकत्वात् पटारम्भकतन्तुवत्।' 'स्वतन्त्रं प्रधानं जगत्कारणं तद्रूपपरिणतत्वाद् दध्याकारपरिणतदुग्धवत्।' 'शून्यं जगत्कारणं सर्वानुगतत्वाद् घटानुगतमृद्वत्।' अत्र हेत्वाश्रयः पक्ष एव श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षासिद्धत्वादनुमानस्य प्रत्यक्षगृहीतव्याप्त्यनुजीविनः सर्वथाप्रत्यक्षे साध्ये प्रवृत्त्यसंभवादसिद्धः ॥ १५ ॥

पक्षे अवर्तमानो हेतुः स्वरूपासिद्धः। यथा 'आत्मानो ब्रह्माभिन्नाः नानात्वाद् घटादिवत्'। अत्रात्मनो नानात्वहेतुरेव श्रुतिविरुद्धत्वान्नीरूपतया प्रत्यक्षागोचरत्वात् सर्वथाऽप्रत्यक्षेऽनुमानाप्रवृत्तेरसिद्धः। यथा च 'विश्वं सत्यं स्वप्रकाशत्वाद् आत्मवत्'। अत्र विश्वस्मिन् स्वप्रकाश [त्व] हेतुरेवासिद्धः ॥ १६ ॥

सोपाधिको हेतुर्व्याप्यत्वासिद्धः। साध्यव्यापकत्वे सति साधनाव्यापक उपाधिः। साध्यवति सर्वत्र नियमेन वर्तमानत्वं साध्यव्यापकत्वम्। साधनं हेतुः। तद्वति नियमेनावर्तमानत्वं क्वचिद् व्यभिचरितत्वं साधनाव्यापकत्वम्। यथा 'जीवात्मानो ब्रह्मभिन्नाः अनित्यविशेषगुणवत्त्वाद् घटादिवत्'। यथा च 'विश्वं परमार्थं सत अप्रातिभास (सि ?)-कत्वाद् आत्मवत्'। इत्यत्र अचित्त्वं चित्त्वं चोपाधिः। यत्र यत्र घटादौ ब्रह्मभिन्नत्वं तत्र तत्राचित्त्वम्, यत्र यत्र परमार्थसत्त्वं तत्र तत्र चित्त्वं च ब्रह्मणि वर्तते इति साध्यव्यापकत्वम्। पक्षद्वये परसंमतानित्यविशेषगुणवत्त्वेऽप्रातिभास(सि ?)कत्वेऽप्यचित्त्वं चित्त्वं च नास्तीति साधनाव्यापकत्वम्। एवं साध्यव्यापकत्वे सति साधनाव्यापकत्वादचित्त्वं चित्त्वं चोपाधिः। सोपाधिकत्वादनित्यविशेषगुणवत्त्वमप्रातिभास(सि ?)कत्वं च व्याप्यत्वासिद्धम् ॥ १७ ॥

यस्य हेतोः साध्याभावः प्रमाणान्तरेण निश्चितः स हेतुर्बाधितः। यथा सर्वाणि ब्रह्मात्मभेदबोधकानि द्वैतसत्यत्वबोधकानि अनुमानाभासानि। 'अयमात्मा ब्रह्म' (बृ. उ. २, ५, १९), 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मि' (बृ. उ. १, ४, १०), 'तत्त्वमसि' (छां. उ. ६, ८, ७), 'तत्त्वमेव त्वमेव तत', 'आत्मैव नृसिंहो देवो ब्रह्म भवति' (नृ. उ. ता. ५), 'नान्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टा' (बृ. उ. ३, ७, २३), 'अतोऽन्यदार्तम्' (बृ. उ. ३, ४, २), 'नेह नानास्ति किञ्चन' (बृ. उ. ४, ४, १९; कठ. ४, ११) इत्यादिश्रुतिभिः। 'अहमात्मा गुडाकेश' (भ. गी. १०, २०),

'कृष्णमेनमवेहि त्वमात्मानमखिलात्मनाम्।
अयं प्रपञ्चो मिथ्यैव सत्यं ब्रह्माहमद्वयम्।
अत्र प्रमाणं वेदान्ता गुरुः स्वानुभवस्तथा ॥'

इत्यादिस्मृतिभिश्च बाधितानि ॥ १८ ॥

इतिश्रीविष्णुसत्यापन्नश्रीरामनारायणविरचितम् अनुमितिनिरूपणम् समाप्तम् ॥

Bharcu and Avantivarman

By

S. K. DIKSHIT, Calcutta

" नमामि भर्चोश्चरणाम्बुजद्वयं सशेखरैर्मौखरिभिः कृतार्चनम् ।
समस्तसामन्तकिरीटवेदिकाविटङ्कपीठोल्लुठितारुणाङ्गुलि ॥ "—

Kādambarī, Intro. stanza 4th.

It has been a matter of considerable speculation among scholars as to who this person,- described in such glowing terms in the *Kādambarī*, was, and in what relation he really stood to Bāna It is also not very clear from this verse who the Maukharis "with the (imperial) crowns (on their heads)" were, as also why feudatory kings should pay the humblest obeisance to this man, whose correct name itself is as enigmatical as any of the questions connected with him. There is also an amount of confusion regarding the poems that are to be attributed to him, even though they are not many.

I shall here briefly refer to some important editions only of the *Kādambarī*, in connection with his name Prof. M. R. KALE adopts in his text the reading '*Bharvoh*', though he is aware of the variant readings '*Bhatsoh*' and '*Bhartsoh*' given by Bhānucandra.[1] He regards it as the name of Bāna's preceptor, though in the case of the reading '*Bharvoh*', he offers an alternative explanation that it may stand for '*pitroh*'. Prof. Peter PETERSON also adopts the reading '*Bharvoh*' after the commentators Śivarāma and Mahādeva, though he refers to other readings including that of '*pitroh*' of Sudhākara. Mahādeva equates '*Bharvoh*' with Hari and Hara, taking it a dual. Prof. PETERSON, following Dr. KERN, approves of this explanation[2] "But", Prof. KANE urges, "this does not seem proper. If Bharcu refers to Hari and Hara as the quotation cited by PETERSON shows, then there is repetition...Besides the word *caraṇāmbujadvayaṁ* shows that a single person is intended." He adds, "It appears to us that whatever the name may be, the poet bows to the feet of his Guru."[3] This paper is little more than a vindication of his views.

Prof. KANE quotes two commentaries in support of his contention that Bāna here pays respects to his preceptor, whose name

1. PARAB's ed., revised, p. 3, (1932)
2. PETERSON's ed., pt. 1, p. 1. (1900)
3. P. V. KANE's ed., Purvabhaga, pt 1, notes, pp. 3 4. (1913). The first three verses of the *Kādambarī*, in praise of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣnu respectively, are quoted in a grant of Mahārānaka Kumārapāladevi (*I. A.* XVII. 230), but the fourth is not. This makes it probable that it does not refer to any god at all.

is however differently given in them,[4] the one in prose giving it as 'Bhartsu', and the other (which is in verse) as 'Bharchu'. Prof. KANE seems to doubt the latter reading, as he puts a query after it. That reading seems, however, to be supported by another commentator Bālakṛṣna, who says that Bharcu (wrongly spelt as Marccu in PETERSON's edition) was 'a preceptor of the author'.

Kṣemendra quotes this verse in his Suvṛtti-tılaka,[5] where he gives the reading '*Bharcoh*', which is adopted in MADANMOHAN ŚARMA's Calcutta edition.

Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalı* attributes the authorship of the following three stanzas to '*Bhaścu*':—

(1) 'कामं प्रियानपि प्राणान्विमुञ्चन्ति मनस्विनः ।
इच्छन्ति न त्वमित्रेभ्यो महतीमपि सत्क्रियाम् ॥'

(2) 'नीवारप्रसवाग्रमुष्टिकवलैर्यो वर्धितः शैशवे
पीतं येन सरोजपत्रपुटके होमावशेषं पयः ।
तं दृष्ट्वा मदमन्थरालिवलयव्यालुसगण्डं गजं
सोत्कण्ठं सभयं च पश्यति मुहुर्दूरे स्थितस्तापस· ॥'

(3) 'आहूतोऽपि सहायैरेमीत्युक्त्वा विमुक्तनिद्रोऽपि ।
गन्तुमना अपि पथिकः सङ्कोचं नैव शिथिलयति ॥'

"AUFRECHT writes the name Bharcu",[6] which as already shown is the reading adopted by no less than two commentators. The last of the above-quoted verses is attributed to *Bharcu* ın the *Sūktımuktāvalī* of Jalhana,[7] and to *Bharvu* ın the *Śārngadhara-paddhati.*[8] The latter work[9] attributes another verse to Bharcu :

(4) 'कामं प्रियानपि प्राणान्विमुञ्चन्ति मनस्विनः ।
इच्छन्ति न त्वमित्रेभ्यो महतीमपि सत्क्रियाम् ॥'

The *Saduktıkarṇāmṛta* attributes to *Bharvu* stıll another verse, which is also found in the *Subhāṣıtāvalı* where, however, the name of its author ıs not mentıoned :—

4. Op. cıt. Appendıx 1.
5. Kavyamâlâ series, Guccha No 2, p. 29 ff.
6 B. S. S., Vol., XXXI. p. 78
7. G. O. S. No. LXXXII. p. 235.
8. B. S S No XXXVII, Vol. I. p. 598 ; st. 3 32.
9. *Ibid*, Vol. I. p. 40, st. 252. The following verse ın the *Sṛngāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja (XI) refers to Bharcu possibly as being dishonoured as a ghost during his life-time , the meaning of this passage is, however, not very certain, especially in view of the phrase पैशाच्यमङ्कात used with reference to Sāhasāmka Candra-Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty —

'धूर्तयन् श्वपचीकृतो वररुचिः सर्वज्ञकल्पोऽपि सन्
जीवन्नेव पिशाचता च गमितो भर्चुर्यदभ्यर्च्यधीः ।
छन्दोगोऽयमिति प्रभाकरगुरुर्देशाच्च निर्वासित.
यद्वृत्तान्तविजृम्भितेन महता तत्सर्वमल्पीकृतम ॥'

(5) विकल्परचिताकृतिं सततमेव तामीक्षसे
सदा समभिभाषसे समुपगूहसे सर्वदा ।
प्रमोदमुकुलेक्षणं पिबसि पाययस्याननं
तथापि च दिवानिशं हृदय हे किमुत्कण्ठसे ॥ '

The second of the above-quoted verses of Bharcu, beginning with नीवारप्रसवाग्र°, is attributed in the *Aucitya-vicāracarcā* of Ksemendra to one Rājaputra Muktāpīda, who as Messrs. DURGAPRASAD and PARAB point out, is probably identical with king Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra We are, however, unable to agree with these learned editors in their view that "*Bhaścu* (of the *Subhāṣitāvali*) might be a name of Muktāpīda himself, used in the childhood."[10]

Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvali* quotes a stanza from Rājaśekhara, which refers to one *Bharcu* (v l. *Carcu*), whose poetry, Avanti "the chief of Maukharis" is said to have adored, as did 'Bāṇa the disciple' (of Bharcu), in an introductory verse to the *Kādambarī*. The stanza from Rājaśekhara is very clear though it is a little mis-interpreted by the learned editor Embar KRISHNAMACHARIAR[11] when he thinks of the possibility of an 'Avanti Kāvya', it runs as follows :—

अवन्तिः काव्यमानर्च भर्चोर्मौखरिशेखर· ।
शिष्यो बाणश्च सङ्क्रान्तकान्तवेद्यवचाः कविः ॥

We know it very well that this Avanti, 'the chief of the Maukharis' cannot be anybody else but Avantivarman, the Maukhari sovereign of Kanauj, whom we know from the *Harṣacarita*, as the father of Grahavarman and the father-in-law of Harṣavardhana's sister Rājyaśrī.[12] Chronologically there is nothing improbable in Bharcu being a contemporary of Avantivarman, as the disciple of the former was a contemporary of a brother of the daughter-in-law of the latter. Again, this stanza corroborated the commentary of Bālakrsna

Avantivarman, no doubt, succeeded Śarvavarman, as is clear not only from the evidence afforded by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,[13] but also from the testimony of the coins The dates, as read by

10. Kāvyamālā, Guccha No. 1, p 129, foot-note

11. G. O. S. No. LXXXII Intro p 47 – 'अपि स्यादवन्तिकाव्यमित्यकपदम ? ।' Text p. 44.

12. *Harṣa-caritam*, PARAB's ed., Ucchvasa 4th, p. 141 –
धरणिधराणा च मूर्ध्नि स्थितो माहेश्वरः पादन्यास इव सकलभुवननमस्कृतो मौखरीवंशः । तत्रापि तिलकभूतस्यावन्तिवर्मणः सूनुरग्रजो ग्रहवर्मा ग्रहपतिरिव गा गतः पितुरन्यूनो गुणैरेनां (राज्यश्री) प्रार्थयते ।"

13. K. P. JAYASWAL's *Imperial History of India*, p. 57 *Mañjusri*-Text, p. 45. st. 630.

Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, on four of Śarvavarman's coins are :— 238, 259, 25x, and 58 ; while those on Avantivarman's coins read, according to the same authority,[14] as :—260, 26x, 67, and 71. In many of these instances the sign at the hundreds' digit was either omitted or lost. And if we accept these readings, there would be little reason to suppose that the dates in two digits refer, as Sir Richard BURN[15] opines, to "the Maukhari era beginning from about 500 or 499 A. D., when Ārya Bhata composed his great astronomical work and exactly 3600 years of the Kaliyuga had elapsed." The inscriptions on the Maukhari coins are an exact imitation of the legends found on the coins of the Guptas. We can, therefore, safely refer all these dates to the Gupta era, supposing, of course, that when the century digit is lost, we have to add 200. Śarvavarman thus reigned approximately in 577 and 578 A.D., and was succeeded by Avantivarman, who reigned from c. 579 A.D. to at least c. 590 A.D. The latter limit of Avantivarman's reign is indeterminable

Lastly, I may venture to suggest that the description in the *Kādambarī* of the high respect shown to Bharcu by the imperial Maukharis, as also, of course, by their vassals, proves that that poet probably held the post of an Upādhyāya or a Kulaguru in Grahavarman's time, if not in the days of Avantivarman himself From the readings, cited above it is perhaps clear that the real name of Bāna's preceptor was either Bharcu or Bharvu , since the name Bhatsu or Bhartsu found in certain MSS. of the *Kādambarī* is altogether unknown to any of the anthologies, while the name Bhaścu found in the *Subhāsitāvali* is not confirmed by any of the manuscripts of the *Kādambarī*. The readings 'Bharcu' and 'Bharvu' are found both in the anthologies as well as in the MSS. of the *Kādambarī*.

But of the two readings '*Bharcoh*' and '*Bharvoh*' I am personally inclined to give preference to the former. It may be noted that Bāṇa shows his fondness for alliteration in all the introductory verses of the *Kādambarī* and that in this verse '*Bharcoh*' rather than '*Bharvoh*' would suit the alliterative purpose more in connection with the words '*Caraṇāmbujadvayam*' and '*Kṛtārcanam*'. Another reason is that the anthologies and other works quoted above refer to '*Bharcu*' more often than to '*Bharvu*'.

---

14. I am giving these dates from an unpublished paper of Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT, to which Dr. TRIPATHI refers in his *History of Kanauj* pp. 57–59. I have been fortunate to see the papers in the original, and can, therefore correct the readings on Avantivarman's coins as reproduced in DR. TRIPATHI's work.

15. DR. R. S. TRIPATHI's *History of Kanauj*, p. 59. Cf. 'Two Maukhari Sealings from Nalandā' *E. I.*, XXIV.

Bhāsa and Kauṭalya

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, Madras

There has been a lull for some years past among the Indologists in the matter of studies in Kautalya and *Arthaśāstra* polity. It is, therefore, time to revive our studies in this direction now. A controversy has been in the field as to the date of Bhāsa and that of Kautalya. It seems that a final word has been said with regard to the date of Kautalya. That he was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya and that he wrote his treatise for the sake of this monarch, even the hardest of critics should admit. With regard to Bhāsa, the date and even authorship of certain plays were questioned and the late Dr Ganapati ŚĀSTRI, the discoverer and editor of the plays, aptly met all the arguments put forward and concluded that Bhāsa was a predecessor of Kauṭalya and the accredited author of all the plays including the *Svapnavāsavadatta* now attributed to him.

In this short paper I propose to examine further material in support of the thesis so conclusively proved by the late lamented editor. The evidences adduced here are linguistic and historical. From the point of view of expressions and phrases used in both the works of Bhāsa and Kautalya, we find a peculiar similarity of language. I do not propose to go into the use of the *ārsa* words which are common to the works of both the authors But I may give two or three instances of expressions conveying similar meanings in both the plays of Bhāsa and the treatise of Kautalya. A favourite word with Bhāsa is *susampriya* in the sense of winning manners. For example, in the *Madhyamavyāyoga*, the character Dvidīya says :

ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठः कुले लोके पितृणां च सुसंप्रियः ।
ततोऽहमेव यास्यामि गुरुवृत्तिमनुस्मरन् ॥ (sl. 17)

In the same sense Kautalya uses the expression *susampriya* and records it as one of the qualifications of a minister.[1]

Another expression conveying exactly the same meaning in Kauṭalya is *madhyama*. Let me cite the passage in question. In the *Madhyamavyāyoga*, Bhīmasena says :

मध्यमोऽहमवध्यानामुत्सिक्तानां च मध्यमः ।
मध्यमोऽहं क्षितेर्भद्र ! भ्रातृणामपि मध्यमः ॥ sl. 28.

1. Bk. I, 5.

The *Kauṭalīya* has one full section dealing with the position and functions of a *madhyama*.[2] In these cases the *mahhyama* is one who is capable of keeping under check the neutral kings on either side.

Let us proceed to examine the application of a few more words. In the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, Rumaṇvān gives expression to the following:[3]

व्यवहारेष्वसाध्यानां लोके वाप्रतिरज्यताम् ।
प्रभाते दृष्टदोषाणां वैरिणां रजनीत्रयम् ॥

This is a significant passage where we find two words in the Kauṭalīyan sense. One is *asâdhya*.[4] The other is the application of the particle वा meaning 'and' समुच्चय and not 'alternative', the usual use of the word.

Besides the similarity of language we have parallel ideas in the works of both authors. In the *Madhyamavyāyoga* the dramatist puts the following into the mouth of Bhīmasena :[5]

निवृत्तव्यवहारोऽयं सदारस्तनयैः सह ।
सर्वापराधेऽवध्यत्वान्मुच्यतां द्विजसत्तमः ॥

Here Bhāsa says clearly that a Brahman was not to be punished with death penalty under any circumstances. It is significant that the *Kauṭalīya* makes almost a similar statement :[6]

सर्वापराधेष्वपीडनीयो ब्राह्मणः ।

meaning that the Brahman must be immune from corporal punishment for any offence.

It appears that Bhāsa's use of *sannidhātā* is repeated by Kauṭalya in his *Arthaśâstra*. From Bhāsa we find *sannidhātā* devoted to keeping household accounts of the king's income and expenditure.[7]

आप्तपुरुषाधिष्ठितः सन्निधाता निचयाननुतिष्ठेत् । Bk. II. ch. 5

Still more significant is the prayer of Sajjaleka in *Cārudatta* to Kharapata.[8]

नमःखरपटाय ।

Kharapata, the celebrated author of *Steyaśāstra* has been deified, to whom robbers send their prayers for success in their attempts at robbery. What we wish to point out is that in the *Arthaśāstra* we find the term used in meting out punishments for a thief thus :[9]

तस्योपकरणं प्रमाणं प्रहरणं प्रधारणं
अवधारणं च खरपट्टादागमयेत ।

Dr. Ganapati ŚASTRI comments :[10]

खरपट्टात् कर्तृनाम प्रसिद्धाच्चौर्यशास्त्रात् ।

2. Bk. VII, 18. 3. Act III. 3. 4. Bk. I, 19.
5. Verse 34 6. IV, 8. 7. *Pāñcarātram*, I, 24.
8. P. 75 (Trivandrum ed.) 9. Bk. IV, 8. 10. P 153 (Trivandrum ed.)

Further the term *karaṇa* can be cited as another instance where Kautalya is indebted to Bhāsa. *Karaṇa* is a technical term by which is meant a document. If we turn to the *Pāñcarātra*, verse 32, we find the custom of how a document was presented after pouring water in one's hand

यदि विस्मृशसि पूर्वंजिह्मतां मे यदि च समर्थयसे न दास्यतीति।
शरशतकठिनं प्रयच्छ हस्तं सलिलमिदं करणं प्रतिग्रहाणाम्— ॥ Act—I

The late Dr Ganapati ŚĀSTRI interprets *karaṇam* as *sādhakatamam*[11] This is of course Pāniniyan in sense. While one agrees with this construction, still in the light of the *Kauṭalīya*, one feels that the term was intended to be a document of value. For does not the *Arthaśāstra* say :[12]

पश्चिमं चैषां करणमादेशाधिवर्जं श्रद्धेयम्।

But the most unassailable rock of evidence to show that Kautalya was the borrower, and Bhāsa his predecessor, is the following verse completely taken from Bhāsa by the author of the *Arthaśāstra*. Though the latter does not acknowledge Bhāsa by name, still he disowns his authorship to the ślokas in question.

नव शरावं सलिलैः सुपूर्णं सुसंस्कृतं दर्भकृतोत्तरीयम्
तत्तस्य मा भून्नरकं च गच्छेद् यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युध्येत् ॥ Act. IV–3.

These lines are taken from the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. In the circumstances they occur, they quite fit in the place and it is not possible to demonstrate that Bhāsa was also indebted to these ślokas to a common source. In quoting the ślokas, Kautalya prefaces them by saying that war is a sacrifice and the *śūra* meets with the same fruits as one who brings his sacrifice to a successful termination.

On the eve of a war, Kautalya prescribes that the Purohita and other members of the Cabinet should instil into the minds of soldiers a fresh spirit and enthusiasm so as to goad them on to discharge their duties boldly and fearlessly. He who fights loyally to the end attains the heaven destined to warriors and he who does not discharge his duties for the cause of his king and country falls into the hell. This is the sum and substance of the ślokas which are said to stimulate the soldiers to fight to the finish.

If the foregoing pieces of evidence point to anything, it is that Bhāsa was a predecessor of Kauṭalya, and the latter knew the existence of Bhāsa's plays and made use of them in the composition of his great treatise.

---

11. See p. 27 of his edition.
12. Bk. III, 1.

Materials for the History of Gujrāt

OF

The Pre-Valabhi Period

By

PRAHLAD C. DIVANJI, Bombay

I. Can Gujrāt claim to have its own history and if so, on what ground or grounds?

II How it came to have its own provincial language?

III. Why a line of demarcation has been drawn at the commencement of the Valabhi period?

IV. Work done so far and the materials on which it is based.

V. Line of further research and the materials for it:

(*a*) Materials for literary research,

(*b*) Materials for archæological investigation and from where they can be secured

I. *Can Gujrāt claim to have its own history and if so, on what ground or grounds?*

The province on the western coast of the Arabian Sea bounded, broadly speaking, on the north by Sindh and Rājputānā, on the east by some of the states of Central India, prominent amongst which are those of Udeypur, Bānswādā, Jābuā, Dhār and Indore, and on the south by the British districts of West Khandesh, Nāsik and Thānā, which we now call *Gujrāt*, is not a separate and compact political unit ruled over either by a British Indian officer or by an Indian prince. Its crescent-shaped north-eastern portion called Kaccha, which is even geographically separated from the main-land to its east by an arid desert called the Run of Kaccha and from the southern portion of the province by the Gulf of Kaccha, is under the sway of a Rajput prince, its kettle-shaped southern portion called Kāthiāwāḍ, which is separated from Kaccha in the north as above-mentioned and from the main-land on the east by the Gulf of Khambhāt but is connected with it at its north-eastern corner, is divided into several small and big Indian states, some of which are ruled over by Hindu and some by Mahamedan princes with variously curtailed sovereign powers, and its main-land too besides being mainly divided between the British Government and that of the Gāekwāḍ of Baroda, comprises the several small and big Indian states which constitute the Gujrat States Agency. Nor is there an ethnological homogeneity in its po-

pulation, it having been formed of the groups which had immigrated into it from the regions to the north, the south and particularly from beyond the sea on the west. Religiously too the people of Gujrat are not united, for there are amongst them Hindus, Musalmans, Parsees and Christians, not to speak of the other minor religious communities. Culture being to an appreciable extent connected with religion, there cannot be and there is not in fact even a cultural affinity between the different religious sections of the population.[1] It is true that by long association between those sections, the different kinds of culture traditionally handed down amongst them have acted and re-acted on one another and diluted to an appreciable extent the original culture of each religious community, with the result that neither the Hindus are the pure Aryans nor the Musalmans the pure Arabs or Turks or Mongols nor the Parsees the pure Zoroastrians of Irān. Nevertheless the religious bias in the minds of the majority of each of the Hindus, Musalmans, Parsees and Christians is so strong that it has effectually prevented in Gujrāt, as in the other provinces of India, a fusion of those divergent kinds of culture and the evolution of a distinct regional type. More recent events, the attempts on the one hand of the educated Musalmans to spread the Islamic culture amongst the converts to Islam throughout India, to compel them by legislation to observe the rules of Musalman law and to persuade them to adopt Urdu as their mother-tongue and the growing tendency, on the other, of the educated Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsees to look upon the Western modes of dress, living and manners as the hall-mark of cultural perfection, have been rendering the chances of such fusion and evolution more remote than they were a quarter of a century ago

2. Inspite of these disheartening circumstances however I find a ray of hope coming from one quarter and that is the bond of affinity existing between the different communal groups inhabiting

1. The leaders of the Moslem League wish it to be recognised legislatively that there are in India *two principal nations*, of the Hindus and the Musalmans but that is *not* a *correct* estimate of the situation. A large majority of the present-day Musalmans is made up of converts or descendants of converts from the Hindus and the minority is composed of the descendants of foreign immigrants who had come from several countries to the north-west and the west of India such as Afghānistān, Irān, Arabia, Turkey, Syria, Mesopotamia and others. When, as in this case, two different cultural groups share adherence to a common geographical unit, they cannot be called two distinct nations because nationhood implies loyalty to a single geographical unit. If adherence to a religion which had its origin in a foreign country, as is the case with the Musalmans, were the determining factor of nationhood, the Parsees and the Christians and even the few Jews might each as well claim to constitute a separate nation.

this province as above-described, arising out of a common vehicle of thought and expression, a common conventional method of giving expression to one's thoughts and emotions, either orally or in writing. A traveller, sojourning to Palanpur in the extreme north close to Rājputānā, to Daman in the extreme south adjacent to the Koṅkaṇ district of Thānā, to Dwārkā or Māṅdvī in the extreme west very near the southern districts of Sindh or to Sirohi, Zālod or Chhotā Udeypur bordering on Mewād, Jabuā and Dhār States in the east will find one common language, Gujrāti, spoken by the inhabitants of those places, to whatever religious denominations they belong. True, he may be confounded with local jargons and mannerisms but such local differences are to be found in the case of all languages and are confined only to the spoken word. Even there a process of levelling down to a common platform has set in since the method of teaching the language in public schools was commenced nearly three-quarters of a century ago, with the result that we are no more called upon to decide whether the true Gujrati language is that which is used by the northerners or the southerners as our parents were called upon to do by the rival claims put forward by Dalpatram and Narmadashankar, the language of the cultured Gujratis being the same everywhere. This single bond of affinity is itself so strong that it easily acts as a charm and moves the finest chords of the heart of the person spoken to if he happens to have the same mother-tongue and makes of him a friend immediately in distant lands.

II. *How it came to have its own provincial language ?*

3. It is a problem requiring an intensive and extensive investigation how the diverse ethnic types of inhabitants of this province came to have a common tongue. It would however extend the scope of this paper too far to go through all the lanes and by-lanes leading to that goal, step by step, in a strictly logical manner. Nor is it necessary for the purpose I have in view. The fact is there and its importance for us lies in this that inspite of the other dividing factors, it has succeeded in creating a feeling of brotherhood amongst the diverse sections of the population of this province and as the area and population thereof are larger than those of many of the independent states in Asia, Europe and America, it deserves, nay, it is entitled to have, its full history traced from the earliest times possible.

4. Now, it is, I believe, fairly established that the terms "Gujarāt" and "Gujarāti", as we now understand them, had not come into vogue earlier than at least the beginning of the 15th

century A.D. when a separate Sultanate of Gujrāt was founded by the first Mahomedan king who ruled over it from Ahmedabad. Nor has any work composed in the modern Gujrāti language prior to that time yet been discovered as far as I have been able to ascertain. However a language is not evolved by the effort of any one man or within a short space of time. It is the result not only of a slow but also of an organic and spontaneous growth amongst a group of persons. The modern Gujrāti language, not in the form in which it was in use in the 19th and is in use in this century but in that in which we find it used by the poets of the 16th and 17th centuries, must therefore have been developed out of some other language akin to it. As a matter of fact also it has been established by the efforts of an Italian scholar named DR. TESSITORI that the parent of the modern Gujrati was the "Western Rājasthānī", otherwise called "Old Gujarātī" and that the said language was in use as well in North Gujrāt and Kāthiāwād as in Mālwā.[2] We can support these statements historically, for the Solaṅkīs or the Western Cālukyas and the Wāghelās in whose times that language must have been current had been ruling over Mālwā besides Gujrāt and Kāthiāwād from the 11th to the 13th centuries. Jain works like the *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika*[3] and *Prthvīcandracaritra*[4] of the 14th century show that by that time the process of cleavage between Gujrāt and Mālwā had already set in and that the language of the latter had become gujrāticised, so to say.

III *Why a line of demarcation has been drawn at the Valabhi period.*

5. That "Old Gujarātī" too could not have sprung up all at once. It has in fact been established that it has grown out of the Prākrt "Apabhramśa,"[5] a mixture of the Prākrts "Saurasenī" and "Saurāstrī", which was in use in the time of the Cāvaḍās, the first of whom, Vanarāja, founded Anahilavāḍāpattan, the capital of old Gujrāt till about the end of the 13th century. Several works in that language and books on the grammar thereof composed by Jain scholars have already come to light[6] It has further been ascertained that this province as it was then limited in the south had come to be latterly called "Gujrāt" but was in the early mediæval times called "Gurjararāstra" or "Gurjaradeśa" in Sanskrt and "Gujjaraṭtha"

2. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLIII pp. 21 ff.
3. Edited by H. H. DHRUVA on behalf of the Gujrat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad.
4. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No XIII (*Pracin Gurjara Kāvyasamgraha*).
5. *Ency. Brit.* Vol. X.—"Gujarāti and Rājasthāni Languages", p. 980.
6. Vide *Prācīn Gurjara Kāvyasamgraha*, G. O. Series Vol. XIII.

in Prākrt because the Cāvaḍās, Solaṅkis and Vāghelās belonged to the Gujjara tribe which had been sub-divided into various groups, each of which had acquired a distinctive name as in the case of the Yādavas who are distinguished as Bhojas, Bhīmas, Sātvatas, Āndhakas, Vrṣṇīs and so on. Further, before the foundation of Aṇahilavāḍapaṭtan in 765 A. D. the provinces of Gujrāt and Māḷwā had been divided between the rulers of three dynasties, one having its capital at Bhinnamāl or Śrīmāl on the northern border of Gujrāt, the second at Nāndīpuri which has been identified with Nāndod in the Rājpīplā state and the third at Valabhīpura in Kāthiāwād, which has been identified with Valā near Bhavnagar.[7] As to them it has been established that all of them were branches of the Gujjara tribe and that the said tribe had entered Gujrāt through Mālwā and Rājputānā on vanquishing the Maitrakas, a tribe of the White Huns headed by Mihirakula, son or successor of Toramāna, who had broken up the Gupta empire. This tribe had succeeded in establishing the said three Gujjara kingdoms in the beginning of the 6th century A. D. I have selected the Valabhi dynasty thereout for drawing a line for the purpose of this paper because the history of Gujrāt prior to that event is yet in a highly unsettled and unexplored state, because whereas it has been definitely ascertained that Bhattāraka, the general, had in A. D. 509 founded the Valabhi dynasty, the most powerful of the three dynasties, the dates of commencement of the other two dynasties are not definitely settled and because the history of Gujrāt from the 6th century onwards has been reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty.[8]

IV *Work done so far and the materials on which it is based*

6. Now, when I propose to draw attention to the task of the investigation of the history of the province prior to the 6th century, the most natural question to which I should furnish an answer is to what distance in time from that limit I wish the investigation to be carried backwards. My answer is that no date would be too distant for that purpose provided it can be fixed with certainty in accordance with the dictum of Goethe relied on by Vincent SMITH.[9] The investigation made so far extends upto 319 B. C. upto which date the empire of Candragupta Maurya in Saurāṣṭra can be traced. Between 319 B. C. and 526 A. D. which is the definitely ascertained date of a copperplate-grant showing that Dhruvasena, a son of Bhattāraka,

7. Vide *Bom. Gazetteer* Vol. I. Pt. I. History of Gujarat pp. 3-4, 78-80, 85-86, 97-98 etc.

8. *Bom. Gazetteer* Vol. I Pt. I. Ch. VIII. pp 73-80, *Early History of India* by V. A. SMITH, Third edition, Ch. IX.

9. *Op. cit.* Introduction pp. 3-4.

the probable founder of the dynasty which had been ruling at Valabhipura,[10] there is an interval of 806 years. The archaeological excavations made during the latter half of the last century had led to the discovery of such coins, copperplate-grants and inscriptions on rocks and ruined buildings as have, with the help of the accounts left by foreign ambassadors and travellers like Megasthenes, Strabo, Arrian, Pliny, Ptolemy, Fa Hain, Hieuen Thsang and others and the Paurānic literature of the Brahmanical school enabled the Ancient Historians to reconstruct the history of that long period, though some gaps have been left here and there e. g. that between the practical end of the Mauryan rule in B. C. 197 and the commencement of the Ksatrapa rule in B. C. 78 or 70, the end of the Kṣatrapa rule in A. D. 398 and the commencement of the rule of the Imperial Guptas under Kumāragupta in A D. 410, the end of their rule under Skandagupta in A D. 455 and the commencement of the Valabhi rule from A. D. 509. From such doubtful evidence as had come to hand in the shape of coins, inscriptions and grants, intelligent conjectures had no doubt been made by the old scholars, Dr. BHAGWANLAL, CAMPBELL, JACKSON and BÜHLER in order to fill in such gaps but the evidence which they could rely upon not being above criticism doubts have still remained. To add to that difficulty there were the additional ones of Kaccha not appearing in any historical document till the time of the Parthian Greek invasion of about B. C 150[11] and the southern boundary of Gujrāt proper being always fluctuating as the result of invasions from the north and the south at irregular intervals. These difficulties as to the history of the period from B. C 319 to 525 A D are being gradually tided over by scholars and historians as new materials are coming to light, e. g the materials for the rule of the Traikūtakas in the south of Gujrāt between A. D. 250 and 450 and the rule of the Vākātakas between A. D. 150 and 350.[12]

V *Line of further research and the materials for it*

(*a*) *Materials for literary research*

7. Great as these difficulties are they pale into insignificance before the complete paucity of reliable materials for the history of Gujrāt prior to B. C. 319 It is possible that the peninsula of

10. *Bom. Gazetteer* Vol. I., Pt I. pp. 85-89.

11. *Bom. Gazetteer* Vol V—Cutch, Palanpur and Mahikantha, p. 129.

12. *Bom. Arch. Survey Reports* No. XI p. 57 ff, JBBRAS. Vol. XVI. p. 346 ; *Bom. Gazetteer* Vol. I. Pt. I, ch. VI ; *History of India* from A.D. 150 to 350 by K. P. JAYASWAL.

Kaccha did not exist then and that in its place there was a lake, a part of which having dried up has formed the present Ruṇ of Kaccha and from another part of which has emerged the present peninsula of Kaccha. But the same cannot be said of the peninsula of Kāṭhiāwāḍ and the mainland of Gujrāt. There are distinct references to or descriptions of the political, economic and social conditions prevalent at certain periods in Saurāstra, Anartādeśa, Aparāntā, Saubha or Swabhra, Vidarbha and some other states whose territories comprised portions of what we now call Gujrāt and Kāthiāwāḍ in works of undoubted antiquity or in works based on such works of the Brahmanical school, the Jain Purānas which, as I have shown elsewhere, do not deserve to be looked upon as perverted versions of the corresponding works of the Brahmanical school[13] and some of the works of the Buddhist school. If these materials are impartially sifted it is possible to re-construct the history of North and South Gujrāt and Kāthiāwād of a period commencing from several years prior to the date of the Kuru-Pānḍu war. Attempts, some of which have been very serious and laborious, have been made by several scholars like PARGITAR, SARKAR, PRADHAN, JAYASWAL, SHAMSHASTRI, MUKHOPADHYAYA, TRIVEDA, and others[14] to reconstruct the history of India from the Mahābhārata age to the date of accession of Candragupta Maurya in B.C. 323 and although some points of controversy have remained it can be stated without fear of contradiction that it has been almost settled that successive imperial dynasties were in power first at Girivraja, then at Rājagrha and lastly at Pātaliputra between a date some years prior to the Mahābhārata war and that of the capture of Pātaliputra by Candragupta Maurya. They are those of the Brhadrathas, of whom Krsna's adversary Jarāsandha was one, the Śaiśunāgas, the Pradyotas, and the Nandas. But still there is a wide divergence of opinion as to the *terminus a qua*, owing to the same traditional story as to the interval between that event and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda appearing in different Purānas and even in different MSS. of the same Purāna in slightly different words which make it possible to postulate that the said interval was either that of 500 or 1015 or 1500 years.[15] A student of the ancient history of Gujrāt must therefore

13. Historical Value of Paurānic Works—*JGRS* Vol. II pp. 102-25

14. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by PARGITER, Intervening Age between 'Pariksit and Nanda by TRIVEDA—*JBORS* Vol. XIX. Pt. I pp. 1-23; *Chronology of Ancient India* by Sitanath PRADHAN; *History of India from 150 to 350 A.D.* by JAYASWAL.

15. *JBORS* Vol XIX Pt. I. pp. 1-23 Too many alternative figures appear from that paper to have been suggested by scholars but I mention those only which to me appear the most reasonable in view of the wording of the text.

first study for himself and in the original, not simply printed copies of the Purānas but also all the available MSS. of the Purānas and especially those of the Visnu, Mastya, Vāyu and Bhāgawata, from the statements wherein an inference which would be acceptable to the majority of scholars of established repute in the field, can be drawn. Not only that, he must also study the Buddhist Jātaka stories in which there are references to the previous births of Gautama Buddha and therefore to certain facts of historical importance and the Paurānic literature of the Jains as it contains some very valuable materials of historical importance, owing to the lives of their Tīrthaṅkaras e. g. Ṛsabha or Ādīnāth and Aristanemi, the 22nd Tīrthankara, being intimately connected with some ancient Indian historical personages.[16] And further a mere perusal thereof would not suffice, for these works having been composed with the distinct object of creating and promoting a love for the tenets of their particular religious sects, it is but natural that mere matters of fact should have been subjected to a conscious sectarian colouring so as to catch the imagination of the half-educated men and women, for ministering to whose spiritual needs they had been specially composed. In order that such facts may be of service in ascertaining the history of the period to which the principal characters in the works belong, it is necessary that such a sectarian coating should be washed off. It would further be necessary to compare the facts gathered about the same period from different sources, to test them critically and to accept such only for the purpose of history as may appear reasonable and probable. In arriving at such conclusions notice must also be taken of those arrived at on the same as well as cognate points by the previous workers in the same field

8. Once the main outlines of the history of a particular period have been fixed the next task of the student would be to ascertain whether and if so, how far the sway of the particular king or line of kings extended to the province of Gujrāt in the wider sense, what were the topographical, social, religious and economic conditions prevalent during the continuance of such sway, what were the circumstances which led to the changes in those conditions that may be found to have occurred during the period under consideration and so forth. As the Paurānic literatures of the three schools contain abundant materials for the ascertainment of those facts the study

16. It is also a point for investigation whether the history of Gujrāt between the destruction of Kṛṣna's Dwārkā and that of the commencement of the Valabhi period cannot be gathered from the Jain works alone because then the Brahmanical influence had come to an end and that of the Jains under Nemināthа or Ariṣṭanemi had commenced after the migration of the Yādavas.

thereof to be undertaken would be required to be very extensive and intensive.

9. In this connection a word of caution seems to be necessary. While advocating a similar study of the same works for the purpose of reconstructing the history of India prior to the occupation of the throne of Girivraja by Śiśunāga i e. about B. C. 602, in the course of a paper on "Ancient Indian History and Research Work" read at the tenth session of the Oriental Conference at Tirupati, I had put in a similar word and I do so here again in order that the time and energy of scholars may not be wasted. It is this. A retrospect of the research work done in connection with the Paurānic studies, ever since the time of H. H. WILSON, and of that done by eminent archæologists like Sir John MARSHALL and R D. BANNERJI since 1921, has convinced me that there has been more than enough of individual effort by eminent scholars and scientists to reconstruct our history of the pre-Śaiśunāga period and all the available evidence has been marshalled in order to convince the sober historians that India has produced kings, politicians and statesmen besides saints and scholars and had an organized system of social life and of political government even prior to the occupation of Magadha by Śiśunāga. But they have so far remained unconvinced as far as political government is concerned. Even those who like ROYCHAUDHARI and DODWELL have composed works on history after the publication of the results of the archæological investigations at MohenjoDāro and Harappā and after a probable connection had been established between the types of civilization at those places in India and at Sumer and Elma in Mesopotamia, have, though reluctantly, refused to admit the sufficiency of the evidence thus adduced, for a judgment of the above nature. They justify their refusal on the ground that while the said evidence did justify the conclusion that India had attained a high stage of cultural development in the pre-Śaiśunāga age and must therefore have some system of organized government it fell short of that required for the conclusion that it had in fact such a system of government because that requires details as to dates and personalities and these are not forth-coming. It is not wise or possible to ignore this judgment because it has been pronounced by men who direct the courses of historical studies at some of the leading universities and have put forth works of outstanding merit and because it is based on the dictum of Goethe, an eminent historian. It was at first adopted as the guiding principle of historical studies by Vincent SMITH[17] whose work on the Early History of India was

17. *Early History of India*, Introduction pp. 3-4.

for many years accepted all over India as the standard work on the subject. I am therefore of opinion that instead of any individual scholars undertaking a study of the said sources on the above or any other suitable line, on their own account, they should do so under the guidance of a committee appointed by such an authoritative body as the University of Bombay, so that any work which they may produce on the lines of the *Cambridge History of India Vol. I* may have its *imprimatur* and may at least be sanctioned by it as fit to be studied and digested by the students of Indian history in the degree-classes. An abridged version of such a history is also required to be prepared for the students of the secondary schools.

(*b*) *Materials for archæological investigation and from where they can be secured*

10. And more The failure of the attempts of the individual scholars is primarily due to a lack of materials leading to definite conclusions as to dates and personalities In the case of the interval between the invasions of Alexander and Mahomed of Gazni such materials consisting of coins with legends and symbols, seals, copper-plate grants, inscriptions on rocks and ruined temples, whether built over the surface of the earth or carved out of hills, and relics of ancient arts and crafts such as images, architectural designs, bricks, pottery, ornaments of metals or beads etc , were discovered when extensive archæological surveys and deep excavations were made on locating the sites mentioned in ancient literary records, indigenous and foreign As regards the period remote from the date of Alexander's invasion by several centuries relics of ancient arts and crafts and certain seals were found from the deep pits dug first at Harappā, secondly at MohenjoDāro and lastly at ChannhuDāro. Thereout the inscriptions on the seals have not yet been deciphered satisfactorily though several efforts to do so and fix their probable dates and possible connection with the ancient scripts found in Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Eastern Islands and Eastern Asia have been made by scholars like G G R. HUNTER, LANGDON, MACKAY, HERAS, DE HEVESY, METRAUX and others.[18] However a critical study and classification of the relics have enabled the archæologists to assign approximate dates to those unearthed from different strata of the sites and they range between B. C 4500 and 2000 Dr. MACKAY who carried on excavations on behalf of the A C Society at Channhu-Dāro was able to go a little further and distinguish between evidences

18. Supplement to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society's*, December 1939, pp. 38, 40 and foot-notes 11-15 thereunder, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XX Pts. III-IV pp. 262-75.

of four different kinds of culture prevalent in the valley at different periods varying from the 4th to the 2nd millennium B.C., namely the Āmri, the Harappā, the Jhukar or Channhuḍāro and the Jhangar.[19]

11. Highly interesting as these results are they have been held to have very little value from a purely historical point of view because while they whet the appetite for definite dates and personalities or at least races they do not satisfy it, there being no corresponding foreign literary remains of those distant ages and the purely Indian records namely the Purānic, not being accessible in the original language to the learned scholars engaged in solving the mystery of the Indian civilization and culture or cultures. The lukewarmness of the archæological department of the Government of India having been adversely criticised by some of them it appointed an English archæologist named Sir LEONARD WOOLLEY to make a survey of the work done during the five years 1931-36 and he gave an opinion, which, stated succinctly, is that no definite results have yet been achieved to supply "the missing link in the cultural chain". What that "missing link" is has subsequently been clearly defined by Prof NORMAN BROWN of Pennsylvania in his contribution to the *Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society* above cited, which is entitled "The Beginnings of Civilization in India". He says: "To the best of our knowledge the material from the Indus sites belong to the third millennium B. C.[20] It is not until another 1500 or 2000 years have elapsed and we are nearing the Mauryan times, that we get any large amount of informative material objects. The period may possibly be as long as the entire Christian era to our own date.[21] Proceeding further on he suggests what should be searched for in future investigations, in these words — "Inferences drawn from literary records point to 1500 to 2000 B. C as the date of the entry of the Aryans into India but these surmises, though they appear to be plausible enough, may nevertheless need correction × × ×. The main topics of interest which the Indus civilization suggests are its extent, its chronology, its relation to cultures of its own period outside of India and its relation to later Indian civilization."[22] As regards the type of culture of which the relics of the Indus valley can be deemed to be evidence, he, after discussing the similarities pointed out by archæologists between the figures on the seals found from different parts of Mesopotamia and

19. *Op. cit* p. 35

20. In saying so he has excluded from consideration the relics of the Āmri culture, they being, according to him, imported products.

21. *Op. cit.* p. 32.

22. *Op. cit.* pp. 33-34.

over those found at Harappā, Mohenjo-Dāro and ChhanhuḌāro, says :—" Nevertheless these similarities are few in proportion to the peculiar Indian motifs reappearing in later historic India e.g., the Pipal tree, tiger, elephant, ram, bull, a figure seated in Yoga posture, in one case flanked by rearing serpents, in another surrounded by animals. × × . Prevailingly this symbolism of the seals is Indian. × × × These may represent a third class of objects which could be grouped under the head "Native Indian". This last we cannot implicate in any other environment, we may only suspect it of being affiliated with so far undiscovered indigenous Indian material in the Ganges valley or elsewhere in the Peninsula''.[23] Lastly, he sums up his observations by putting forth a suggestion as to the direction in which archæological investigations should be conducted in future, in the following characteristic manner :—"The dream of the Indian archæolologists includes not only the finding of a bilingual inscription in the Indus valley to reveal to us the linguistic and ethnic connections of the folk using the Harappā script but also the discovery of early civilization in which I may here call "India proper" i.e., the region of the Jumnā, Ganges, Narbudā, the Deccan and the South, an India which would have been comparatively, if not wholly, unaffected by Western cultures of the third millennium. In recent years efforts have been made in that direction Mr. VATSA, for a number of years the excavator at Harappā, has found sites in the peninsula of Kāthiawāḍ on the western coast of India just below Sind, which yield pottery and other remains that are of the Harappā culture × × ".[24] Similar finds from Samkholiā, the south-eastern point of Bet near Dwārkā have been recorded by DR. HIRANAND SASTRI of the Archæological Department of the Baroda State, in his article on the work of his department in *JGRS*[25] One Mr. MANILAL DWIVEDI of Navsāri too claims to have discovered at Sisodrā in the Surat district pottery similar in design and workmanship to that of the stone age.[26] The late Mr. KARANDIKAR was very enthusiastic about his Narmadā valley scheme. Inspite of his best endeavours, however, he was not able to get any active support in the realisation of his dream, the Oriental Conference having merely passed a pious resolution. Having been left to his own resources, he could achieve little. If he had got the necessary backing up, there was every chance of certain places in the Narmadā valley yielding materials of

23. *Op. cit.* pp. 41-42.

24. A fairly large number of these remains can be seen at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay in its Pre-historic section

25. Vol II. Pt. I. pp. 1-7.

26. *Journal of the Bombay University* Vol. IX. Pt. I. pp. 224-25.

the type required for filling in the gap between the remote and the immediate past and the theory of the Aryan immigration from the north-west being for ever exploded. Will any patriotic Indians realize the importance of organising themselves for getting suitable sites excavated under the supervision of experts and will the ruling princes, the merchant princes and industrial magnates spare portions of their superfluous wealth and place them at the disposal of such an organisation? This is the proper time for doing so because Europe and America which used to take much active interest in such matters in peaceful times are at present engaged in a life-and-death struggle.

12 Hoping that this appeal will have its effect I suggest the immediate survey and excavation of the following sites in North and South Gujrāt and Kāthiāwād, namely :—Vaḍnagar and its surroundings where it is said that there was formerly the town at Camatkārapura which was destroyed by the Nāgas,[27] *Idar and Dholkā* where people still cherish traditional memories of the visits of the Pāṅḍavas, *Mrttikāvatī* (most probably *Mahudhā*) in the Khedā district which district has been tentatively identified with Saubha or Śvabhra of Bhagadatta of the age of Krsna, *Kārpāsika*, the modern Kārvān near Miyāgām, which was the chief centre of the Lakulīśa Pāśupatas,[28] *Bharuca*, (Broach) which is the Bhrgukśetra, where most probably the Bhārgavas first settled down when they first came into Gujrāt,[29] *Nāndipurī*, the capital of a branch at the Gujjaras near which probably there was the Hidimbavana of the age of Krsna, *Gupteśvar and Kāmraj* on the banks of the river Tapti near Surat, Sisodrā and other places near Navsārī, to which Mr. Dwivedi has drawn attention,[30] *Sopārā* which was originally a part of Aparāntā or Koṅkan to which Paraśurām is said to have retired after his final annihilation of the Ksatriyas and which by the name of Śurpāraka is referred to at several places in Buddhist works as a great centre of trade and commerce even in the time of the Buddha,[31] Dwārāvatī, the Vihārabhūmi of King Revata, father-in-law of Balarāma, Prabhāsapātan, the well-known town where there was the original temple of Somanath, and where the internecine conflict between young Yādavas had taken place, *Hastakalpapur* which according to Hemacandra's *Trisasti-śalākapurusa-carita* and Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa*, was at a distance of 12 Yojanas from the Raivataka

27 *Skandapurāna, Nagarakhanda* ch. I
28. *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 83–85
29. *Arch. Sur. of N. Gujrat* by BURGESS and COUSENS, p. 2.
30. *Journal of the Bombay University* Vol IX. Pt I. pp. 224–25.
31. *Geographical Essays* by B. C. LAW, Vol. I. p. 48.

mountain,[32] *Sinapalli*, situated at a distance of 45 Yojanas to the east of Dwārkā, where according to the said Jain works a final battle had taken place between Kṛṣna and Jarāsandha and where after the latter was killed a town named *Ānandapur* was founded by Kṛṣna in order to commemorate the event.[33] Partial study and superficial investigation have been made in the case of most of these sites but there is as yet ample scope for further work.[34] If the scheme above set forth is seriously taken in hand a more detailed list of such sites can be prepared after a closer study of the available works whose number is by no means small

---

32. TSPC ch. VIII 10 and IX. 12, HV Pu. VI. 52, see also *Arch. Sur. of N. Gujrat* by BURGESS and COUSENS p. 2.

33. TSPC. IX 12 (Bhav ed) p 163a, *HV. Pu.* VII. 64 (Cal. ed.) p. 704.

34. For instance see *Bom Gaz.* Vol. I Pt I. chs. I to III, *Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* by V A SMITH, *Ency. Brit.* Vol X, *Ency. of R. and E*, *Ind. Ant.* for 1911 and 1932, *JBRAS* for 1909; *JBBRAS.* for 1902, *Ling. Sur. of India* Vol. IX. Pt. II, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* with a map of Vedic India; Collected Works of Sir R G BHANDARKAR, Vol. IV, *JBBRAS.* Vols. XII-XIII, Dynasties of the Kali Age by PARGITER; *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by the same author, *Geographical Dictionary of India* by Nandal DE; *Geograghical Essays* by B. C. LAW, etc.

Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of Smṛti Texts

By

K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Satara

The ancient Smṛtis are considered as a real source of Dharma. In very ancient times the number of Smṛtis (Works on Dharmaśāstra) was very small. Gautama mentions by name no Smṛtikāra except Manu though he speaks of Dharmaśāstras. Baudhāyana names seven, Āpastamba mentions ten, Manu speaks only of six. Yājñavalkya is probably the earliest writer who enumerated in one place (I, 45) 20 expounders of Dharma. Parāśara gives a list of 20 including himself like Yājñavalkya. If all the Smṛtis cited in the later Nibandhas such as *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Mayūkhas* of Nīlakaṇtha and *Vīramitrodaya* be taken into account the number of Smṛtis will be found to be about 100.

2. These Smṛtis are the products of different and widely separated ages. Some of them are entirely in prose, or in mixed prose and verse while the majority are in verse. A few of them are very ancient and were composed centuries before the Christian Era like the Dharmaśātras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Manusmṛti. Some were composed in the first centuries of Christian Era such as the Smrtis of Yājñavalkya, Parāśara and Nārada. Most of the other Smrtis fall between the period from 400 A.D. to 1000 A.D. The chronology of all these Smrtis presents a very perplexing problem indeed.

3. All these Smṛtis are not of equal authority Most of them are indeed obscure and rarely cited by ancient commentators. Exclusive of Dharmasūtras hardly a dozen Smṛtis have found commentators.

4. These Smṛtis depict and enumerate the custom and usage of their own times. The Smṛtikāras make mention of their predecessors by name and afterwards give their cwn view in the matter when they differ from them. Sometimes we find the words "इति मनुः, इति विष्णुः'. Some Smṛtikāras give the opinions of the ancient Smṛtikāras by„words like " अन्ये, अपरे आचार्याः". The striking example of this can be found in Yājñavalkya when he says

" यदुच्यते द्विजातीनां शूद्राद्दारोपसंग्रहः ।
नैतन्मम मतं यस्मात्तत्रायं जायते स्वयम् " (I, 56)

"Taking of a Śūdra wife by the twice-born is (indeed) ordained by some but *it is not agreeable to my views* because from her he is himself born." The reference here appears to allude to Manu Chap. III, 12-19. Manu mentioning the Śūdra wife as allowable himself condemns such a union further on. This is one of the numerous topics on which Manusmrti contains conflicting doctrines. In this connection Prof. P. V. KANE in his epoch-making book "History of Dharmaśāstra" remarks: "The Manusmṛti contains the earlier and later strata. The original Manusmrti in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in line with the change in the general attitude of people on several points." The important point to be remembered is that the ancient Smṛtikāras never tried to reconcile their own views with the views of their earlier Smṛtikāras. They did make mention of those views and where they differed from them they gave their own views quite in keeping with the spirit of their own times. Thus it will be seen that the Smṛtis themselves do not support the theory advanced by some that the Dharma is unchangeable for all times to come. They expressly state that Dharma and Ācāra may change from time to time according to the change in the social condition and practices of the country in their own times.

5. Such is not the attitude of the later Nibandhakāras and commentators. At times they do not give even the true and correct interpretation of the original works on which they are commenting but in their exposition they put their own additional matter relying upon the passages in the other Smṛtis just to make a show that the views of the Smrtis they are commenting upon are in consonance with the other ancient Smrtis and thus they try to prove that there is a sort of Samanvaya between the various Smṛtis. It is proposed in this short article to illustrate this point by giving some concrete instances.

I

6. In X-115 Manu gives seven sources of property. The verse is—

सप्तवित्तागमाः धर्म्याः दायो लाभः क्रयो जयः ।
प्रयोगः कर्मयोगश्च सत्प्रतिग्रह एव वा ॥

Freely translated it means :—"There are seven lawful sources of property : Inheritance, acquisition, purchase, conquest, investment (प्रयोग), industry (trade and agriculture) and rightful gift. These seven terms have been explained by all the commentators of Manu quite exhaustively. In this connection it should be very carefully noted that Manu has enumerated these sources of property

for all men making absolutely no distinction whatsoever in reference to four castes. There are absolutely no words in this verse to indicate that Manu has meant particular sources of wealth for Brahmin, some for Kṣatriya and others for Vaiśya. But curiously enough, all the commentators of Manu have explained that the first three, viz., inheritance, acquisition and purchase are common to all men, conquest is for Kṣatriya only, investment for Vaiśya alone, and rightful gift exclusively for Brahmin. For, Medhātithi says in his gloss—

" तत्राद्यास्त्रयः सर्वसाधारणाः । जयः क्षत्रियस्य ।
प्रयोगकर्मयोगौ वैश्यस्य । सत्प्रतिग्रहो ब्राह्मणस्य "

Other commentators like Kullūka, Govindarāja, Sarvajñanārāyana, Rāghavānanda and Rāmacandra explain this verse exactly in the same fashion. That is, they say that the first three alone are lawful for all the four castes and so on. It is difficult to understand how these commentators derive this meaning from Manu's verse. What are really the words in Manu's verse quoted above from which these learned commentators have drawn this meaning? Then what is the motive in the mind of these commentators which led them to explain this verse of Manu in the way they have done? Some guess can be offered for this motive. One reads in Gautamadharmasūtra (X. 138–41.) the following lines.—

स्वामी ऋक्थसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमेषु । ब्राह्मणस्याधिकं लब्धम् ।
क्षत्रियस्य विजितम् । निर्विष्टं वैश्यशूद्रयोः ।

The man is an owner when there are inheritance, purchase, partition, finding a treasure-trove. In addition to this there is gift for the Brahmin, conquest for the Ksatriya and earning for the Vaiśya and Śūdra. It will thus be seen that Gautama makes inheritance, purchase and conquest only common to all castes. He reserves conquest for the Ksatriya though Manu retains it for all, earning for the Vaiśya and Śūdra only, though this is included in the Prayoga and Karmayoga of Manu which are common to all and gift for the Brahmin only though in the Manusmṛti this also is in the common list. The commentators have in their unwarranted zeal to show that the sources of property given by Gautama are the same as those given by Manu applied curiously enough Gautama's distinction to Manu's text. Is this then the faithful and true interpretation of Manu's verse? Why not boldly say that in the times of Manu the sources of property for all men of all the castes were the same? For that there was no distinction with reference to caste.

II

7. The following two verses from Yājñavalkya afford another striking instance to show that the commentators try to import additional meaning in the words of Smṛtis just to reconcile the Smṛti texts they are commenting upon with some other Smṛtis."

" पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यदन्यत्स्वयमर्जितम् ।
मैत्रमौद्वाहिकं चैव दायादानां न तद्भवेत् ॥ २–११८ ॥
क्रमादभ्यागतं द्रव्यं हृतमभ्युद्धरेत्तु यः ।
दायादेभ्यो न तद्दद्याद्विद्यया लब्धमेव च ॥ २–११९ ॥"

"Whatever else is acquired, apart from and *without detriment to the parental estate*, as a friendly or nuptial present does not belong to the co-heirs. (Similarly) he who recovers hereditary property once taken away may not give it to his co-heir, as also what has been gained by learning." It will thus be seen that there are two different sentences in these two verses. For, there are two different verbs. The first Śloka says "दायादानां न तद्भवेत्". (It does not belong to the co-sharers.) The next verse contains "दायादेभ्यो न तद्दद्यात्." (He may not give it to his co-heir). For, it is the rule of grammar that when there is a verb there is a complete sentence Vide "एकतिङ्वाक्यम्." Here there are two different independent verbs. So these two Ślokas naturally contain two different sentences independent of each other. Vijñāneśvara, the reputed author of Mitākṣarā, however, says that the words "पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन" i. e., "without detriment to the parental estate must be *every where* construed." He says

" अथ पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यत्किंचित्स्वयमर्जितम् इति सर्वशेषः "

According to him the words "without detriment to the parental estate"—"पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन", are to be applied to the last clause in the second verse also, namely "as also what has been gained by learning." He means to say that what has been gained by learning is impartible with the co-heirs only if it is without detriment to the parental estate If the gains are achieved by learning taken at the cost of the parental estate then it is partible along with brothers and father."

" पितृद्रव्यव्ययेन लब्धया विद्यया लब्धं तत्सर्वं सर्वैः भ्रातृभिः पित्रा च विभजनीयम "

In short Vijñāneśvara considers the clause "without detriment to the parental estate" as qualifying the four kinds of gains declared impartible in the latter hemistich of the first verse and in the following verse. He says that such kind of interpretation is necessary in order to avoid opposition to usage, text of Nārada and that of Kātyāyana. It is really strange to think that Vijñāneśvara should

interpret the words of Yājñavalka on the strength of the text of Nārada and Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana's verse is—

परभक्तोपयोगेन विद्याप्राप्त्यान्यतस्तु यः ।
तया प्राप्तं धनं यत्तु विद्याप्राप्तं तदुच्यते ॥ ८६७ ॥

(verse 867 of Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroḍhāra compiled by Prof. P. V. KANE in 'Hindu Law Quarterly'). Freely translated it means that wealth is said to be gained by learning which is acquired by means of learning received from a stranger. See also Nārada, Adhyāya 13 Śloka 10. The natural inference is that at the time of Vijñāneśvara the gains of learning had acquired this restricted meaning and Vijñāneśvara read that meaning into the words of Yājñavalkya and supported it by quotations from Kātyāyana and Nārada. Does this not appear strange and novel? This is certainly a queer way of interpreting this text of Yājñavalkya on the strength of the words of Nārada and Kātyāyana. In his zeal to make samanvaya of the words of Yājñavalkya with the words of Nārada and Kātyāyana, Vijñāneśvara unfortunately lost sight of the fact that this interpretation of his is in contradiction with the text of Manu, the predecessor of Yājñavalkya. For, Manu's words on this topic are :—

विद्याधनं तु यद्यस्य तत्तस्यैव धनं लभेत् ।
मैत्रमौद्वाहिकं चैव माधुपर्किकमेव च " (मनु IX. 206)

Aparārka equally renowned and authoritative commentator of Yājñavalkya opposes this construction of Vijñāneśvara put on these two verses of Yājñavalkya and holds that the first hemistich stands as comprehensive and independent class of impartible properties distinguished from the four classes in the latter part of the same verse and the whole of the next verse. For Aparārka says that "यच्च विद्यया निमित्तभूतया लब्धं तदपि दायादेभ्यो न दद्यात्." He does not connect the expression 'पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन' with 'विद्यया लब्धमेव च'. In the Hindu Law before the passing of Hindu Gains of Learning Act popularly known as the Jayakar Bill (Act XXX of 1930) it was settled that income earned by a member of a joint family by a practice of a profession or occupation was joint family property if such learning was imparted at the expenses of joint family property. By this new Act of 1930 it is laid down that a member of the Joint Hindu Family who received education at the expense of the family can keep his earning as self-acquisition however high the expenditure may be. This new Act then, it can be safely said, is quite in keeping with the spirit of the text of Yājñavalkya and is therefore in no way an inroad on the religion and usage of the Hindus as is supposed by some.

5

III

8. In the discourse of marriage Yājñavalkya contains the following verse (I 62)."

" पाणिर्ग्राह्यः सवर्णासु गृह्णीयात् क्षत्रियाः शरम् ।
वैश्यः प्रतोदमादद्यात् वेदने त्वग्रजन्मनः ॥ "

When the bride and bridegroom are of the same class the hand of the bride is to be taken in the marriage of a Brahmin, a Ksatriya bride is to take hold of an arrow and a Vaiśya bride of a whip. It should be noted here that there is absolutely no mention of the Śūdra bride in this verse. Obviously because Yājñavalkya emphatically condemns the union of a Brahmin with Śūdra woman for he expressly says that taking of a Śūdra wife by a twice-born is ordained by some but it is not agreeable to my views.

" यदुच्यते द्विजातीनां शूद्राद्दारोपसंग्रहः । नैतन्मम मतम् "

Vijñāneśvara while commenting upon this verse of Yājñavalkya remarks at the end " शूद्रा पुनः वसनस्य दशाम् " and a Śūdra woman the skirts of a garment. This clause " शूद्रा पुनर्वसनस्य दशाम् " of Vijñāneśvara is clearly added by that commentator for all this, there is not one word in the text of Yājñavalkya. Surely it is too much for the commentator to make this addition In passing it may be said that Vijñāneśvara must have the following verse of Manu in his mind when he commented upon this text of Yājñavalkya.

" शरः क्षत्रियया ग्राह्यः प्रतोदो वैश्यकन्यया ।
वसनस्य दशा ग्राह्या शूद्रयोत्कृष्टवेदने ॥ " (III. 44)

He therefore, without caring to see the spirit and real intention of Yājñavalkya tried forcibly to put the meaning of Manu in the verse of Yājñavalkya.

Varadarāja, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his Works—Between A. D. 1600 and 1650

By

P. K. GODE, Poona

Dr. BELVALKAR in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*[1] mentions an author of the name Varadarāja in three places but does not record any information regarding his date. Dr. A. B. KEITH also refers to the school grammars of Varadarāja in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*[2] but does not record any chronology for this author and his works. Pandit Ganesh Dutt SHASTRI in his Edition of Varadarāja's *Madhyakaumudī*[3] has no remarks to offer about this author's chronology. Pandit Uddhavaji Ranachoḍji SHĀSTRI in his edition of the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*[4] does not deal with Varadarāja's chronology. He, however, records the opinion of some scholars that Varadarāja, the author of *Laghukaumudī* was a pupil of Bhattoji Dīksita and hence his contemporary. It is not, however possible to find from any source an account of Varadarāja's life.[5]

In view of these remarks of the editor[6] of Varadarāja's works I propose to record in this paper some data regarding the works of

1. Poona, 1915—Pages 51, 62, 104. Varadarāja is the author of abridgments of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita. These abridgments are represented by three editions : (1) *Madhya*°, (2) *Laghu*° and (3) *Sāra-Siddhānta Kaumudī*. The major abridgment was commented upon by Rāmaśarman at the request of one Śivānanda and the middle one by a Jayakṛṣna, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhanabhaṭṭa of the Mauni family.—Varadarāja's *Laghu-Kaumudī* corresponds in treatment and subject-matter to the recast called *Bālāvabodha* of the *Cāndra* grammar by a Ceylonese Buddhist priest about A.D. 1200—In later times no attempt was made to improve or supplement the *Sārasvata* grammar and the abridgments of Varadarāja and other works ousted the *Sārasvata* from the field.

2. Vide p. 430 of *HSL*, Oxford, 1928.—"Ed. and trans. J. R. BALLANTYNE, Benares, 1867."

3. Published by Meherchand Lachhmandas, Lahore, 1899.

4. Ed. Bombay, 1905, with the editor's commentary *Sārabodhinī* together with a short English Introduction and an elaborate *Prastāvanā* of 25 pp.

5. Ibid, pp. 24–25—" लघुकौमुदीकारो वरदराजो भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य शिष्य इति केचिद्वदन्ति । भट्टोजिदीक्षितसमयेऽयमासीदित्यनुमीयते । लघुकौमुदी समाप्तावय श्लोकः—

" शास्त्रान्तरेऽप्रविष्टाना बालाना चोपकारिका ।
कृता वरदराजेन लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ॥ १ ॥.........

वरदराजस्येतिवृत्त न सम्यक्त्वेन कुतोऽपि समुपलब्धुम् ॥ "

6. In the *Preface* to the *Laghu Kaumudi* Edition (1849) of Dr. J. R.

Varadarāja with the intention of clarifying to some extent at least the chronology of this author left in a nebulous state by previous scholars in the field.

Owing to the popularity of Varadarāja's works we find numerous MSS of them recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* under the titles of the following works attributed to him :—

CC I - 551-" वरदराज–son of Durgā-tanaya

–गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी[7] grammar

–मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी[8]

–लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी or लघुकौमुदी[9]

–सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी or सारकौमुदी "[10]

Now let us try to put some limits to Varadarāja's chronology. As Varadarāja has abridged Bhaṭṭoji's work *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* with a view to popularise it we shall put about A.D. 1620 as one limit to Varadarāja's date. I have proved elsewhere[11] that Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita flourished between A.D 1560 and A. D. 1620 and the above limit for Varadarāja's date harmonises with Bhattoji's date fixed by me. The other limit to Varadarāja's date is furnished by a dated MS[12] of his work *Sārasiddāntakaumudī* available in the Govt. MSS

Ballantyne we find no information regarding Varadarāja's Chronology. He merely states that *Laghu Kaumudī* of Varadarāja is an abridgment of the *Siddhanta Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita.

7. *CC I*, 154-" गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी gr. by Varadarāja. L. 2167 Audh XVIII, 26".

One Dhuṇḍirājakavi composed at Benares a work called, "गीर्वाणवाङ्मञ्जरी" which appears to be similar to Varadarāja's गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी. It may have been an imitation of Varadarāja's work but I have not studied the Chronology of Dhuṇḍirāja Kavi and hence cannot determine his indebtedness or otherwise to Varadarāja.

8. *CC* I, 428 —Many MSS of the text and of मध्यममनोरमा comm. by Rāma Śarman, written by request of Śivānanda Bhaṭṭa See also *CC* II, 97 where मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीविलास by Jayakrsna (Peterson 4 18) is recorded.—*CC* III, 92—MSS of मध्यकौमुदी

9. *CC* I, 541 ; *CC* II, 127 , *CC* III, 115.

10. *CC* I, 714 , *CC* II, 170 , *CC* III, 714

11. *Annals* of S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 117-127.

12. MS *No. 539 of 1886-92*—Colophon records the date of the MS :—"संवत् १७३९ ज्येष्ठमासे कृष्णपक्षे अष्टमी शुक्रवासरे प्रयागतः लिषितं नरोत्तमकायस्थेन लिषापितं etc." This date is in harmony with other dated MSS of Varadarāja s works at the B. O. R. Institute :—

Library, (B. O. R. Institute, Poona). It is dated Saṁvat 1739 = A.D. 1683. On looking to the other dated MSS of our author's works at the B. O. R. Institute I find that the above MS of A. D. 1683 is the *earliest dated MS* of *Varadarāja's works* at least among MSS of his works available at the B. O. R. Institute. In view of this MS we may fix Varadarāja's date between A. D. 1620 and A.D. 1683.

With a view to narrow down the limits given above we have to examine the tradition recorded by Pandit Uddhavaji that Varadarāja was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji and hence his contemporary. It appears to me that this tradition does not conflict with the limits for Varadarāja's date given by me above viz., A.D. 1620 and 1683. In fact Varadarāja bows to his guru Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita at the beginning of his *Madhya-kaumudī* as follows in the Lahore Edition of the work (1899):—

" नत्वा वरदराजः श्रीगुरून्भट्टोजिदीक्षितान् ।
करोति पाणिनीयानां मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीम् ॥ १ ॥ "

If this verse is a genuine part[13] of the text of Varadarāja's work

A.D.	Saṁvat	Śaka	MS No.	Name of Manuscript
1785	1841		671 of 1891–95	सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
1850	1906		517 of 1886–92	मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्या
1889	1945		516 of 1886–92	मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
1764		1686	637 of 1891–95	Do.
1791		1713	334 of A 1881–82	Do.
1804	.	1726	656 of 1883–84	Do.
1749		1671	655 of ,,	Do.
1778		1700	640 of 1882–83	Do.
1797	1853		228 of 1892–95	लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
Dates of India Office MSS and Tanjore Library MS				
1806		1728	No. 667	मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
1725	1781	1647	No 668	Do.
1847	1903	1768	No. 669	Do.
1693	1749		Burnell's Catalogue p. 40b	Do. (in Tanjore MSS Library)

13. The B. O. R. Institute MS of *Madhya Siddhānta Kaumudī No. 564 of 1887–91* begins as follows :—

" येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ १ ॥
येन धौता गिरः पुंसां निर्मलैः शब्दवारिभिः ।
तमश्चाज्ञानजं भिन्नं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ २ ॥
वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ।
पाणिनिं सूत्रकारं च प्रणतोऽस्मि मुनित्रयम् ॥ ३ ॥

the traditional statement[14] that our author was the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is directly borne out by the text. Towards the close of the *Madhyakaumudī* or *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī* Varadarāja refers to this work as his own production.[15] It appears to me that both the verses i.e., the verse at the beginning referring to Bhaṭṭoji and the verse at the close mentioning Varadarāja's authorship of the work are Varadarāja's own composition as these verses have one line in common.[16] The statement of Aufrecht that Varadarāja was the son of Durgātanaya is evidently based on the following verse at the end of the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* (MS No. 539 of 1886-92 dated A.D. 1683, folio 33) —

" कृता वरदभट्टश्रीदुर्गातनयसूनुना।
वेदवेदप्रवेशाय सारसिद्धांतकौमुदी॥ "

नत्वा वरदराजः श्रीगुरून्भट्टोजिदीक्षितान्।
करोति पाणिनीयाम् मध्यसिद्धा (न्न) त कौमुदीम्॥ ४॥

In the above extract the fourth verse containing a reference to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is preceded by 3 verses while the India Office MS of the work, No. 667 (p. 178 of *I. O. MSS Cata.* Part II, 1889) begins with the verse "नत्वा वरदराजः...कौमुदीम्" as in the Lahore Edn. of 1899.

14. M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri accepts this tradition (Vide pp. cix of Preface to *Des. Cata of Vyākaraṇa MSS*, Vol. VI, 1931—R. A. S. Bengal)—"*Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita had a disciple named Varadarāja* who made three abridgmnts of his works ......" Speaking of मध्यमनोरमा the comm. on मध्यकौमुदी of Varadarāja M. M. Śāstri says —"It is simply abridgment of the *Praudhamanoramā* as far as it relates to the Sūtras of the Madhya. The commentary, is by Rāmacandra Śarma who wrote it at the request of Śivānandabhaṭṭa or Śivānanda Gosvāmī and it was dedicated to *Vidyāmvāsa* the most prominent Paṇḍita of Bengal at the time of Akbar and *who was perhaps the guru of the author*" (p. cx).

15. *Madhya Kaumudī*, Lahore, 1899, p. 285—

" एषा वरदराजेन बालानामुपकारिका।
अकारि पाणिनीयाना मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी॥
कृतिर्वरदराजस्य मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी।
तस्याः सख्या तु विज्ञेया खबाणकरवह्निभिः॥
इति श्रीचविटकंविटवरदराजकृता मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी समाप्ता॥ "

16. Beginning of *Madhya Kaumudī*—

" करोति पाणिनीयाना मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी "

End of the *Madhya Kaumudī*—

" अकारि पाणिनीयाना मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी "

The following MSS of Varadarāja's works refer to Bhaṭṭoji as his guru;— *No. 641 of 1882-83* (म. सि. कौमुदी); *No. 640 of 1882-83* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 637 of 1891-95* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 636 of 1891-95* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 329 of Vishram I* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 564 of 1887-91* (म. सि कौ); *No. 334 of A 1881-82* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 656 of 1883-84* (म. सि. कौ.), *No. 655 of 1883-84* (म. सि. कौ.) *dated A. D.* 1749 (Śaka 1671).

At the close of his *Laghusiddhānta Kaumudī*[17] Varadarāja refers to the *Śabdakaustubha* of Bhattoji as follows :—

" शास्त्रांतरे प्रविष्टानां बालानां चोपकारिका ।
कृता वरदराजेन लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ॥
सिद्धांतकौमुदीशब्दकौस्तुभाभोगभोगतः ।
चक्रे वरदराजश्रीलघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ॥ "

Varadarāja in his *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*[18] refers to several works which ought to be studied by a Pandit. In this list[19] he refers to some works on grammar in which we find the following works :—

(1) मनोरमासहितसिद्धांतकौमुदी, (2) मध्यसिद्धांतकौमुदी, (3) लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी, (4) शब्दकौस्तुभ, and (5) लिंगानुशासनवृत्ति.

Out of the five works on grammar mentioned by Varadarāja three belong to Bhaṭṭoji while the other two viz :—(1) मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी and (2) लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी are the works of Varadarāja himself as we have seen above As Varadarāja refers to two of his works in the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी composed by him we have to presume that they were composed by him earlier than the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी and by putting them side by side with his guru's works viz. सिद्धांतकौमुदी with मनोरमा and शब्दकौस्तुभ and others in the course of grammatical works he has apparently tried to give them a status and popularity which these abridgments of Bhattoji's works have ever since enjoyed in Schools of Sanskrit learning throughout India.

17. B. O. R. Institute *MS No. 645 of 1891–95*

18. B. O. R I *MS No. 395 of 1899–1915*– This MS ends as follows :—
" कृता वरदभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ।
गणेशप्रीतये चैव वैदिकप्रीतये भवेत् ॥ "

19. Varadarāja emphasizes the importance of grammar in the following lines (folios 10–11 of MS No. 395 of 1899–1915—गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी):—

" व्याकरणं आयाति चेत्सर्वशास्त्रेषु सिंहसदृशभवति वैयाकरणाः । तत्कथमिति चेत् शृणु भाष्योच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमिति प्रसिद्धेः । व्यासोच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमित्यपि श्रूयते स्वामिन । सत्यं । श्लोकांशे तत् । स्वामिनः । कस्मिन्कस्मिन् शास्त्रे श्रीमद्भिः पाठितं । मया सर्वत्र पाठितं । क्व सर्वत्र महाभाष्यं मया पाठिषमह । कैय्यटमह अपाठिष । काशिका पुस्तकमह अपाठिषं । पदमजरीमपाठिष । अनुन्यासमपाठिषमहं । धातुवृत्तिपुस्तकानि अपाठिषमहं । परिभाषापुस्तकान्यपाठिषमह । धातुवृत्तिपुस्तकानि अपाठिषमह । परिभाषापुस्तकान्यपाठिषमह । उणादिवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहं । कित्सू(?)त्रवृत्तिपुस्तका(न्यपाठिषमह) लिंग(गा)नुशासनवृत्तिपुस्तकानपाठिषमह । उपसर्गवृत्तिमपाठिषमह । निपातवृत्तिपुस्तकानपाठितमहे । मनोरमासहितसिद्धांतकौमुदीमपाठिष मध्यसे(सि)द्धांतकौसुदीमपाठिषं । लघुसिद्धांतकौमुदीमपाठिषं । शब्दकौस्तुभमपाठिषमह । अन्यान्यपि व्याकरणे (बहूनि) वहनि पुस्तकानि सन्ति तानि सर्वाण्यपाठिषमहं "

Folio 16—" प्रौढमनोरमा " and " शब्दकौस्तुभ " are again referred to.

In the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* we find incidentally a list of some of the Ghāṭs[20] of Benares. This contemporary list of Ghāṭs would be useful for the history of Benares topography. In this list we find a place called *Kedāreśvara-Ghaṭṭa*. In the account of Bhaṭṭoji's life recorded by Rao Bahadur W. A. BAMPARDEKAR[21] we are told that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita built a house for himself at *Kedārghāṭ* in Benares and settled there permanently. It would be worthwhile examining this statement on the strength of contemporary topography and settling the exact location of Bhaṭṭoji's house at Kedarghat.

Varadarāja refers to the houses of some contemporary Brahmins[22] but the names of these Brahmins recorded by him may be imaginary names mentioned for purposes of illustration only. We also find in this work a list of holy places or *tīrthas* on *folio* 6 of the MS as follows —

(1) सेतुबंधरामेश्वर (2) कन्याकुमारी (3) अनंतसेनक्षेत्र (4) जनार्दनक्षेत्र (5) गोकर्णक्षेत्र (6) महाबलेश्वरतीर्थ (7) पुंडरीकपुरक्षेत्र (8) त्रियंबकक्षेत्र (9) नासिकक्षेत्र (10) धर्मपुरीक्षेत्र (11) गोदावरीसंगम (12) श्रीशैलक्षेत्र (13) कांचीक्षेत्र (14) सुब्रह्मण्य-तीर्थ (15) शंकरनारायणक्षेत्र (16) वेंकटाचलक्षेत्र (17) कालहस्तिक्षेत्र. Besides these tīrthas of the South we get a list of *tīrthas* of the North of India on *folio 13*--

20. Folio 2a– " कुत्र स्थीयते भवता। काश्यां स्थीयते मया। काश्यामपि क्व स्थीयते त्वया। त्वया (1) राजघट्टे स्थीयते etc. Then follows the list of other Ghaṭṭas etc.— (2) त्रिलोचनघट्ट, (3) ब्रह्मघट्ट, (4) दुर्गाघट्ट, (5) बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (6) मंगलागौरीघट्ट, (7) रामघट्ट, (8) अग्नीश्वरघट्ट, (9) नागेश्वरघट्ट, (10) वीरेश्वरघट्ट, (11) सिद्धिविनायकघट्ट, (12) स्वर्गद्वारप्रदेश, (13) मोक्षद्वारप्रदेश, (14) गंगाकेशवपार्श्व, (15) जरासंधघट्ट, (16) वृद्धादित्यघट्ट, (17) सोमेश्वरघट्ट, (18) रामेश्वर, (19) लोलार्क, (20) असीसंगम, (21) वरुणासंगम, (22) लक्ष्मीनृसिंह on the बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (23) पञ्चगंगेश्वर on the बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (24) आदिविश्वेश्वर, on the बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (25) दक्षेश्वर, (26) दुग्धविनायक, (27) कालभैरव, (28) दशाश्वमेध(घट्ट), (29) चतुष्षष्टियोगिनीघट्ट, (30) सर्वेश्वरघट्ट, (31) मानससरोवर, (32) केदारेश्वरघट्ट.

21. Vide p. 351 of "*Bhattoji Dikṣita—Jñātiviveka*" Bombay, 1939

22. Folio 3 of MS No. 395 of 1899-1915 of गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी

" दुग्धविनायकनिकटे कस्य गृहे वर्तसे त्वं। तिमाभट्टगृहे वर्तसे त्वं। रामभट्टगृहे वा वर्तसे त्वं। नारायणभट्टगृहे त्वं वर्तसे। भैरवभट्टगृहे वर्तसे। शिवभट्टगृहे अहं वर्ते। शिवभट्टगृहेपि पूर्वशालायां त्वं विद्यसे। अथवा दक्षिणशालायां विद्यसे। पश्चिमशालायां विद्यसे। प्रासादे वा विद्यसे। उत्तरशालायां तिष्ठामो वयं स्वामिनः।"

Can any scholar at Benares verify the names recorded in the above extract and see if they are imaginary or otherwise? In case they turn out to be real names of owners of houses at Benares we shall have to identify these names, if possible, in contemporary sources. We know that नागोजीभट्ट was the son of one शिवभट्ट but it is difficult to connect this शिवभट्ट with the शिवभट्टगृह near दुग्धविनायक in Benares referred to in the above extract.

(1) कुरुक्षेत्र (2) संनिहत्यातीर्थ (3) पृथूदकतीर्थ (4) इन्द्रप्रस्थपुरे निगम-गोचरतीर्थ (5) मथुराक्षेत्र (6) गोकुलम् (7) गोवर्धनम् (8) वृंदावनम् (9) पुष्करतीर्थ (10) नर्मदानघ (?) (11) अमरकंटकक्षेत्र ओंकारेश्वर (12) चर्मण्वती नदी (13) ताप नदी (14) अवंतिकाक्षेत्र (15) महाकालेश्वर (16) नर्मदासंगम (17) गुप्तप्रयाग (18) सरस्वतीतीरे प्रभासक्षेत्र (19) गोमती (20) पंचद्वारकाः (21) सिंधुसंगमः (22) हिंगुलादेवीक्षेत्र (23) सिंधुनदः (24) चंद्रभागा (25) काश्मीर सोमेश्वर (26) संध्यावर्द्धनी (27) व्यासगंगा (28) वसिष्ठाश्रम (29) मनमहेशपर्वत (30) त्रिलोकनाथक्षेत्र (31) मानःसरःतीर्थम् (32) तप्तमणिकर्णिका (33) नगकोटक्षेत्र (34) ज्वालामुखीक्षेत्र (35) इरावती नदी (36) शरावती नदी (37) पुष्पभद्रा-यमुनासंगम (38) यमुना नदी (39) गंगोत्तरा (40) मंदाकिनीतीरे केदारक्षेत्र (41) अलकनंदातीरे बदरिकाश्रम (42) मंदाकिनी–अलकनंदा–संगमे रुद्रप्रयागः (43) धवलगंगाअल(क)गंगासंगमे, स्कंदप्रयागः (44) भागीरथी–अलकनंदासंगमे देवयागः (45) हरिद्वारक्षेत्र (46) कनकलाक्षेत्र (47) संमलाग्रामः (48) सूकरक्षेत्र (49) नैमिषारण्य (50) उत्तरगोकर्ण (51) सरयु नदी (52) अयोध्याक्षेत्र (53) नंदिग्रामक्षेत्र (54) गंगायमुनासंगमे वटप्रयागः (55) काशीक्षेत्र–विश्वेश्वरः (56) गयातीर्थ (57) फल्गु नदी (58) पुना नदी (59) शोणभद्रनद (60) अवनाश्रमः, (61) राजगृहवनं (62) वैद्यनाथक्षेत्र (63) गंगासागरसंगमतीर्थ (64) गंडकी नदी (65) चैत्रतीर्थ (66) मुक्तिक्षेत्र (67) नेपाले नीलकंठतीर्थम् (68) कामरूपे कामाख्यादेवी.

I have recorded above the lists of Southern and Northern holy places in India which Varadarāja has taken care to record incidentally in his *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*, which appears to have been composed say between A. D. 1600 and 1650. In this list the reference to कालहस्तिक्षेत्र is important as the presiding deity of this place i. e. कालहस्तीश was the family deity of रङ्गोजिभट्ट, the brother of भट्टोजिदीक्षित.[23] In my present analysis of Varadarāja's *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* I have used only the MS of this work at the B. O. R. Institute. The *India Office Catalogue*[24] describes a MS of this work as follows :—

"*Saṁskṛtamañjarī* (or *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*) being courses of elementary conversational questions and answers on everyday

23. Vide pp. 298–299 of *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita* by BAMBARDEKAR, Kālāhasti is a railway station in the Chittur District of the Madras Presidency. Near this station there is a village of the name *Kālahasti*, where on the bank of a river is situated a temple of God Mahādeva with five faces. This God is called कालहस्तीश. Rao Bahadur BAMBARDEKAR is of opinion that the native place of Raṅgojibhaṭṭa must have been somewhere in the territory adjoining this temple in the country of Telangaṇa. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that both Rangoji and his brother Bhaṭṭoji were *Tailaṅga* Brahmins, and not Sārasvatas as claimed by some writers.

24. *I. O. MSS Cata*, VII (1904), p. 1574, MS No. 4108.

occurances, on literary devotional and other subjects; by *Varadarāja Dīkṣita.*" Though in the Colophons of this MS the work is called संस्कृतमञ्जरी, its correct title is गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी as stated in the body of the work.[25] Rajendralal MITRA[26] describes a MS of this work as follows :—

"An elementary grammar of Sanskrit language, in the form of a dialogue interspersed with moral tales."

The colophon of this MS calls the work by the name गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी and not संस्कृतमञ्जरी as stated in the Colophon of the India Office MS of the work.[27] The Ujjain MSS Library has also a copy of गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी. From the data recorded above we are able to establish the following conclusions :—

(1) Varadarāja (= *VR*) was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (= *BD*).

(2) *VR* appears to have been a Southerner as his name *Varadarāja* suggests. He should be distinguished from his namesake, the author of a dharmaśāstra work called the व्यवहारनिर्णय, which was composed before A. D. 1350.[28]

(3) As *VR* has abridged Bhattoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī* and as he mentions Bhaṭṭoji's works like सिद्धांतकौमुदी with प्रौढमनोरमा and शब्दकौस्तुभ in his own work गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी we may say that he flourished later than A. D 1620 about which time Bhattoji's literary career appears to have come to an end. This fact coupled with the fact that Bhaṭṭoji was the *guru* of Varadarāja, enables us to fix about A. D. 1600 as the earlier limit to Varadarāja's date The later limit

25. Ibid—"इति संस्कृतमंजरी वरदराजदीक्षितकृता समाप्ता"

"कृतावरदभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी।
गणेशप्रीतये चैव वैदिकप्रीतये भवेत्॥
इतिश्रीसंस्कृतमञ्जरी वरदराजदीक्षितकृता समाप्तिमगमत्"

The B. O. R. Institute MS of the work No 395 of 1899–1915 ends as follows

"कृतावरदभट्टेन......भवेत्॥ इतिश्रीगीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी समाप्ता" (folio 19)

26. *Notices*, Vol. VI, 1882 (Calcutta) MS No. 2167–

"विषयः। संस्कृतप्रवेशाय प्रश्नोत्तरक्रमेण संस्कृतवाक्यरचनाप्रकारकीर्त्तन। क्वचिद्-न्यासावतारेण च हितोपदेशकथनञ्च।"

27 *Cata* of *Ujjain MSS*, 1936, p. 41—MS No. 1081

28. Vide my paper on the Date of *Vyavahāranirnaya* (*Mīmansa Prakāsa*, Poona, Vol. III, pp. 15–18). Pandit Jvālaprasad MISRA in his edition of the *Laghu Sidahānta Kaumudī* (with Hindī comm.) 1927, pp. 18–20, states that Varadarāja composed this work in A.D 1593. He further states (1) that this Varadarāja composed the व्यवहारनिर्णय and (2) that Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita was contemporary of श्रीहर्ष the author of the नैषधचरित—This mixture of anachronism and dogmatism has been severely criticized by Rao Bahadur BAMBARDEKAR (Vide pp 180–188 of *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita—Jñātiviveka*, 1939).

for the date of *VR* may be fixed at about A. D. 1650 as we have a copy of *VR*'s work dated A. D. 1683.

(4) *VR* appears to have been a contemporary of another pupil of Bhaṭṭoji viz. Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla who composed his *Śabdaśobhā* in A. D. 1637 and a small poem called the *Cimanīcarita* in A. D. 1656.[29]

(5) *VR* does not record any biographical information regarding himself in his four works known to us except the name of his father who is called दुर्गातनय in the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* (MS of A.D. 1683). At the end of the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी he says "गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ... गणेश प्रीतये भवेत्". Is it possible to suppose that गणेश was the name of *VR*'s father and दुर्गा the name of *VR*'s grandmother? As god Gaṇeśa is the son of Durgā or Pārvatī *VR* may have used the name दुर्गातनय to suggest: (1) गणेश the name of his father, and (2) दुर्गा the name of his father's mother i.e. *VR*'s grandmother.

(6) As regards the relative chronology of *VR*'s four works we are able to state that his मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी[30] and लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी were composed earlier than गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी. Perhaps सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी may have been composed later than the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी, which though it mentions मध्य°कौमुदी and लघु°कौमुदी does not refer to the सार°कौमुदी. This omission appears to me significant in the case of Varadarāja who has put his own abridgments side by side with Bhaṭṭoji's works referred to in the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी.

(7) The earliest dated MS of *VR*'s work so far as I know is dated A. D. 1683.[31] This MS is at the B O. R Institute. It supplies to us a sure later limit to *VR*'s date as we have seen above.

(8) *VR* shows a close knowledge of the City of Benares in the first half of the 17th Century as will be seen from the list of Ghattas of Benares incidentally recorded by him in the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी.

(9) *VR*'s works were commented on by two commentators रामशर्मन् and जयकृष्ण. Perhaps an examination of these commentaries

29. I shall prove in a special paper that Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, the author of the *Śabda-Śobhā* and Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, the author of the *Cimanī-Carita* are identical, though there is a difference of about 20 years between the dates of composition of these two works. See also my paper on the date of the *Cimanī-Carita* in the *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol. IX pp. 331-332.

30. Vide p. 146 of *British Museum MSS* Cata. by BENDALL, 1902—BENDALL gives "in or about the 16th century" as the date for Bhaṭṭoji's pupils and their works while describing a MS of मध्यसिद्धांतकौमुदी

31. There is a MS of *Laghu Siddhānta Kaumudī* described by H. POLEMAN on p. 130 of his *Catalogue of Indic MSS in U. S. A and Canada* (1938). It is dated *Saṁvat 1680* = A.D. 1624. If this date is correct this is the earliest dated MS of Varadarāja's work and hence most important for his chronology.

and their chronology may throw some more light on *VR*'s works and personality.

(10) *VR* appears to have been a contemporary of the celebrated Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī who was successful in persuading Emperor Shah Jahan to abolish the Pilgrim Tax on pilgrims visiting Benares and Prayāga and who lived between A. D. 1600 and 1670.[32] In the collection of addresses presented to Kavīndrācārya we find that a small *praśasti* of Kavīndra attributed to an author of the name तिलभाण्डेश्वर[33] who remains unidentified. In the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* of Varadarāja (MS. No. 395 of 1899–1915) there is a reference to a place or locality called तिलभाण्डेश्वर.[34] The connection of the author तिलभाण्डेश्वर with a locality of the same name cannot be definitely determined at present. Perhaps the author in question may have been named after the place-name तिलभाण्डेश्वर or vice versa.

11. A MS of *Laghusiddhānta-Kaumudī* in America is dated A.D. 1624.[35] Presuming this date to be correct we have to consider the effect of this date on the Chronology of Bhaṭṭojī as also that of Varadarāja. In my paper on Bhattojī's date I had noted a MS of Bhaṭṭojī's *Śabdakaustubha* (R A. S. Bengal) dated A. D. 1633 and on the strength of this date and other evidence I had suggested that Bhaṭṭojī's career may have ended in about A.D. 1620. This inference gets strengthened by the date A.D. 1624 of a MS of *Laghusiddhānta-kaumudī*, which is an abridgment of Bhaṭṭojī's own work *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. If the abridgment of a work is represented by its copy in A.D. 1624 we must presume that the original work must have been composed some years earlier[36] than the abridgment.

32. See my paper on *Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court* (*Annals* of the S. V Ori. Institute, Tirupati) Vol. I, Part 4.

33. Vide कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय Ed. by H. D. SHARMA and M. M. PATKAR, Poona, 1939.—*Page 29* ·—

" श्रीमत्परमहसपरिव्राजकत्वाद्यनेककल्याणगुणविधानेषु..... श्रीपादवर्यश्रीकवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वतीपूज्यचरणेषु " तिलभाण्डेश्वरस्य ॥ "

The editors have not been able to identify this author of the name तिलभाण्डेश्वर (vide *Preface* p. ix.)

34. Folios 16–17 of *Gīrvānapadamañjarī* (MS No. 395 of 1899–1915)—

" कुत्रस्थीयते भवद्भिः। तिलाभांडेश्वरे स्थीयते मया। लकाराकारस्य दीर्घः केन अवैय्याकरणसंगतिवशाद्दीर्घः। "

35. H. POLEMAN · *Indic MSS in U. S. A.* etc. p. 130—MS No. "2635. *Laghu-Siddhāntā-Kaumudī*, 49 ff. 9 5 × 4. 12 lines *Saṁ. 1680* (= A.D. 1624). M 3 (case 20).

36. WINTERNITZ's statement that Bhaṭṭoji composed the *Siddhānta—Kaumudī* about A.D. 1625 (*Geschichte der ind Litt.* III. 1922, p 394) conflicts with the date A.D. 1624 of a MS of the abridgment of the *Siddhānta—Kaumudī*. We cannot imagine the composition of the abridgment of a work before A.D. 1624 if the work itself was composed in A.D. 1625.

As the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* mentions (1) *Madhya° Kaumudī* and (2) *Laghu° Kaumudī* composed before A.D. 1624, I am inclined to hold the view that these two abridgments of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* may have been composed before A.D. 1620 and they may have received the benefit of Bhattoji's guidance during the last decade of his literary career.

I shall now close this paper with the following chronological table showing at a glance the dates of Bhattoji's guru Nṛsiṁhāśrama and his own pupils (1) Varadarāja and (2) Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla :—

Bhaṭṭoji and his Guru	A. D.	Bhaṭṭoji's Pupils and others
Date of Nṛsiṁhāśrama (according to Das Gupta)	1500	
Nṛsiṁhā° composed his *Tattvaviveka*	1547	
Nṛsiṁhā° composed another work	1558	
	......	Annambhatta (before A.D. 1585) refers to Nṛsiṁhāśrama in his Comm. on *Brahmasūtra* (vide Prof. Devasthali's paper in this Volume)
MS of *Tattvaviveka.* ...	1615	
MS of *Tattvaviveka-dīpana* by Nārāyaṇāśrama	1618	
	1624	MS of *Laghu° Kaumudi* of Varadarāja
(R. A. S. B.) MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabda-Kaustubha*	1633	
	1637	Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed *Śabdaśobhā*
	1642	Vatsarāja refers to Bhaṭṭoji
B. O. R. I. MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Praudhamanoramā*	1652	
	1656	Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed *Cimaṇī-Carita*
B. O. R. I. MS of *Pr. Manoramā*	1657	
	1663	Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita refers to *Śabda-Kaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji

Bhaṭṭoji and his Guru	A. D.	Bhaṭṭoji's Pupils and others
American MS of *Āśauca-prakaraṇa*[37] of Bhattoji	1664	
B. O. R. I. MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhānta Kaumudi*	1671	
MS of *Āśaucanirṇaya* (referred to by Hall)	1676	
(American) MS of *Āś. Nirṇaya*	1677	
	1683	B. O. R. I MS of Varadaraja's *Sāra-Siddhānta Kaumudī*

37. I have discovered a MS of a Marathi translation of the *Āśaucaprakaraṇa* of Bhaṭṭoji. I propose to deal with it in a special paper as it appears to have been composed during the 18th century. I am not so far aware of any early vernacular translations of Bhaṭṭoji's works.

Archaeological Observations on Sātārā Fort

By

H. GOETZ, Camp Sātārā

Sātārā evokes the memory of the heroic days of Marāthā history hardly less than Delhi the glories of Muslim rule in India. But whereas in Delhi the ruins of splendid palaces, mosques and tombs tell the story of that past, there are very few monuments of interest in Sātārā which go back to the times before the establishment of British rule in the Marāthā country. Practically all the palaces and all the temples of some interest were built under the two last rājās of Sātārā who, under British suzerainty, had regained at least a shadow of that princely power of which the Peshwās of Poona had deprived the descendants of the great Shivājī between 1749 and 1818. The old palace was in 1824 constructed by Rājā Pratāp Singh, the new palace in 1838, and the great audience hall in 1844 by Shāhājī. The two Jalmandirs and the Rānī's Pavilion on the shoulder of the fort belong to the same period. Only two buildings have a longer tradition, the Adālatvāḍā which was used as a court by Shivājī, and the Rang Mahal where Shāhu I died ; but the latter palace was burnt down in 1874, and the first is, in its present state, a new structure of the early 19th century.

In fact, Sātārā City must have been hardly more than a village until the reign of Shāhu I (A. D 1708-1749). But even in his days Marāthā life was frugal and simple, and the minds of the rulers were occupied with dreams of conquest and plunder. When Shāhu ascended the throne in 1708, it was only a year that the last great Mughal emperor Aurangzeb had died whose gigantic armies had almost crushed the young kingdom of Shivājī, and only two years that the fort had been freed from its Mughal garrison by the Pratinidhi Parashurām Trimbak. But already during Shāhu's last years the Marāthās began to adopt the luxurious habits of the Mughals and Rajputs of the North, and in the second half of the 18th century life at the centre of Marāthā power became hardly less refined—and finally also hardly less corrupted—than at the courts of Lucknow or Jaipur. But this centre had shifted to Poona, whereas the Chatrapatis of Sātārā had sunk down to powerless puppets of the Peshwās. What splendour there remained, is to be seen not at Sātārā, but in the temples and ghats erected by the Pant Pratinidhis at Māhulī. Only the last Peshwā Bājī Rāo II constructed a small and rather poor palace on Sātārā Fort which was apparently never completed.

Yet Sātārā has had a long and remarkable history already before the 18th century A. D. According to tradition it had been founded in the 12th century A. D. by the Śilāhāra rājā Bhoja II of Panhāla. It is, however, first mentioned in the chronicles under Muhamad Shāh Bahmanī (1358-1375 A. D.) and must have been an important fortress of the Gulbarga kings. Under Bījāpur rule it was a state prison ; queen Chand Bībī was interned here in 1579, the regent Dilāwar Khān died here, a prisoner, in 1592. In 1673 the fort was taken by Shivājī, in 1699, in the dark days of Marāṭhā power, it became the seat of the administration for the far-off Rājārām ; yet in 1700 it was again besieged and finally taken by the emperor Aurangzeb, only to be won back by the Marāthās in 1706.

But all this is the history of the fort and we should, thus, expect to find on its plateau a pile of interesting ruins, we should like to find out the residence of its killedār, the rooms of the provincial administration, the barracks of its strong garrison, the places where Chand Bībī and Dilāwar Khān, Tārā Bāī, the strong-minded widow of Rājārām, and her daughter-in-law Rājas Bāī, the miserable Chatrapatis Rām Rājā and Shāhu II had been imprisoned. But except for the little palace of Bājī Rāo II which is of a later date than these events, the interior of the fort is a desolate wilderness of grass and shrubs, only here and there broken by some small ruins. When I had visited Sātārā for the first time in 1938, I had already got the impression that the monuments of its past must be searched for under ground. Special circumstances had in the last time offered me an opportunity to study the plateau of the fort as thoroughly as it can be done without excavations, in the hope that my observations will inspire Muslim and Marāthā historians, as well as the Archæological Survey of India, to further investigations

Sātārā Fort is a very strong natural fortress. The extensive plateau rises on perpendicular cliffs, 30-40 feet high, on the top of a steep hill of 900 feet height. Of the spurs branching off from the three corners of the plateau only the north-eastern one, rising in three broad steps, can be used as a rather inconvenient and dangerous basis for an attack and was in fact the centre of the great Mughal siege in A. D. 1700. The cliffs themselves are inaccesible, and the plateau can be reached only by high ramps constructed along somewhat lower portions of the precipice.

Though the name of Sātārā first appears in the chronicles of the Bahmanī kingdom, the tradition leading its foundation back to the 12th century A. D. must be correct, for the walls surrounding the

plateau are built of cyclopic polygonal blocks such as are never found in structures of the Muslim period, but can be traced in the ruins of early Rajput fortresses, e. g. at Mahobā, in Bundelkhand. Of the seventeen towers and gates which have given the name to the place, nothing remains at present, as only the lower section of the old Hindu walls is still extant; but it is probable that they resembled those still standing at that just mentioned place. At present the fort has two gates, the southern and western. If the first did then exist at all, it can have been only a small sally port. The western gate, in the north wall, not far from the western corner bastion, seems to have always been the main gate, as not only terrible legends of human sacrifices practised in those barbarian times are still connected with it, but also the cyclopic foundations of the old ramp are still on the spot. It is, however not impossible that a third entrance originally existed near the north-east bastion. For here, near the easiest ascent to the cliffs, a depression closed not before the Muslim period must have offered the best natural access to the plateau; and in its vicinity, there is the temple of the guardian goddess of the fort,· Maṅgalā Devī. Probably this gate was closed and replaced by a tank when, with the progress of siege methods, the spot became too exposed. The present temple is a poor modern structure. But foundations in front of it, fragments of two good, but badly corroded warrior memorial stones (Virakkals), and a number of excellently cut basalt blocks with simple Hindu profiles testify to the former presence of a beautiful, though rather plain temple and possibly also of other buildings. This whole corner of the fort must have been terribly damaged by the two mines fired by Aurangzeb's army in 1700 A. D. The whole hill side below this north-east bastion is covered with enormous blocks, some even as far away as the plain. They create the impression that a considerable section of the cliffs had come down on that occasion, this also explains the terrible losses (2000 men) of the Mughal troops who, prepared to rush into the breach, were crushed by these boulders. The breach in the cliffs still exists, but it is covered by a strong wall and bastion which must have been erected by the Mughals, and into which the fragments of the temple were built.

The great days of Sātārā Fort seem to have come with Muhammedan rule. The Bahmanīs renovated the west gate and built its present upper gateway, then probably the only one, at the upper end of the ramp. Its three receding ogival archivolts show the early Bahmanī style of the 14th century, still nearly related to the late Tughlaq stytle of Fēroz Shāh of Delhi, and may well have been built

under Muhammad Shāh (1358-1375) in whose reign the fort is first mentioned. The other Bahmanī monument is a little mosque, between two rock-cut tanks (of Mediaeval Hindu origin), somewhat to the south of Bājī Rāo's palace. It is a rather heavy building, without court, but with three front arches between strong buttresses, and behind a central dome and two vaulted aisles. Though the main style of the mosque is that of later Gulbarga architecture, the forms of the rather low arches and of the dome show a certain resemblance with types to be found at Bīdar and in the Lodī buildings; the transversal vaults of the aisle can also be traced at Gulbarga and again at Jaunpur. The mosque may thus be dated ca. 1420-1430 A. D.

The chief monument of Bījāpur rule at Sātārā is the lower west gate. Also the strong platforms for heavy guns at the three corner bastions were probably added at that time, and also the southern gate, though this latter must have been almost completely renovated during the British occupation. The old ramp of the western gate was strengthened by a thick enclosure connecting the upper with the lower gate. The latter, between two rather slender towers, opens into a vaulted hall; on its right is a smaller recess, on its left an oblong vaulted guard-room on strong quadrangular pillars. The battlements over the gate rest on a small pent roof supported by many small brackets between arched miniature niches. It is rather difficult to date this gateway, as the five archivolts of its facade still represent the tradition of the early 15th century, whereas the arches and vaults of the interior, with their pointed tops, as well as the slender flanking towers, are more characteristic of the 16th century. A not less interesting problem is presented by the sculptures on the gate. Those along the socles of the interior rooms (churning of butter, a water carrier, wrestlers and warriors) are obviously later additions, probably of the 18th century. But those on the facade must be part of the original work, and represent—except the devil's mask to be seen also on top of one of the gates of the Bījāpur citadel —only Hindu subjects, Ganesha, Hanuman and Garuḍa, and two lions holding small elephants in their fangs, a theme often found in Deccanī art. A key fortress of a Muslim kingdom with Hindu religious sculptures on its main gate! Only one explanation is possible, i.e., that the killedār and the garrison were also Hindus, probably Marāṭhās, in the Bījāpur service.

As these are all the extant monuments of the Muslim period, the question arises where the other buildings of this time are, the buildings accommodating the garrison and the administration, the places where Chand Bībī, Dilāwar Khān and the imprisoned princes

and princesses of Shivāji's house had stayed. In my opinion these must be sought under the mound occupying the very centre of the plateau, to the east and south-east of Bājī Rao's palace, and which is now completely covered with shrubs. For during a careful investigation I discovered the indubitable vestiges of an inner citadel, a Bāle-Killā, consisting of a great central quadrangle with two annexes on the east and west sides, the first larger than the latter. To the north of this is a somewhat irregular terrace, delimited on the north by smaller heaps of ruins, on the east by a double tank, the finest of the whole fort, and apparently of Muslim origin. It seems probable that the great central quadrangle, with its very strong walls, was the Bāle-Killā proper, whereas to its east there stretched a palace, and on the north side a garden; for between the tank and the supposed garden there is a terrace on strong stone walls, probably once supporting one of those pavilions which in Indo-Muslim architecture so often occupy the water front of gardens. This complex seems to have extended also round the south and east banks of the tank, but the question can be settled only by excavations. That the buildings must have been of importance, is obvious from some big and well-cut basalt blocks, probably from some archway, which are lying close to this mound.

Two smaller, oblong-rectangular mounds are to the west and south-west of Bājī Rāo's palace. Probably they cover the ruins of stables and outhouses, but without excavations it is impossible to ascertain whether they were connected with the Bāle-Killā or with the Marāthā palace. Nor am I in a position to say when all these buildings or, further to the west, some now collapsed underground vaults were destroyed. Perhaps experts in the Marāthā chronicles will be able to find out.

The rest of the ruins belong to the Marāthā period. Bājī Rāo's palace has already been mentioned. As it had served as barracks for the British garrison, it is as badly defaced as the Mughal palaces of Northern India had been before their restoration undertaken since Lord Curzon's time. The great hall in the upper storey has two fine rows of columns and arches of the type usual in the Poona palaces of that time; but the stucco work of the walls, probably renovated in the 19th century is covered under thick layers of whitewash, and the beautiful ceiling which must once have been there, has disappeared. Recently part of the north facade has fallen down, and the palace will be doomed to ruin if it is not soon repaired. On the north side of the palace a typical Marāṭhā court had been begun, but only the west and part of the north terrace were ever completed.

Nearby to the north-east is a small Śiva temple with a spire of the fluted cone type so characteristic of the last Peshwā period ; to the north-west there stands the ruin of a tower with a Mughal keel vault, but probably also of Marāṭhā origin. Another contemporary liṅga shrine, with a low pyramidal roof, stands on the west bank of the tank behind the Bahmanī mosque, and a big vault of a similar architectural type, but of unknown destination, overlooks the east wall of the fort, not far from the north-east bastion.

The British must have found most of the buildings on the plateau already in ruins and have executed only a few repairs and alterations of a purely military character. They put the present parapets on the walls, built accommodations for modern artillery on the bastion of the west gate and repaired the southern gate. The few bungalows and sheds erected by them inside the fort are of no interest.

Thus, the most important monuments of Sātārā Fort must still be underground, awaiting the spade of the excavator. But useful preparatory work can first be done by the historians who would take the trouble to collect all the still available informations on the former distribution of the fortifications and buildings, their history and use.

Ancient View of Classification with Outline of a Modern Workable System

By

S. C. GUHA, Allahabad

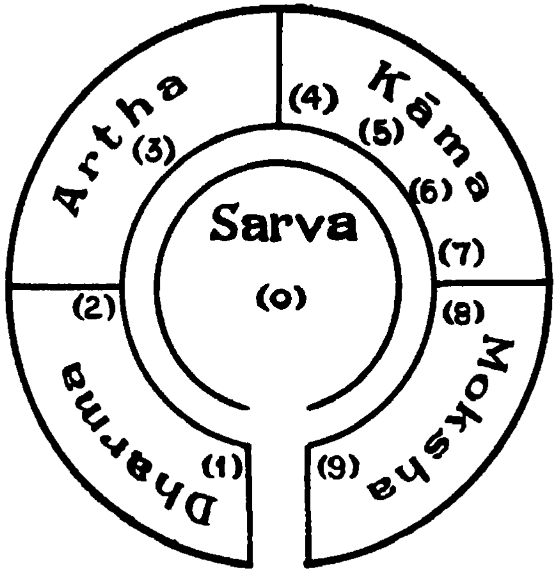
In Sanskrit *vargīkaraṇa* is the word for classification, varga technically signifying a class. Broadly speaking, *vidyā*—the entire field of knowledge—is, in Indian thought, traditionally divided into four vargas, viz., (1) dharma, (2) artha, (3) kāma and (4) mokṣa. In other words every subject (or department of knowledge) falls under one or another of these four categories.[1]

When we come to classify *not* subjects *but* books, we find that the latter in some cases (e. g., Cyclopædias, Bibliographies, Catalogues, General periodicals, etc.) are of such a general or universal nature that they refuse to be restricted to any one particular varga (or subject or class), but must be represented by a general category, such as would include all vargas. This last-named category may be termed Generalia in English, or Sarva as a Sanskrit equivalent.

The following diagram will show the relation of the vargas The outer circle represents the whole field of knowledge, the four vargas being shewn as distinct compartments adjoining its circumference; while around the centre we form the inner circle to represent generalia or sarva-varga, beyond the four principal vargas. This extra varga may be denoted by zero ("0").

1. There are however various other divisions in our ancient literature. Śrutis divide vidyā into two main classes, parā and aparā: द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये परा चैवापरा च. Kaṇāda mentions three vargas—*dharma, artha and kāma*—which are followed by Kālidāsa in *Kumārasambhava* as being the three objects of worldly existence. A fourth varga is however accepted by all, and at most places we find the chaturvarga (four classes) repeatedly mentioned.

Other important classifications are those mentioned in the smrtis and nītiśāstras. The former speak of 14, and the latter give 32. Arthaśāstra admits 4 divisions, and Paśupatāchārya 5. Four vargas are however generally accepted.



The wayfarer on the path of knowledge, on entering the field can either peep into the sarva-varga at the centre for general knowledge, or travel along the lines of the corridor from department to department, keeping to the left as usual, until he reaches moksha, the final aim of life.

Besides the primary vargas there must be secondary ones which may be named bhāgas, or the various groups under a subject. This will be made clear if we put in tabular form the inter-relation of subjects :

Vidyā (Field of knowledge)

- Dharma
  - (1) Smṛti Purāna
  - (2) Itihāsa
- Artha
  - (3) Arthaśāstra Samājaśāstra
- Kāma (or Kalā)
  - (4) Sāhitya Bhāṣāśāstra
  - (5) Vijñāna
  - (6) Upayukta-kalā Kalā-kauśala
  - (7) Lalita-kalā
- Mokṣa
  - (8) Darśana
  - (9) Mokṣa-śāstra, Dharma-matas (Faiths)

The third varga, kāma, is often represented by the term kalā in modern times. So we shall treat kalā as an equivalent of kāma.

It will be seen from the above table that we get 9 bhāgas, each being denoted by one of the 9 integers, 1 to 9. Further, we have seen that in addition to these 9 bhāgas we have an extra varga, sarva (generalia), denoted by the zero "0".

Each of the 10 bhāgas may similarly undergo a further process of tenfold differentiation, resulting in the formation of 100 vibhāgas or sections. Each such section may be denoted by a figure of two digits as shewn in the Outline that is shortly to follow. The process of tenfold differentiation can be repeated as often as necessary, putting a decimal point after the two-digit figure assigned to any one of the vibhāgas, which are 100 in number, as we shall see.

Thus a subject or a section thereof is represented by a two-digit figure, with more minute differentiation, as in the case of sub-sections, the two-digit main figure admits of a decimal fraction. That is to say, a decimal point is put after the two-digit figure for showing the fractional addition.

All this is called subject-notation, each one consisting of a two-digit figure with or without added fractions. Properly speaking, the notations (or numbers, as they are often popularly called) are symbols or pratīkas for subjects (sections or sub-sections of the main vargas).

For a small general collection of books of no special character the 100 vibhāgas, without decimal fraction, may suffice in the beginning. But experience will show that with the growth of the collection (or library) a precise or minute classification is of greater advantage. It is therefore not desirable to restrict the notation to the main figure of two digits, but a fractional notation should be freely used when necessary. This will be found in my work, *Prāchya Vargīkaraṇa-paddhati*, reviewed in *O. L. D.*, July 1938.

The 100 sections thus developed are shewn below :—

Outline shewing 100 Vibhāgas or Sections

00	**Generalia**	**10**	**Dharmasastra**
01	Exposition	11	Smṛti
02	Library Science	12	Lawgivers
03	Cyclopædias	13	Ethics
04	Other Reference Works	14	Law
05	Periodicals	15	Rāmāyaṇa
06	Societies	16	Mahābhārata
07	Newspapers	17	Purāṇas
08	Collected Works	18	Upa-purānas
09	Gazetteers, Bluebooks, etc.	19	Other

20 History
21 World
22 Asia except India
23 India
24 Africa
25 Europe
26 America
27 Other
28 Geography - Travel
29 Biography
30 Arthasastra
31 Statistics
32 Politics
33 Economics
34 Sociology
35 Administration
36 Societies
37 Education
38 Commerce
39 Custom'- Costume, etc
40 Literature, Philology
41 Poetry
42 Drama
43 Novel
44 Short Story
45 Prose Literature
46 Rhetoric
47 Correspondence
48 Satire
49 Philology
50 Science
51 Mathematics
52 Astronomy
53 Physics
54 Alchemy
55 Geology
56 Paleontology
57 Biology
58 Botany
59 · Zoology
60 Useful Arts
61 Medicine
62 Engineering
63 Agriculture
64 Domestic Science
65 Labour-saver
66 Manufacture
67 Mechanic Art
68 Building
69 Other
70 Fine Arts
71 Oriental (special)
72 Architecture
73 Sculpture
74 Drawing - Design
75 Painting
76 Engraving
77 Photography
78 Music
79 Amusement
80 Philosophy
81 Nyāya - Vaiśeshika
82 Sāmkhya - Yoga
83 Mimānsā
84 Vedānta
85 Saiva, Sākta, Vaisnava
86 Bauddha - Jaina
87 Other Oriental
88 Western
89 Other
90 Religion
91 Comparative
92 Sanātana dharma
93 Outcomes thereof
94 Bauddha - Jaina
95 Mohammadan
96 Zoroastrian
97 Confucian, etc
98 Christian
99 · Other

Kāya-nirṇaya : Features-differentiation

After we have found an exact main notation for a subject (section or sub-section) we must next consider the specific kāya (features) a particular book (or recorded literature) to be classified has taken. The adoption of the process of kāya-nirṇaya or features-differentiation will qualify the subject-matter of the book in question still further.

Kāya-nirnaya is a course of demarcation in addition to the original classification, and it is in a large measure common to all subjects. Some people would call the differentiation as common sub-division. But we should better terminologise the process as kāya-nirnaya or features-differentiation By this we find out the particular kāya (body, or form) in which a given literature is presented.

The notation for the features-differentiation should be always fractional. It is rather exhaustively manifested in the following table. If a subject notation is of only two main digits, as in the case of the 100 vibhāgas, the features-differentiation notation, beginning with a decimal point as shewn in the table, should be simply added to the main figure of the digits When however a subject is a sub-section, having already a fractional notation add the features-differentiation notation, omitting the decimal point, as the figure obtained for the sub-section has already got a decimal point.

Similarly there can be a Diṅnirnaya or Point-of-view finding division which is partially incorporated in the kāya-nirnava process, described above.

Thus we get a full notation for a subject—the main subject-notation along with the kāya-nirnaya fractional notation.

Combine with this the other subsidiary tables—such as Region table, Chronology table, Community table, Language table, Size table, etc.—wherever necessary The Region-table is shewn after the Kāya-nirnaya table that is following now.

Kāya-Nirṇaya or Features-differentiation Table

(10 Possible Forms of a Subject)

•00 TEXTS
•001 Theory—Philosophy, etc.
•01 COMMENTARIES
•02 TRANSLATIONS
•03 REFERENCE TOOLS (Lexicons, Indexes, Bibliographies, Statistics, etc)

·031	Etymological dictionary
·032	Encyclopaedia
·033	Concordance
·034	Index
·035	Bibliography
·036	Statistics
·04	LITERATURES (not Belles-lettres, but ESSAYS, etc.)
·041	Theory discussed by Author or originator
·042	Theory discussed by others
·044	Speech
·045	Writing
·046	Symposium (on particular topic)
·047	Memorial
·048	Miscellany
·05	PERIODICALS
·051	Monthly ; ·052 Two-monthly , ·053 Quarterly , ·054 Four-monthly
·055	Annual (Year-book, Directory, Calendar—even if not periodical)
·056	Half-yearly
·057	Misc. regular frequency (2-yearly, 5-yearly, etc.)
·058	Irregular serial, yet of the nature of periodical
·06	ASSOCIATIONS (Institutions, Guilds, etc.)
·061	Profession
·062	Conference, Congress
·063	Commission, Committee
·068	Parties
·07	STUDIES
·071	Scope, Scheme, Syllabus, Synopsis
·072	Outline, Abridgment, Essence, Skeleton, Fundamental line
·073	Museum, Exhibition, Laboratory, Album
·074	Map, Atlas, Graph, Chart, Diagram, Observatory, Catalogue, Sketch-book
·076	School, Institution, Study-circle
·077	Study, Criticism, Research
·0773	Adverse criticism, Offence
·07732	Reply to criticism, Defence
·078	Adaptation
·08	POLYGRAPHIES
·081	Collection of works of single author
·082	—of many authors (cf ·046 Symposium on single topic)
·0821	Anthology, Commemoration volume

6

·083 Comprehensive selection
·084 Interview ; ·085 Statement, Communique
·086 Digest ; ·0861 In verse, ·0862 In the form of drama ; ·0863 In the form of fiction ; ·0864 In the form of Catechism, dialogue ; ·0867 In the form of Letters, ·0868 In the form of Parody
·087 Announcement
·088 Miscellany
·09 HISTORIES
·091 Acts, Bills, Codes, Cases
·0912 Constitution, Governance, Governor, Political situation, Federation, Reform
·0916 Popular (as opposed to Governmental) representation
·092 Biography (individual), including Auto-biography ; ·0921 Original hero
·093 Collective biography
·094 Correspondence, Memoir, Minutes
·095 Expedition, Exploration, Inscription, Records
·096 Official report, Bluebook, Inspection report
097 Survey, Topography, Gazetteer
·098 Travel, Guidebook
·099 History, Evolution of culture and civilization, Geneology, Chronology
·0991 Prosperous course
·0992 Decay, Fall
·0993 Controversy, Conflict

REGIONAL TABLE

1	World
2	Asia (general) except India
2·1	Turkey
2·21	Persia
2·24	Arabian Peninsula
2·31	Siberia, Turkistan, Central Asia
2·4	Afganistan, Baluchistan
2·5	Siam (Thailand)
2·54	Malaya
2·6	Chinese Republic
2·7	Japan, Korea
2·88	Burma
2·89	Ceylon
3	INDIA
3·88	French possession
3·89	Portuguese possession
3·9	Indian States
3·91	Hyderabad (Nizam)
3·92	Mysore
3·93	Baroda
3·94	Kashmir
3·95	Rajputana
3·96	Central India
3·97	Himalayan
3·98	Other
4	Africa
5	Europe
5·1	United Kingdom
5·11	England

3·1	NORTH INDIA
3·11	Bengal
3·14	Assam
3·2	Gujarat-Bombay-Maharashtra
3·3	SOUTH INDIA
3·31	Andhra
3·35	Tamilnad
3·4	United Provinces
3·5	Punjab
3·7	Bihar—Orissa
3·81	Sind
3·82	Central Provinces
3·83	Berar
3·84	Karnataka
3·85	Kerala
3·87	North-West Frontier Province
5·13	Scotland
5·18	Ireland
5·2	Germany
5·3	France
5·4	Italy
5·51	Spain
5·55	Portugal
5·6	Scandinavia
5·7	U. S. S. R.
5·81	Switzerland
5·85	Greece
6	America
6 11	Canada
6·12	U. S. A.
6·6	South America
7	Australia, Newzealand, etc.
7·8	Seas

The subject-notation, including the kāya-nirnaya fractional notation, with the addition of one or more classes of notation from the subsidiary tables—such as Regition-table for example—putting a colon (:) between two kinds of notation, will form the full notation for the subject of a book or literature.

A few examples may clarify the process : The notation or symbol for Fine arts is 70, 2·5 stands for Thailand (=Siam), ∴ 70: 2·5 will be the notation for the subject of Thailandic fine arts. Education is 37, history of a subject (see kāya-nirnaya table) is ·09 ; ∴ 37·09 is for History of education. Rāmāyaṇa is 15 ; Java 2·8, architecture 72, ∴ 15 : 2·8 . 72 will stand for Rāmāyana in Javanese architecture. Gītā is 92·4, Commentary (see Kāyanirṇaya table) is 01 ; Germany (Region-table) 5·2 ; ∴ 92·401 : 5·2 will be the notation for German commentary on the Gītā. Economics is 33 ; Panjab 3·5 , ∴ 33 : 3 5 is Economics with special reference to the Panjab. Charitable institution is represented by 36·1, Parsy charity relief is 36·1 : 0 6 (community-table) ; and so on.

After we have got the full notation through the processes described we would still need the device of particularising the position of a given book or literature (on the shelves of a library) in a class where there are many such works. This can be done by using some author-marks or following the Chronology-table, or adopting both.

In a word, a scientific system should be able to answer all requirements. The scheme discussed claims to have the power to do so.

Subandhu's Home

By

R. G. HARSHE, Poona

For want of authoritative evidence it is a matter of idle speculation to talk of Subandhu's home. Lately, Mr. MANOMOHAN GHOSH has assigned Bengal as the home of Subandhu.[1] His reasons are these :

(i) "Subandhu has used pun in शरभेदो दधिषु (Hall, p. 125) and in रशनाबन्धो रतिकलहेषु.[2] And in these passages सर and शर as well as रसना and रशना have been considered to be interchangeable or rather he allowed a confusion between the palatal and the dental sibilant. This kind of confusion as is known to students of the Middle Indo-Aryan is a feature of मागधी. Hence it may be assumed that Subandhu was born in the मागधी speaking area, i.e., the North-Eastern India."

In the first place, the words सर and शर[3] as well as रसना and रशना are always interchangeable in classical Sanskrit as having almost the same meanings.[4] But even granting the plea of Mr. GHOSH that it is a feature of Māgadhi,[5] can it not be assumed with equal certainty that since Subandhu had declared to have composed his work with

1. *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, September 1939, pp 472–474.

2. In quoting the text, page numbers, in this article, refer to HALL's Edition of the *Vāsavadattā*.

3. सर—an arrow, the coagulum of curds or milk, water —Vaidya p. 765.
शर—an arrow, the cream of slightly curdled milk, water.—Vaidya p. 711.

4. रशना–रसना–a rope or cord, a girdle- कस्याश्चिदासींद्रशना तदानीमंगुष्ठमूलार्पित-सूत्रशेषा— R ; VII 10 ; the tongue. Bh. V. 1. 111.—VAIDYA p. 606.
रसना—the tongue ; a woman's girdle—रसतु रसनापि तव घनजघनमण्डले
Git. G. X.
Subandhu himself uses this word indiscriminately in its dual form ; For रशना see p. 128 and for रसना—pp. 171 and 283.

5. Some of the important statements from Walter Eugene CLARK's valuable article on 'Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhī' in the *JAOS.*, Vol. 44 (1924), might be considered in this connection :—

(1) He (Simhadevagani) gives no rule for the change of *s* to *ś*, an extremely important rule which could hardly have been omitted even in the most superficial of the Māgadhī dialect if he had regarded it as universally valid for the particular dialect which he meant to describe.—p. 89.

(2) Nāṇdillagopa in his comm. to the *Prabodhacandrodaya* (NS. Ed. p. 72), on the authority of Chandrasena and others, apparently regards the substitution of ś for s in the Māgadhī as optional—p. ‘0.

(3) The Asoka inscriptions seem to prove that the official language of Māgadhi in the third century B C. has *s*, not *ś*.

(4) GAWRONSKI (*ZVS* 44. 271-4) regards the ś of the Śakāra (in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*) as merely an individual lisping.—p. 90–91.

paronomasia on each and every syllable,[6] he took this much latitude with words which existed in double forms even in his time, to vindicate his declaration? So, it must be remembered that if there was any confusion, which we very much doubt, it was purposely allowed to be there for the sake of the pun. It was not naturally there, as Mr. GHOSH would have us believe, as a sort of unconscious slip on the part of Subandhu on account of his being a Māgadha.

(ii) "Subandhu, unlike any other Sanskrit writer of fame, shows some familiarity with fish, and one of his most apt similes occurs in the following passage:—"कालकैवर्तकेन तमिस्त्राजालं प्रक्षिप्य गगनमहासरसि"—etc. (pp 249-50 Ed. HALL). The catching of living शफरी with a black net from a large पुष्करिणी[7] (महासरसि) is a very familiar sight in Bengal From this simile it may be assumed that Subandhu was familiar with a place like Bengal."

It may be pointed out that for this idea, as for several others,[8] Subandhu is most probably indebted to Bhartrhari II. 52 (Nirnaya

6 Preferatory stanza No 13 "Pratyaksaraslesamayaprabandham."

7. Can महासर be a पुष्करिणी by any stretch of meaning! If this passage is to be interpreted as having a bearing on some actual geographical region, it may be pointed out that it is Central India, rather than Bengal, that abounds in big lakes and fishing with black nets in ponds, lakes, rivers and streams is a common sight all over India.

8. For example see—

(i) "तथाहि माधुर्यशैत्यशुचित्वसन्तापशान्तिभिः पयः पय इवेति मित्रतामुपगतस्य दुग्धस्य तत्सङ्गमाद्वर्धितस्य क्वाथेन ममैव पुरोयुक्तः क्षयः इति विचिन्त्येव वारिणापि क्षीयते"—VD p. 79–80.

Cf. "क्षीरेणात्मगतोदकाय हि गुणा दत्ताः पुरा तेऽखिलाः etc.

—भर्तृ. I. 66 (VD. Ed.)

(ii) "सञ्चरद्रुणजवनिकापट इव कालनर्तकस्य"—NS. p. 255.

Cf. "नरः संसारान्ते विशति यमधानीजवनिकाम्"—भर्तृ. III. 112.

(iii) "भवति सुभगत्वमधिकं विस्तारितपरगुणस्य सुजनस्य"—NS. P. 4.

Cf. "परगुणपरमाणून्पर्वतीकृत्य नित्य निजहृदि विकसन्तः सन्ति सन्तः कियन्तः"

—भर्तृ. I. 70.

(iv) "त्वत्कृते यानया वेदनानुभूता सा यदि नभः पत्रायते सागरो मेलानन्दायते ब्रह्मायते लिपिकरो भुजगराजायते कथकः"—NS. p. 238.

Cf. "वह्निस्तस्य जलायते जलनिधिः कुल्यायते" etc. —भर्तृ. I. 78.

(v) "भास्वतालङ्कारेण चन्द्रेण वदनमण्डलेन लोहितेनाधरपल्लवेन सौम्येन दर्शनेन गुरुणा नितम्बबिम्बेन विकचेन नेत्रकमलेन शनैश्चरेण पादेन तमसा केशपाशेन ग्रहमयीव."—VD. P. 64.

Cf. "गुरुणा स्तनभारेण मुखचन्द्रेण भास्वता शनैश्चराभ्यां पादाभ्यां रेजे ग्रहमयीव सा"—भर्तृ॰ II. 17.

Sāgara Ed.) : "विस्तारितं मकरकेतनधीवरेण। स्त्रीसंज्ञितं बडिशमत्र भवाम्बुराशौ। येनाचिरात्तदधरामिषलोलमर्त्यमत्स्यान्विकृष्य विपचत्यनुराग वह्नौ". The whole argument therefore falls to the ground. And, moreover, if we were to put forth this argument of familiarity and make imputations to the author, it would lead us to absurdity ad infinitum. For, besides the fish, Subandu has referred to several other acquatic animals, birds and beasts etc.[9]

(iii) "Subandu's familiarity with fish is again noticed in a passage in which he compares पाटलि flowers with the पलाव of the God of Love (p. 138)."

"The word पलाव has its development in the new Bengali (dialect) पलो which is the name for a primitive instrument made of Bamboo for catching fish in shallow water. Hence it does not mean fishing hook (बडिश) as Shivarama guesses.[10] Now this पलो is available everywhere in Bengal. And the पाटलि flower has more resemblance to the पलो (= पलाव) than to बडिश. As Shivarama was an inhabitant of the country where पलो is unknown, he hazarded a guess instead of confessing his ignorance. This word पलाव shows again that Subandhu was familiar with Bengal."

Mr. GHOSH, in this respect, depends entirely on the reading adopted by HALL. But GRAY has पालावलीव,[11] which however makes no meaning, while the Trichinopoly edition has जालावली. MSS.

(vi) "आवर्तभ्रान्तिभिः सापस्मारमिव फेनै." —VD. P. 264.
Cf. "भ्रमावेशादङ्गे कमपि विदधद्भङ्गमसकृत्
स्मरापस्मारोऽयं भ्रमयति दृशा घूर्णयति च"—भर्तृ. II. 56.

9. To give only a few examples —
मकर (P. 267, 279); जलकपि (P. 277), जलमानुष (P. 98, 268, 279); जलौकस (P. 115), कच्छप (P. 279), हंस (P. 95; 113, 193; 218; 286), सारस (P. 159, 287); मरुबक (P. 45, 134, 277); कौयष्टिक (P. 99; 288), केसरिन् (P. 85, 103; 104; 120; 266), गज (P. 74, 96, 106, 114, 179, 180, 181; 252; 253; 263; 269 etc.); कपि (P. 84, 170, 251; 261, 266); मृग (P. 197; 79, 282, 296) etc.

Secondly, as every scholar in those days usually began his studies by learning by heart some of the important lexicons, he naturally knew a number of words of different types. Amara, for instance, gives about 30 different names for a variety of fish (Vide I. 9. 17-19). Hence there is no point in making such a statement like this.

10. If Subandhu is indebted to Bhartṛhari for this idea of a net being spread by a fisherman, as we have shown above, there is good reason to believe that by पलाव (if such a word does exist) he means simply बडिश.

11. *Vāsavadattā*—A Sanskrit Romance by Subandhu, translated, with an introduction and notes, by Louis H. GRAY, Ph D., Columbia University Press, New York, 1913—P. 165. Can it be पलावली as suggested by one of the commentators ?

also read the text differently.[12] It is therefore hazardous to draw any conclusions relying on the text of HALL without taking into consideration other evidence on the point.

The case made out against Shivarama does not also hold good inasmuch as Nārāyana Dīksita, who is by far the oldest commentator available[13] on *Vāsavadattā*, explains the word पलावो as बडिशं [14] Ranganātha, who seems to be a later commentator, in his tippana, follows the same reading but explains the word as "पलावो मत्स्यबन्धनम्." [15] The word पलाव however is not found in any of the dictionaries.[16] The correct form is पल्वव and is explained by वाचस्पत्य[17] as जीवतां धृतमत्स्यानां गतिरोधके (पोलो)'' and in त्रिकांडशेष[18] as "मत्स्यधारणसाधने यन्त्रभेदे". In वासवदत्तापञ्जिका[19] called विदग्धवल्लभा, by an unknown author, पलावा is interpreted as "पलावलीति बळिशं ग्राहकं मत्स्यबन्धनं प(चे)र इति ख्यातः". शृंगारगुप्त in his वासवदत्ताविवृति[20] explains the word thus · "पलावो मत्स्यमारणभांडः पलाजामिति प्रसिद्धम्". Jagaddhara[21] reads पलाचः and explains it thus "पलाचः पचेर इति ख्यातः॥ पलावलीतु बलिशं ग्राहकं मत्स्यश्नन्धनम्॥ From this evidence it will be clear that the MSS. and commentators are not unanimous on the text in question and its meaning also. This cannot therefore be an undisputed proof of Subandhu's being a resident of Bengal.

Secondly, Pātali flower is not so very significantly known for its form as for the redness of its colour and in using this simile, the author, to all appearances, must have in mind its likeness to a fishing hook with a piece of red-flesh attached to it rather than the bamboo mechanism to catch fish as Mr. GHOSH says.

12. (i) Prājña Pāthaśālā MS, which gives better readings and which is a very valuable MS., reads बडिशावलि here

(ii) Ānandāśrama, MS No 793 has वालावर्लाव, folio 12.

(iii) The correct reading seems to be 'पला इव' as given by a MS. in possession of Mr. G V. NIRANTARA of Nasik whose ancestral collection was catalogued by Dr. BHANDARKAR.

13 See Mr. P. K GODE's article--*Annals, BORI.*, Vol. XXI—Parts I & II p. 135.

14. Vide folio 54 b, MS. No. 567 of 1891-95 of the Govt. MSS. collection at the B. O R. I., Poona.

15. Folio 5b, MS. No. 566 of 1891-95, B. O. R. I.

16. —St. Petersbourg and Monier Williams have evidently taken the word from HALL's Ed. of VD.

17. P. 4271.

18. Quoted by Vācaspatya.

19. Folio 31b, MS No. 464 of 1887-91, B. O. R. I.

20. MS. No. 186 of 1875-76, B. O. R. I.; the MS. is in Śāradā script.

21. Tattvadīpinī, Ānandāśrama, MS. No. 1817, folio 42b, Poona.

(iv) His fourth argument in support of this theory is Subandhu's mention of सुन्दरी tree (P. 219-220 Ed. HALL). "This word सुन्दरी does not occur in any Skr. Kosha, for Shivarama, though very liberal in quoting synonyms, could not give any connection with this word. सुन्दरी trees grow in abundance in the Sundarban area of the Southern Bengal.

The word Sundarī is given by वाचस्पत्य[22] and is also quoted by मेदिनीकार in its masculine form सुन्दर.[23]

(v) "Wrote the first available work in the Gauḍī style,[24] the characteristics of which emerged 'at the courts of princes of Bengal'—(KEITH, *Hist. Skr. Lit.* p. 60)."

In all these arguments there is not one which is based on first-rate evidence nor on solid facts that carry conviction home. If, in the present state of our imperfect knowledge, we are to base our conclusions on mere surmise, we must put together all the evidence and not simply pick up those examples which support our pet theories and leave inconvenient mass of material unnoticed and unaccounted for. Now, so far as the evidence that we are able to collect on this question is concerned, we may say with reasonable assurance that our author, instead of being a Bengali, at the court of an unknown Bengali prince in the East, was rather the inhabitant of Central India. With his limited knowledge of Geography,[25] he does not seem to know much beyond the Vindhyas. He describes Kusumapura as being on the banks of the Ganges but he has absolutely no knowledge of the routes leading to it or back from it to the capital of the hero.[26] He thinks that it is somewhere beyond the Vindhya forests and has made his hero wander away among them, in search of his lost beloved, till he reaches the sea! His descriptions of the sea may be remarkable, in certain respects, but he is happily unaware what an enormous distance it is from the

22. Vide p. 5314.

23. From which, probably, is derived the word सुन्दरबन. Sundara is universally known by its synonym Tilaka (Vide धन्वन्तरीय निघण्टु IV. 40 and राजनिघण्टु X. 266-267—A. S. S. Poona) and for सुदरी see राज॰ IV. 36a.

24. One need not be a Bengali to write in the Gauḍi style. Our rhetoricians have enjoined upon the use of different styles to express different sentiments. By using the same argument one can also prove that Bāṇabhaṭṭa was also a Bengali.

25. The geographical references in VD. are very few and apart from मेरु, सुमेरु & मन्दर they refer to हिमालय, श्रीपर्वत, विन्ध्य, मरुदेश, श्वेतद्वीप, भागीरथी, यमुना, नर्मदा, करतोया नदी, प्रयाग & कुसुमपुर only.

26. "Kusumapura is also another name for Kanauja!"

Vindhya mountain to the sea for the princess to walk and the prince to follow !

If our interpretation of the third prefaratory stanza of the *Vāsavadattā* is correct, and if its reference to the poet named Dāmodara has anything to do with a historical personality of the same name, we may point out that the inscription that speaks of a poet Dāmodara belongs to Udaipur in Southern Rajputana and the expression "मरुदेशढक्कायात्रयेव घनसारसार्थवाहिन्या" is significant as being a familiar sight for the author.[27] Leaving aside the mythological references to मेरु, सुमेरु, हिमालय, मन्दर etc , he feels more at home when he describes नर्मदा,[28] यमुना, and विन्ध्य. If a covert reference to the Agnikulas of the Kṣatriyas is meant in "करणैरिव शकुनिनागभद्रव्यालवकुलोपेतैर्देवखातैरुपशोभितोपान्तः" (P. 94), then these have arisen within the precincts of the Vindhya mountains

In his descriptions, Subandhu, more than once, refers to the Mālava women[29] in preference to others. Had he been a native of Bengal, as Mr. Manomohan Ghosh wants us to believe, he would certainly have at least mentioned the women of his native country when he has something to say about the women of Lāta, Karṇāta Kerala and Kuntala countries[30] and what is more, about the पुलिंदराजसुंदरी too

A reference to श्वेतगोधूम[31] points to the fact that the author was familiar with the wheat fields of Mālwā where this particular variety[32] of wheat is still largely grown. Subandhu has made the soldiers of the Śabara Senāpati wander about in search of sweet water[33] in the mountain. This clearly speaks of a special know-

27. Vide the article on Subandhu and Dāmodara, Deccan College Research Institute's *Bulletin*, Vol I, No. 2 pp. 421–424

28. "धनकामयेव कृतभूभृत्सेवया रेवया प्रियतमयेव प्रसारितवीचिहस्तयोपगूढः" P. 102,

"विलासिनमिव नर्मदानुगतम्" P. 271.

29. "चतुःषष्टिकलाकलापविदग्धमुखमालवनितम्बिनीनितम्बबिम्बसंवाहनकुशलः" P. 140.

"मधुमदारुणमालवीकपोलतलसमानो लसमानो .etc.—P. 2?0.

"तथा ह्ययं तत्काललीलाबहलविरलविमलमालवीदशनकान्तिदन्तिदन्तघटितो मण्डप." P. 233-34.

30. Lāṭa—pp. 138-139, Kuntala—p. 139; Karṇāṭa—p. 139; Kerala pp. 139–140. Pulindarāja Sundarī—pp. 95-96 and pp. 215-16. This again shows his familiarity with the mountain tribes of the Vindhya.

31. "तारका श्वेतगोधूमशालिनो नभःक्षेत्रस्य" P. 192

32. It must be the same variety as is popularly known in Mahārāshṭra by its corrupt name शेतगहूं.

33. "अन्विष्यमाणस्वादुसलिलाशयम्" P. 291.

ledge of the regions where water is abundant but not sweet. In the Vindhya and Sātpūḍā ranges, it is difficult to find sweet drinking water as very frequently the water is rather astringent and undrinkable. Another very important reference which presupposes local knowledge of the region with all its traditions is to the कणाटीर मिथुन and the diggings by the Kirātas along the banks of the river Narmadā in search of gold.[34]

The name Subandhu is also found to be current in Central India as might be seen from the Birwani Copperplate inscription of Mahārāja Subandhu.[35] The grant has been issued from Māhismatī, the present Maheśwara, in Indore State.

Subandhu was a worshipper of Viṣṇu and he has consecrated two verses at the beginning of his work[36] to his titular god. Now, we have almost contemporary inscriptional evidence[37] to prove that in Central India Vaiṣṇavism was more predominant than anywhere else. In Bengal, it seems, the Śaivas, the Śāktas and the Jainas were more popular.

Putting together all these facts, we are led to the conclusion that Subandhu was an inhabitant of Central India, preferably of Mālwā and that he had nothing to do with Bengal.[38]

---

34. "कणाटीरमिथुनमैथुनदर्शनोपजातनिधिग्रहणकौतुककिरातशतखन्यमानतीरया रेवया" —Pp. 100-101; for explanation of the traditional belief see शिवराम's commentary

35. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX pp. 261-62.

36. Verses 2 and 3. Besides that the following references unmistakably point to his being a Vaiṣṇava .

(i) साधुमिवाच्युतस्थितिरमणीयम्—P. 270

(ii) सत्पुरुषेणेव विष्णुपदावलम्बिना—P 297

37. Vide Tables comparing Gupta Inscriptions and Paurāṇic tradition—By D. R. Patil, Appendix to *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. II. Parts I and II.

38. We have good reason to believe that, in his days of retirement from the ministerial duties (see, Vāmana,—*Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* p. 32—Kāvya Mālā, Ed.), he had repaired to Ujjayinī, where probably he wrote his *Vāsavadattā*.

Sphoṭa and Artha

By

BETTY HEIMANN, London

Every European scholar who has had the opportunity of translating Sanskrit texts with Indian students will have acquired an experience unknown to him from his work with Western pupils. The Indians have a strange gift of getting the hang of the text before, and sometimes even without ever, being able to render the passages in rational systematic manner according to the correct grammatical analysis of the sentence and its parts. (They grasp irrationally the *sphoṭa*, before they rationally grasp the *artha*.) The problem of the *sphota* is unique to Indian grammar ; it was never established in the West, and is even not officially acknowledged in most of the Indian philosophical treatises. But, nevertheless, even when expressly repudiated in Sanskrit philosophy, it is still posed there as a problem While considered not provable by rational systematic means, it exists there as a problem, or rather as a fact.

The Indians are too near to, the Westerners too remote from, the intuitional grasping of the meaning implied in a word or a sentence , and both mentalities, from these very contrary reasons, are hampered in giving a rational account of the *sphota*.

Even the Mīmāmsakas who establish subtle theories about sound-problems not only from the rational, but also from the irrational point of view (the divine origin of *śabda* and its pre-empirical existence) expressly repudiate the concept of *sphoṭa*. They believe in the pre-empirical *autpattika*, pre-empirical spontaneous origin of sound, and they oppose this to the *krtaka*, the empirically produced , (they distinguish between the potential transcendental sense and its manifestation in empirical usage ;) they discuss the problem whether the meaning of the whole word is already conceived by the utterance of its first sound or by the series of its sounds, or whether only after the pronunciation of its last character the sense becomes manifest ; they ponder over the question whether the meaning is dependent on a fixed succession of the letters used, whether for instance *sara* and *rasa* convey the same meaning, i e., whether irrespective of the order of articulation and its psychological reactions, the meaning springs forth as a quasi-partless and orderless and timeless complex entity. But though touching on all these considerations of questions connected with the problem of the *sphoṭa*, they are reluctant to accept the *sphoṭa* as

such. The Mīmāṁsakas, the school of the exegesis of the holy Veda, are transcendental Realists and magical logicians, as it were. Their Realism and their logical method tend to handle but provable facts (*pramāṇas*), their transcendentalism and belief in magical efficacy are restricted ; they accept only that which is established by the empirical *pramāṇas* (*pratyakṣam* and *anumāna*) or by the apparent proof of revelation and authoritative assertions of the holy texts. As a system they are reluctant to give credit to their own subjective psychological irrational feelings of evidence, i.e. to the *sphoṭa*. This is too near to them to be worthy of being propagated in systematic theory. They remain, even in their irrational speculations, in the sphere of *artha*, pre-empirical sense and its empirical efficacy. Their exegesis, their exposition of Scriptures, does not reach beyond the interpretation of the contents. They are rational analysts.[1]

Why, then, do the grammarians venture to deal with the *sphoṭa*? Grammar, as its very Sanskrit names suggest, is *vy-ā-karaṇa*, *vi-graha*, and *nir-ukta*, i.e. mere analytical procedure. How can these professional analysts be inclined to acknowledge such a merely synthetic complex factor as is the *sphoṭa*-concept? For two decisive reasons. First, grammar is a more psychological than logical science. The significance which Indian grammar attributes to the physio-psychological laws of phonetics indicates besides other reasons its foundation in a sphere outside mere logic Secondly, their fundamental presupposition is a dogma of a primary potential unity. They proclaim that in the verb are already contained, so-to-speak, in an embryonic stage all possible variations of a sentence which are voiced by accidental subjects or objects, particles, prepositions, etc. This concept of a pre-developed immanent general potentiality centred in the verb itself gives room for the acceptance of other factors of complex potentialities such as is the *sphoṭa* The grammatical analysis is considered but as a secondary pedagogical proceeding This grammatico-pedagogical method, too, is an outcome of a fundamentally psychological attitude.

It is true that it is not the past-master of grammar, Pāṇini himself, who expressly introduces the theory of the *sphoṭa*, but his chief commentator Patañjali, and his later followers, Bhartṛhari, Nāgeśa, etc., are concerned with securing for the concept of *sphoṭa* a place in their system.

1. About this cf. the chapter on Mīmāṃsā in my "A Study in Indian Dynamics."

But even these later grammarians who acknowledge the *sphoṭa*, proffer only a vague definition of the *sphoṭa*. They simply attribute to it three general predicates. The *sphoṭa* is regarded as one, indivisible and eternal. These vague three qualities are the common property of all super-empirical entities. It is no accident, therefore, that the scholarly advocates of *sphoṭa* are inclined to identify the *sphoṭa* with other "summa" of religious, magical or ontological potentialities which are already acknowledged. The *sphoṭa* is thus paralleled with *Śakti*, *Śabda-Brahman*, with *Praṇava* (*Om*), in short with all "summa" bearing on sound-problems. But the *sphoṭa* does not exactly cover the ground of the efficacy of *Śakti*, of undeveloped mere potentiality (The *sphoṭa* has both, a pre-empirical and an empirical function. The meaning of the word uttered exists not only potentially before its manifestation, but exists also as an external *sphoṭa* set free by an accidental object or word. Neither is *sphoṭa* a universal, ontological *Śabda-Brahman*, because beside the general ontological truth on which all specific *sphoṭas* are based, there exist the different *sphoṭas* of each single empirical object as distinct entities (cow, horse, etc.). These *sphoṭas* of cow, horse, etc. are, however, not ontological manifestations dependent on, and empirically produced from, a productive ontological *Avyaktam*, but they require a specific act of realization, an impulse given directly by an empirical fact, the utterance of a word. Besides, a further psychological function must take place for the realization of the *sphoṭa* *Sphota*, unlike the *Śabda-Brahman*, manifests itself in specific partial flashes of truth)

Neither the *sphoṭa* can be identified with *Praṇava* (*Om*), which being bare of any specific sense, is open to accept every meaning required. Visualization of *Praṇava* (*Om*) is but a means, not an end in itself; it serves only to prepare the stage of receptivity and susceptibility for a higher vision The *sphoṭa*, on the other hand, whenever it can be grasped, is already endowed with specific qualities. In short, *sphoṭa* is akin to, but yet distinct from, all these other irrational potentialities. Its oscillating quality of functioning in the two spheres of potentiality and specific manifestation alike, defies any valid identification either with predominantly super-empirical, general, ontological, or with completely realizable specific factors.

As to the method of gaining an object through the perception of its *sphoṭa*, here, too, we have to approach the problem by the indirect means of contrasting the *sphoṭa* with similar factors. Is the psychological procedure by which the *sphoṭa* is gained the same as

that achieved by meditation? Meditation can be attained by concentrating on any accidental object. The specific object in hand is but a means and not an end. A higher general vision springs forth from this act of concentration (*samādhi*). Reflection, *pratibhā*, of a general cosmic relationship is indirectly attained. The grasping of the *sphoṭa*, on the other hand, is a direct procedure. Here the starting point is a general cosmic truth which through the contact with the very object reveals immediately, and not as a means, a specific truth, the truth about the essence of the object concentrated upon. Thus, though meditation and *sphoṭa* belong both to similar spheres, both standing midway between generalizing metaphysics and particularizing and introspective psychology, they are clearly distinguished by their different tendencies of direction: one working from the general downwards (*sphoṭa*), the other tending upwards towards the general (meditation) Furthermore, they are unlike with regard to the quality of directness (*sphoṭa*) and indirectness (meditation) These latter characteristics imply also a difference with regard to their dynamics and degrees of purpose: while the *sphota* reveals itself by an immediate spontaneous flash of realization, meditation works deliberately in slow stages of gradual enlightenment. The *sphota* manifests itself in a quasi-mechanical bio-psychological function; meditation, on the other hand, is intentionally and deliberately acquired. And yet, in spite of all these distinctions pointed out between the *sphoṭa* and meditation, meditation in its highest stage of perfection is the one proceeding which comes nearest to the concept of *sphoṭa*. In the commentary to Yoga Sūtras 1, 47 the *adhyātma-prasāda*, the subjective, no more obstructed clarity of mind, the final stage gained after preliminary meditation, is expressly defined as *bhūtārtha-viṣayaḥ krama-ananurodhī sphuṭaḥ prajñā-ālokaḥ*, i.e. as a spontaneous (*sphuṭa*) vision of cognition which has the cosmic *bhūtas* as objects[2] and pursues no more any gradual steps. Thus the Yoga system acknowledges in some way the concept of *sphoṭa*, but only as a general cosmic vision, and not as a specific *śabda-sphoṭa*.

After having tried to define the *sphota* indirectly by confrontation with apparently related irrational concepts, we shall now venture to trace its qualities by the direct method, as far as it is possible to describe and to define such an irrational concept. Only then shall we gain the ground to make the methodical confrontation

2. I prefer to take *bhūtārtha* in the cosmic and ontological sense = *Mahābhūtas* of the Sānkhya (Yoga), rather than follow Prof. WOODS in his epistemological interpretation.

with its counterpart in the logical sphere : *artha*. The most immediate approach to a concept, at any rate in the range of Indian studies, has proved to be the interpretation of its name. The term *sphoṭa* gives the opportunity for an irrational explanation as to its phonetics and for a rational one as to its contents ; both methods of explanation coincide in this case. *Sphuṭ*, to burst into view, to rent asunder, pictures in its very onomatopoetical form the suddenness, abruptness and forcefulness of the process. It is no accident that other terms derived from the very same root *sphuṭ* all indicate the same dynamic explosive function. *Sphoṭā* means the "whipped out" hood of a snake in the moment of irritation ; *sphuṭi* means the cracking of the skin of the foot by bursting blisters. Sudden like the break between day and night in Indian climate, sudden like the ripening of the tropical fruit are the *natural* processes of the Indian mind (*sphoṭa*). Slow and deliberate are the artificially, volitionary and consciously produced mental processes, like meditation and reasoning (*tarka*). As such the question is irrelevant, whether the *sphoṭa* develops gradually from the first sound to the last one ; it can spring forth in any moment when the characteristic momentum of the sounds becomes strong enough to indicate the object in question. As such the related problem is also implicitly answered, whether the process of articulation of the single sounds, the constituents of the word, can be inverted in its order without changing the meaning. The psychological reaction to the transition of sound from one articulation-point to the other determines the meaning. Each individual sound gets beside its innate significance an additional import with regard to its position within the word (as initial sound, final sound, etc)[3] Here we touch the problem whether in Sanskrit the name in itself is an onomatopoetical image of the essence of the thing which it designates ; and whether the articulation of its sounds produces a psychological reaction which suggests the essential meaning. Is it in this way that the Indian Sanskrit student grasps the meaning of the text, before he can account for the rational analysis of its sense ?

The *sphoṭa* is fundamentally a sound-phenomenon, and even when, which is rarely the case in India, the texts are but silently read, it is grasped by sound-impressions. From this fact further questions bearing on the *sphoṭa* may be raised. Do the sounds reveal the *sphoṭa*, the irrational meaning, or does the *sphoṭa* reveal the true meaning of the sounds , in other words, is the *sphoṭā* the

3. Cf. My "Deutung und Bedeutung indischer Terminologie" pp. 294 ff and my "Polarity of the Indefinite" p. 95.

indicator or the indicated? It is a reciprocal relationship between the *sphoṭa* and the sounds which constitute a name. The *sphoṭa* has two aspects, an eternal, pre-empirical being as essence, and an external accidental empirical aspect as momentary prehension. The sounds reveal the empirical *sphoṭa*, while the eternal *sphoṭa* conveys a meaning to the sounds. The concept of *sphoṭa* is not limited to one level only. The accidental, empirical and momentary manifestation of the *sphoṭa* is the reflection of the one, indivisible, eternal and constant *sphoṭa* (essence). *Sphoṭa* has a double aspect of static eternity and abrupt manifestation. As such it lacks the continuous dynamics of *aut-pattika*, the continuous motion of sounds in the ever-moving waves of ether and space (*ākāśa*). The Mīmāṁsaka concept of *śabda* is that of a continuum. To use a simile: like an ever-springing fountain the pre-empirical *śabda* continuously comes forth (*autpattika*), but through *vivakṣā*, through our desire of speech, we catch some of its drops in our specific receptacles The *sphoṭa*, on the other hand, is like a flash of lightning, breaking accidentally from an upper eternal sphere, through a bank of clouds, down to the ground (its empirical manifestation). To express the difference between *sphoṭa* and *śabda* in plain words; *śabda* is manifested by a volitionary act, while the manifestation of *sphoṭa* lies beyond our control.

The pivot of the Mīmāṁsakas is the idea of continuum; their chief concept of *artha* corresponds to this fundamental idea. *Artha* is the continuous tendency (*arth*) between original sense striving after manifestation, manifestation itself, and its final ends. The empirical object is its second stage as a materialization of its sense; the third stage is the purpose of the objects. In this third stage the term *artha* means: 'for the sake of' (*artham* at the end of a compound). Thus the term *artha* comprises three stages of a continuum, i.e. sense or essence (pre-empirical), object (empirical) and purpose (final cause). To give a significant example of this journey of the term *artha*, we may point to the complicated meaning of the term *puruṣa-artha*. It implies two different meanings of *artha*, a general and a specific one. It designates the *puruṣa* as *artha*, essence, origin and end of human tendencies. Besides, *artha* is a specific stage, or aspect, among the four *puruṣa-arthas*. *Artha* is also the one specific human aim of acquiring material goods, welfare, wealth and profit.

Artha belongs in all its meanings to the sphere of *manas*. Ambiguous as the term *manas* is *artha*, its product. *Manas* is the central organ of the senses, of the thinking and will-power. *Sphoṭa*, on the other hand, is a product not of *manas*, but of *buddhi*, of the

organ of intuitional enlightenment (*bodhi*, *Buddha*). *Buddha* is the receptacle of cosmic vision which is beyond the reach of human volition and thinking power.

Artha has a wide range of possibilities in the logical and empirical spheres, in so to speak the horizontal direction of the attainable plane ; *sphoṭa* is limited to the vertical only, a flash from above.

This distinction which we have drawn between the spheres of *artha* and *sphoṭa* does not seem to be always strictly kept to in average linguistic use. Logic, too, ventures to speak of *sphoṭam* (or *spaṣṭam*, elucidated), when the sense sought for has become evident. But this use of the term *sphoṭa* is not in reality opposed to our distinction between the rational logical sphere of *artha* and the irrational range of *sphoṭa*.

For even in the gradual process of logical cognition there always comes at the end a productive moment of solution where a direct intuition has to fulfil the previous deductions of reasoning.

The Digambara and Śvetāmbara Sects of Jainism

By

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN, Aliganj

Jainism is the least studied of the Indian religions and enquiries into Jainology under the circumstances are welcome. Mr. C. J. SHAH's voluminous work entitled "*Jainism in North India*" deserves appreciation. His attempt is praiseworthy but at the same time I am pained to say that the stamp of the Publishers' sectarian attitude is evident in it. No doubt, the original publishers are Seth Anandji Kalyanji, who have financed the apparent publishers enabling them to bring this volume out, and who profess the Śvetāmbara faith and are famous for their sectarian zeal. The learned writer has failed to emphasise that he is writing from the Śvetāmbara point of view and moreover he has made some misleading remarks about the Digambara sect. He is always alert and takes care to mention nothing, which may be in the favour of Digambara Jainism in the North. Perusal of his work leads a reader to believe that North Indian Jainism is Śvetāmbara Jainism and that Śvetāmbara Jainism is the original Jain religion. Had this been established independently, without doing injustice to Digambara Jainism, nobody would have complained. But for the sake of history I intend to examine a few of his conclusions. However, I shall confine myself to the three most important controversies raised by the learned author: (1) that the Śvetāmbaras belong to the Order of Pārśva, while the Digambaras to that of Mahāvīra, (2) that the account given in the Digambara books concerning the origin of the Śvetāmbara sect is self-contradictory and hence unreliable and (3) that the extant Śvetāmbara Āgama-Siddhānta is the original one and the theory of the Digambara Jainas concerning the loss of the Siddhānta is false.

On examining the first of the above points, I find the learned author summarising it in these words, "Taking it historically and literally, we can say that the Śvetāmbaras are more akin to Pārśvanātha than to Mahāvīra, and Digambaras are nearer the latter, because Mahāvīra passed many years of his life as a prophet in a naked stage, while both Pārśva and his followers preferred to remain dressed." (p. 70). He backs up this conclusion with the following quotation from Sir Charles ELLIOT:—

"It is therefore probable that both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras existed in the infancy of Jainism, and the latter may represent the older sect reformed or exaggerated by Mahāvīra. We are told that 'the law taught by Vardhamāna forbids clothes but that of the great sage Pārśva allows an under and upper garment.' But it was not until considerably later that the schism was completed by the constitution of the two different canons." (p. 74).

Now let us examine these statements, which are mainly based on the evidence of the Śvetāmbara canonical books only, under the light of independent sources and evidence. In this respect the first thing to observe is that nudity was not only observed in the times of Mahāvīra, but it was held in great reverence by pre-Mahāvīra Śramanas as well.[1] The fact that nudity was not an innovation in the Jaina Sangha, is borne out by the literary as well as epigraphical evidence

In literature, the earliest reference to it is found in the *Ṛk-Saṁhitā* (X, 136-2), where the *windgirdled Bachhantes*, the *Munayo Vātavasanas* are mentioned. Prof. A. WEBER considered that this shows the greater antiquity of the Digambaras, and he also considered that the Digambaras are the Indian "Gymnosophists" of the time of Alexander the Great.[2]

It is noteworthy that in almost all Brahmanical Sanskrit Literature which mentions the Jainas, Jain monks are designated as naked recluses.[3] In the ancient and authentic Literature of the Buddhists, too, the Jainas (Nirgranthas) are described as naked monks.[4] These notices refer not only to the Nigantha Samanas of the Order of Mahāvīra, but indirectly they describe the pre-Mahāvīra Nigantha Samanas as naked monks as well. For it is said in the "Mahāvagga", (1, 70, 3)[5]

> "At that time the Bhikkus conferred the upasampadā ordination on persons that had neither alms-bowl nor robes. They went out for alms naked and (received alms) with their hands. People were annoyed, murmured and became angry, saying 'Like the Titthiyas, etc.'"

1. *Indian Antiquary*, IX. 162.
2. *Ibid*, XXX. 280.
3. *Viṣṇupurāna*, 3.18. 2-10; *Vedānta Sūtras*, II, 2, 33-36; *Daśa Kumāracarita*, 2; *Varāhamihira-Saṁhitā*, 19-61 and 45-58; etc. etc.
4. *Jātakamālā* (SBB), I. 145; *Viśākhāvatthu-dhamma-padatha-kathā* (PTS) I. 2-384; *Dialogues of Buddha*, III. 14; *Divyāvadāna*, 165 *Mahāvagga*, 8, 15; 38; *Cullavagga*, 8, 28, 3; *Saṁyutā Nikāya*, 2. 3. 10. 7 etc.
5. *Vinaya Texts*, S. B. E., XIII, 223.

These *Titthiyas* were, no doubt, the non-Buddhistic monks belonging to older orders than those of Mahāvīra and Buddha.[6] The description of them as given above, coincides exactly with that of Digambara Jain monks, as described in their śāstras. Hence there is little doubt about their being the naked monks of the school of Lord Pārśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra. Moreover, I am tempted to believe the Digambara śāstras on the ground that their accounts are in agreement with those references in the Buddhist Tripiṭaka and other secular literature which mention the Jainas.[7] For instance, the rules of conduct for the śramaṇas (Jain monks) given in the *Kassapa-Sīhanāda Sutta* coincide to a word with those given in the Digambara Jain Literature for their monks, and they mention the very first rule of the Jaina *muni*, which requires him to go about naked.[8]

Moreover there are such references in the Buddhist books that prove the use of the term Titthiya in the sense of the Jainas. The following remarks of Rev. Dr. STEVENSON are worthy of consideration in this respect:—[9]

> " In the Buddhist documents......frequent mention is made of a class of opponents encountered by Buddha, usually named Titthiyas or Tīrthakas. This word, however, is used synonymously with Tīrthaṅkaras, the Sanskrit form of the word Tīrthakara, a name appropriated by the Jainas to their deified religious legislators. In several passages the Titthiyas are distinguished both from Brahmanas and Buddhists. Thus Raktāksha is said to have gone to a place where there were Tīrthakas, Śramanas and Brahmanas, ascetics and mendicants. Not having the original before me, I can only conjecture that the two last mentioned parties were Vānaprasthas and Sannyāsīs and the third, common Brahman householders. The second were certainly Buddhist ascetics; and it seems to me there can be as little doubt but that the first were Jainas. In the same way in the *Lalita-vistāra*, the Tīrthakas are mentioned among the auditors of Buddhas as a sect different from the Brahmanas......... There are two grand characteristics, then, of those Tīrthakas, which are in exact agreement with the oldest books and traditions of the Jains—the existence among them of Digambara sages and the total abstinence from animal food.

6. *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 11–12.

7. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, II. 698–710.

8. *Studie Materiali di storia delle Religioni*, III, 1927, 4–8.

9. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January 1855, IV. 401.

Neither of these are applicable to either the Brahmanas or Buddhists of ancient times.........The Tīrthakas of the Buddhists, then, could be none but Digambara Jainas."

It is thus clear that the Titthiyas were non-Buddhistic Jaina monks and those referred to by Gotama Buddha belonged to older orders than those of Mahāvīra. The Jaina Sangha was older than Buddha[10] and as the description of the Titthiyas coincides with that of a Digambara Jaina monk, it supports the Digambara view that the ascetic disciples of Pārśva lived naked. No doubt, the Ājīvikas also, lived as naked recluses, but their origin in itself is traceable to the old Jaina Samgha.[11] They took their religious principles from the Pūrvas : so that as Jaina dissenters, Ājīvikas would naturally be expected to adopt the old practice of going about naked. Likewise Gotama Buddha observed the vow of nudity like a Jaina monk during an early stage of his life. The Digambaras claim him to belong once to the line of the Jaina Samgha of Pārśva's Tīrtha.[12]

Thus the literary evidence would indicate that the nakedness of the Jaina monks was in accordance with the original practice, and not a subsequent innovation started by Mahāvīra. The latter idea, moreover, is against the tradition of the Śvetāmbaras, for, it is said in their authentic canonical books that Lord Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, also passed his life as a saint in a state of nudity.[13] This means that the practice of nudity was first introduced in the Jaina Sangha by Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha. This is exactly what the Digambaras say. But they do not say that along with the discarding of clothes, the first Tīrthaṅkara also allowed the Jaina saints to put them on. He, no doubt, did allow the Kṣullaka Nirgranthas to wear one or even two garments, but the kṣullakas are only laymen observing the vows and are called Ekaśātakas in the Digambara Śāstras.[14] This division of the Digambaras is supported by the Buddhist references, since in them, too, the clothed Nirgranthas are styled *Sāvakā gihī odātavasanā*[15] and *Nigaṇṭha ekasāṭaka*.[16] We find

10. *Indian Antiquary*, IX. 161.

11. *Encyclo : of Religion and Ethics*, I. p. 261 and *Cambridge History of India —Ancient India*, I. p. 162.

12. *Buddhistic Studies*, Ch V, p. 117-119.

13. *Kalpa Sūtra*, JS., SBE., pt. I. p. 295.

14. " त्यक्तागारस्य सद्दृष्टेः प्रशातस्य गृहीशिनः ।
प्राग्दीक्षो पायकात्कालादेसशाटकधारिणाः ॥ ३८ ॥ २५८ ॥
—आदिपुराण.

15. *Digha-Nikāya*, PTS., Vol. III, pp. 117-118.

16. *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Vol. III, pp. 307-309.

clear mention of the naked Jaina *munis* and clothed Jaina *sâvakas* in the Buddhist literature, and therefore the mere mention of the naked *munis* also in the Śvetāmbara books cannot justify the division of Jaina munis—naked and clothed—as they have propagated. Hence the attempt to connect the Śvetāmbaras with the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva falls to the ground.

The Mathura sculptures which depict the naked Jaina monks holding a piece of cloth in their hands, belong to a period when the germs of this schism were already in the air and they do not support the Śvetāmbara view. Rather these sculptures prove the existence of the *Ardhaphalakas*[7]—(ascetics having a piece of cloth with them)—the fore-runners of the Śvetāmbaras, as described by Ratnanandi in his "*Bhadrabāhu-carita*".[18] A particular thing to note in this respect is that such a small figure is shown on the Mathura sculpture referring to the exchange of embryo of Lord Mahāvīra.[19] This small ascetic called in the inscription "divine........." (something) could not be taken as representing Mahāvīra. Rather it represents a divine ascetic of the Ardhaphalaka type, who could not at once summon enough courage to give up the ancient practice of going out naked and simply took up a scarf in the hand to hide the shame. This representation, I think, is made simply to stamp the sculpture with the sectarian mark and it shows clearly that the story of the transfer of the embryo of Mahāvīra was not a fact acceptable to the ancient Jaina Samgha. It is not a part of the original Jaina literature, but seems to have crept into the Śvetāmbara works on the advent of new converts from Hinduism, since the original god of progeny is found in the Vedic pantheon.[20]

Accepting for argument's sake, the view of Mr. SHAH that because in the above sculpture the last Tīrthaṅkara is depicted naked with a scarf in his hand, this establishes proof of the prevalence of both the practices—nude and dressed—in the ancient

---

17. On the *Vodva Stupa* built by the gods, "the male figure on the right of the *Dharma-cakra*, is considered by Dr. BÜHLER to be that of a naked ascetic, who as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm."—(*Jainism in North India*, p. 257). Likewise in Mathura Plate No. 17 Śramaṇa Kañha is shown having a piece of cloth hanging on his wrist, although he is naked otherwise. It bears an inscription which mentions Śvetāmbara Gaṇas etc.

18. Ch. IV. अतोर्द्धफलक लोके व्यानसे मतमद्भुतम् ।
कलिकालबलं प्राप्य सीतले तैलबिन्दुवत् ॥ ३० ॥

19. SHAH, loc. cit., p. 21 (plate IV). "At his (Nemesa's) left knee stands a small naked Male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic and with uplifted right hand."—BÜLHER, Ep. Ind. II. 316.

20. *Ep. Ind.* II. 316 and *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 83–92.

Jaina Samgha, will he please reconcile it with the conditions given and drapery allowed to monks in the Śvetāmbara canon? Can he point to any other instance in stone and plaster, where a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara is pictured with a cloth in hand or is fully dressed? The images of Tīrthaṅkaras found at Mathura are naked. As a matter for mere wonderment even those which bear the names etc. of a certain Śvetāmbara gaccha and represent Pārśva as well as some other Tīrthaṅkara are naked.[21] If Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva and his immediate predecessors had never observed the vow of nudity and the Śvetāmbaras believed that he remained dressed all through his saintly life, then why did they not make his images accordingly in a draped shape? Why did they go against their belief when they showed Pārśva and other Tīrthaṅkaras as nude? There is also no ancient image of their lady, Tīrthankara Malli.

It is a fact that the Mathura antiquities being only a century or two older than the date of Śvetāmbara origin, they rightly represent the first signs of their gradual growth into a sect. The inscription mentioning the Śvetāmbara ganas etc. inscribed on a Digambara or naked image, bears testimony to this fact and shows that the Śvetāmbaras were the dissenters from the original Nirgrantha Samgha, whose ascetic members observed the vow of nudity and their lay disciples worshipped naked images of the Jinas.[22] Hence the Mathura antiquities do not carry the age of the Śvetāmbara sect beyond 1st century B. C.

Now let us examine the antiquity of the Digambara principle of nudity under the light of monumental and other such concrete evidence. The most ancient of the Indian antiquities are those which are found at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sind and it is obvious from them that the people of the Indus valley made nude figures, even those of female deities.[23] Some of these are quite akin to the images of Jinas.[24] And if we are to believe the reading of a seal inscription by Dr. Pran NATH,[25] the prevalence of Jainism at that ancient period is confirmed—there is no doubt that the Jainas

21. SMITH, *Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, pp. 24-46.

22. "The Jains are divided into two great parties, Digambara and Śvetāmbara. The latter have only as yet been traced, and that doubtfully, as far back as 5th century after Christ. The former are almost certainly the same as Niganthas, who are referred to in numerous passages of Buddhist Pali Piṭakas and must therefore be as old as 6th century B. C."—Encyclo. Britannica (11th ed) Vol. XXV.

23. MARSHALL, *Mohen-jo-Daro*, Vol. I. p. 33.

24. Cf. plate X statue from Harappa. Plate XIII. 15, 16 *Mohen-jo-Daro*, I. p. 60.

25. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, Supplement, pp. 18-32.

assign a hoary antiquity to their religion. Be that as it may, it is clear that nude images like those of the Digambara Jainas used to be made by the Indus people[26] and this goes to establish the greater antiquity of the religious idea of nudity as held by the Digambara Jainas.

The ancient images of the Jinas found at Dhārāsiva (Terapur),[27] Khandagiri-Udayagiri (Orissa),[28] Mathura,[29] Ramnagar (Bareilly),[30] and at a certain place in South India[31] are all in a naked shape. None of these images bear any trace of drapery and as such, they also go to establish the assertion of the Digambara Jainas that for the attainment of Nirvāna, the observance of the vow of nudity is essential. Nudity, in fact, is an assurance of the man being self-restrained and victorious over the feelings of shame and sex-love. The covering of the body is needed only when the idea of shame and sex-love occupies an uppermost place in the mind and it is an hindrance to Nirvāṇa. Hence nudity or victory over shame and sex-love is necessary if Nirvāṇa is the Goal. The Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras—one and all preached the self-same doctrine as is evident from the above historical facts.

Under the circumstances there is no justification in connecting the Śvetāmbaras with the Tīrtha of Pārśva, since the monks of that Samgha also observed the vow of nudity.

As to the second point concerning the Digambara account of the origin of the Śvetāmbaras, Mr. SHAH remarks "Taking the Digambara traditions we find that the Digambaras themselves do not agree in their exposition of this division in the Jaina church."[32] And to establish this disagreement he refers to "*Darśana-Sāra*" and "*Bhāvasaṁgraha*" of Devasena, where it is said that the Śvetāmbara Samgha had its beginning in Vallabhipura in Saurāṣṭra 136 years after the death of Vikrama Devasena having given the date of Śvetāmbara origin narrates the story of that origin from

26. CHANDA, *Modern Review*, August 1932 pp. 158-160.

27. *Karakandu-cariu*, (Karanja Jain Series), Intro. pp. 41-48.

28. "Only the Tīrthankaras are represented nude, and even they are occassionally shown dressed, if the scene is intended to represent some scene of their human lives." —M. M. CHAKRAVARTY, *Notes on the Remains on Dhauli and in the Caves of Udayagiri Khandagiri*, p. 2.

29. SMITH, *Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, pp. 24-45.

30. During the course of excavations of a mould (at Ramnagar) a great number of fragments of naked Jain statues were exhumed; of which several are inscribed bearing dates ranging from Saṁvat 74 or A.D. 96 to 152.—LÜDERS, *JRAS*. January 1912.

31. *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 34.

32. SHAH, *Jainism in North India*, pp. 67-70.

Śrutakevalī Bhadrabāhu.[33] The date given by Devasena is the date of the actual appearance of the Śvetāmbara sect–the seed of the origin of which was already sown at the time of Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevalī. Ratnanandi also narrates this in his "*Bhadrabāhu-Caritra*" and gives a full (detailed) account of the origin of the Śvetāmbara sect.[34] The only difference between the accounts is that the former is an abridged (thus seems incomplete), while the latter is a detailed description. I see no reason to doubt the identity of Bhadrabāhu referred to by Devasena, since he is clearly connected with the well-known 12 years' famine of the Mauryan period, which is an accepted fact of history. Similarly there is no ground to disbelieve Ratnanandi, since the existence of the Ardhaphalakas—the fore-runners of the Śvetāmbaras, who appeared at the end of Mauryan famine as described by him, is proved by the ancient Mathura sculptures representing the naked Jaina monks with a piece of cloth (Ardhaphala) in their hands as shown above. Moreover Ratnanandi also assigns the same date (i. e. Vik. Saṁ. 136) for the Śvetāmbara sect as given by Devasena. He mentions clearly that the Śvetāmbara originated from the Ardhaphalakas at this time, having begun dressing themselves in white robes.[35] I do not see any disagreement between Devasena and Ratnanandi. Hence the Digambara tradition holds good.

It seems absurd to bring the date of this schism in the Jaina church after the Vallabhi Council of the Śvetāmbaras during the 6th century A. D., since we find a clear mention of the Kulas etc. of the Śvetāmbara books in the Mathura inscriptions Besides keeping in view the fact that there existed a separate line of Digambara Jaina monks since the days of Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevalī[36] and that the Digambaras revived their Āgama Siddhānta in the very first century of the Christian era as noted below, it is not possible to assign the final separation of the Śvetāmbaras as taking place in the 6th century A. D.

Of course there is a Śvetāmbara tradition which assigns the date of Digambara origin after the second Vallabhī Council referred to by Mr. SHAH,[37] but this is in disagreement with another Śvetāmbara

33. *Darśana–Sāra* (Bombay ed.)

34. *Bhadrabāhu-caritra*, (Benares ed.), pp. 50–71.

35. " धृतानि श्वेतवासांसि तद्दिनात्समजायत ।
श्वेताम्बरमतं ख्यातं ततोर्द्धफालकमतात् ॥ ५४ ॥ ४ ॥
मृते विक्रमभूपाले षट्त्रिंशदधिके शते ।
गतेऽब्दानामभूल्लोके मतं श्वेताम्बराभिधम् ॥ ५५ ॥ ४ ॥
—भद्रबाहुचरित्र.

36. HOERNLE, *Indian Antiquary*, XX. 342–346.

37. *Śatruñjaya-Mahātmya*, (*Jainism in North India*, pp. 67–70).

tradition, which fixes the date of Digambara origin as being 139 years after the death of Vikrama.[38] In fact it is the Śvetāmbara tradition which seems to be at fault, being self-contradictory and, as such, it goes to support the greater antiquity of the Digambaras as established above.

Turning to the last point concerning the Jaina canon, I need not enter into a discussion of the nature and genuineness of the extant Śvetāmbara Āgama, since the opinions of the Western savants disclose its nature and shape. Prof. JACOBI although regarding a certain portion of the Śvetāmbara canon as old says clearly that " additions or alterations may have been made in the canonical works till the time of their first edition under Devardhiganin ".[39] Likewise Prof. Jarl CHARPENTIER writes in this respect that "......the canon originated with Mahāvīra and his immediate successors ... But this was by no means the Siddhānta in its present shape, which is certainly a rather late creation".[40] And finally Prof. A. Barriedale KEITH remarks, "The language of the Jain canon (Śvetāmbara) is far later than the time of the Nandas, and if the language could be changed, then the content also was far from secure; indeed Jain tradition reveals its early losses, and we have no right to hold that the present canon in substance or detail goes back to the fourth century B. C."[41] Hence such a varied, loose and comparatively recent canon as is the Śvetāmbaras certainly cannot be the original Jain Siddhānta and the Digambaras are justified in disowning it.

Now as to the Digambara tradition concerning the loss of the Jaina Siddhānta books, Mr. SHAH makes a sweeping remark asserting the complete loss of the Siddhānta as being " immediately after the great famine in Magadha " and finds no evidence in support of the tradition of the Digambaras. Rather he seeks to prove that the " original Siddhānta was not lost for ever " on the authority of the Mathura inscription which records the Kulas and Śākhās appearing in a certain Śvetāmbara Āgama book, mentioning the Vācaka (lecturer) Jaina monk and portraying the scene of the transfer of the embryo of Mahāvīra.[42] But unfortunately this epigraphical evidence does not establish the whole of the Siddhānta even in the Indo-Scythian period and does not take one beyond that period, when the

38. " छव्वाससहस्सेहि नवुत्तेरहि सिद्धि गयस्स वीरस्स ।
तो वोडियाशा दिट्ठी रहवीरपुरे समुपन्ना ॥ "

39. *The Jaina Sūtras* (SBE), pt. I. Intro. XXXIX.
40. *The Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* (Upsala), Intro., p. 12.
41. *Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume* (Patna, p. 21).
42. SHAH, *Jainism in North India*, pp. 222-224.

Śvetāmbara fore-runners were already in existence. Mere mention of the word Vācaka does not prove the existence of the entire Siddhānta. On the other hand we are told that there is a clear mention of the loss of the Jaina canon in the famous Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela.[43] This epigraphical evidence corroborates the fact of the loss of the Jaina Siddhānta even before the Mathura antiquities referred to by Mr. SHAH. Hence we can hardly doubt the authenticity of the Digambara tradition.

Moreover it is nowhere said in the Digambara tradition that the Siddhānta was lost entirely immediately after Bhadrabāhu. Rather we find recorded an historical data of the gradual loss of it in such old books as *Tiloyapannati*.[44]

According to the Digambara tradition it is not the case that the Pūrvas were lost entirely. Rather portions of the *Agrāyayanī-pūrva* were known to sages like Dharasena and others as late as 683 years after the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra. Dharaṣenācārya, who belonged to the earely period of the Christian era, while staying at Girnār foresaw the danger of the total loss of the Siddhānta and to avoid it, got two competent Nirgrantha śramanas to put down what he knew of the Siddhānta into black and white.[45] Thus the available *Ṣaṭakhaṇḍāgama-sūtra* and other Sūtra literature of the Digambaras came into existence long before the Vallabhī Council, in which Devardhigaṇin created the extant Śvetāmbara Siddhānta Hence the extant Śvetāmbara Siddhānta cannot be taken as the original one, since almost all of it except a very short portion was lost long ago owing to the shortness of memory of the *Ṛṣis*. This fact also goes to support the late origin of the Śvetāmbaras.

It is curious to say that although the Digambaras proclaimed the Śvetāmbara Siddhānta books to be late and worthless works, yet " they seem to make use of them to a certain extant." [46] I have neither seen nor heard of such usage among the Digambaras in the whole of India. Mr. SHAH should have cited examples of it from his personal knowledge instead of relying upon Dr. BÜLHER's wrong information. No doubt the names of the Aṅgas as described by the Digambaras are mostly identical with those of the Śvetāmbaras but there is a great difference between them in respect to their divisions, titles and contents since the Digambaras also had an index of the Siddhānta.

Under the circumstances it is not justified to connect the Śvetāmbaras with Pārśva and the Digambaras with the last Tīrthaṅkara, since it is proved independently that every one of the Tīrthaṅkaras lived as a naked śramana. It is a fact that the Digambara-Śvetāmbara division in the Jaina church finally appeared in the first century A. D.

---

43. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIII. 236ff.
44. *Jaina Hitāishi*, Vol. XIII. pp. 531-533.
45. *Ṣatakhandāgama-Sūtra* (Amraoti) ; Intro. Vol. I, pp. 1-2.
46. *Jainism in North India*, p. 223.

Vaiṣṇavism of Assam and Southern India
(Certain Points of Correspondence)

By

B. Kakati, Gauhati

1. The Vaiṣṇavism of Assam like everything else Assamese, is very little known abroad. Several years ago, two articles by the present writer appeared in *Indian Review*, Madras (Vol. XXIV Nos 4, 5; 1923) about the Life and Teachings of Śaṅkara Deva, the founder of Assam Vaiṣṇavism. The articles were later re-printed as a monograph on Śaṅkara Deva, in the Saints of India Series (Natesan & Co, Madras). That monograph has now been included in Natesan's fresh publication, *Chaitanya to Vivekānanda*,- Lives of the Saints of Bengal.

2. In those articles certain points were casually noticed about some sort of correspondence between the Vaisṇavism of Śaṅkara Deva and that of Southern India. In a recent article by the present writer on the *Kalitā Caste of Assam*, published in *New Indian Antiquary*, Bombay (Vol. II, No. 5, Aug. 1939), a few points of linguistic and cultural correspondence between Assam and Southern India were discussed. There is room for suspicion that cultural similarities of Assam and Southern India spread over wider fields than would appear to casual observers.

3. As however the present writer has no first-hand information about the details of Southern Vaisnavism, and as he claims no knowledge about the daily ceremonial observances of the Southern Vaiṣṇavites, the discussions here are confined to supplying Assamese parallels to those features of Southern Vaiṣṇavism that have been stressed in standard publications as highly individualistic.

4. The founder of Assam Vaiṣnavism was Śaṅkara Deva, a Kāyastha by caste. He was born in 1449 A. D. in the district of Nowgong, Assam. His ancestors were all *Śāktas*. He was thoroughly educated in mediaeval Sanskrit lore and he settled down as a householder. But after the death of his wife he went out on a long pilgrimage of twelve years and visited almost all the sacred places of Northern India. After having returned from pilgrimage he propagated his new cult of Vaiṣṇavism.

5. The official name of Śaṅkara Deva's Vaiṣṇavism is *Ekaśaraṇa dharma*-the religion of Supreme surrender to One; and that One is VIṢṆU who in the form of Nārāyaṇa assumes incarnations from

age to age. The most favourite incarnation in which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped is that of Kṛṣṇa.

6. The surrender to One is very rigorously enjoined. For an *Ekaśaraṇīya*, the worship of other gods and goddesses is strictly prohibited. It has been said by Śaṅkara himself that "a Vaiṣṇavite should not worship any other god except Viṣṇu, he should not enter into any other god's temple, nor should he partake of the offering made to any other god. In so doing *bhakti* would be vitiated". Another writer says that a *bhakta* should have to undergo *cāndrāyaṇa* penance if he partakes of the offering made to any other god. There is similar insistence on the worship of One God in Southern Vaiṣṇavism also. "Vaiṣṇavism interdicted its votaries from the worship of any deities except the highest known to it, who was the God Nārāyaṇa of the Upanisads, the primal cause of all things" (T. RAJAGOPALA CHARIAR; *The Vaiṣṇavite Reformers of India*, p. 18)

7. In Southern Vaiṣṇavism, there appears to be some sort of hostility towards the worship of other Gods; neither does their importance seem to be at all recognised. It is said that when Kurathalvar, a disciple of Rāmānuja was forced by the Śaiva Cola king to acknowledge the supremacy of God Śiva by uttering *Śivāt paratāram na hi*,—(there is none beyond Śiva), the Vaisnavite sarcastically replied *droṇamasti tatah paraṁ* (there is *droṇa* beyond Śiva),—*Śiva* and *droṇa* being two measures of quantity and *droṇa* measuring a larger quantity than *Śiva*. In Assamese Vaiṣṇavism the synthesis between the worshiping of Viṣṇu and the propitiation of other gods is differently established. Bhaṭṭadeva, a Brahmin *Ekaśaraṇīya* has enjoined that a Brahmin should not make the customary offering to the *five gods* (Pañca-yajña) at the time of his meal as prescribed by the *smṛtis*. An offering like that would spoil his *ekaśaraṇa bhakti* to Viṣṇu. He should instead make an offering to Viṣṇu and that will satisfy all other gods. For, has it not been said in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, that if water is poured at the foot of a tree, then all the branches and leaves of the tree suck up nourishment? Another Brahmin *Ekaśaraṇīya*, Vanamālī Deva, when casually confronted with the phallic image of god Śiva saluted it by uttering the mantra—*namo Lakṣmīpati Bhagavanta*, (salute to Thee, God, Lord of Lakṣmī). All other gods and goddesses were mere manifestations of Viṣṇu and the recognition of their status as independent divinities was uncalled for.

8. The central texts of Assam Vaiṣṇavism are the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata* which have been rendered into verse and prose by Śaṅkara Deva himself and his followers. The process of initiation

is called *śaraṇa* and not *dīkṣā* and the mantra is called *nāma*. The word *śaraṇa* occurs very prominently in the three Sanskrit prose pamphlets of Rāmānuja which he calls *Śaraṇāgati*. Four names are given at the time of initiation– *Rāma*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Hari*. The mode of prayer is constant recitation of the names through the mouth and contemplation of the image of the Lord in the heart. And though the most favourite deity is Kṛṣṇa, and his deeds are the topics of discussion, the image of meditation (*dhyāna rūpa*) prescribed is that of Nārāyana who dwells in Vaikuntha and whose feet are worshipped by Mother Lakṣmī. Śaṅkara Deva's description of the vision of Nārāyana in Vaikuntha seems to be a verse paraphrase of Rāmānuja's Vaikuntha vision in his *Vaikuṇṭha gadya*. In Rāmānuja's system " the most prominent name is Nārāyaṇa, though Vāsudeva takes his proper place when the supreme soul and the Vyūhas are spoken of" (BHANDARKAR : p. 57). In Śaṅkara Deva's system, Nārāyaṇa is the "self conscious pure form of Hari" (*Caitanyamaya Śuddharūpa Hari*) and the primal cause of all incarnations (*Sarva avatārai kārana Nārāyaṇa*)

9. Śaṅkara Deva was a house-holder. He married a second time after his return from the first pilgrimage. He did not countenance celibacy in his followers for the purpose of devotion to Viṣnu. But his apostolic successor Mādhava Deva was a celibate and he created an order of celibate monks called *Kevalīyās*, who live in small huts within the precincts of religious temples called *Satras*. The word *Kevalīyā* does not seem to designate the Vaiṣnavite monks of any other system in Northern India who are called by different names. Rāmānuja in recognition of this class of *Bhaktas* " who desire final deliverance and seek the consciousness of their pure soul" uses the word *kevalin* (BHANDARKAR : p. 54).

10. In the close insistence on the *dāsya* mode of worship, the *Ekaśaraṇa* Vaiṣnavism of Assam seems to be at one with the Southern system. Rāmānuja rapturously refers in his *Vaikuṇṭha gadya* to the *nityasvāmya* of the Lord, and the *nityadāsya* of himself. Śaṅkara Deva in all his writings invariably refers to himself as the servant of Krsna (*Kṛṣṇara Kiṁkara*). The *dāsya* relationship between the devotee and God has been so enthusiastically extolled that in a small poem written in Assamese by an immediate Brahmin follower of Śaṅkara Deva, Rādhā the unmarried consort of Kṛṣṇa and symbolising the *madhura* relationship with God in so many systems of Northern Vaiṣnavism, is represented as an ascetic constantly reciting the name of Kṛṣṇa, her body reduced to a skeleton and covered all over with dust,-like Valmīki uttering the

name of Rāma buried in an ant-hill! This is quite a novel picture of Rādhā constructed to fit in with the mode of worship stressed in the *Ekaśaraṇa* system. This poem may also be looked upon as symbolising a protest against the varied Rādhā cults that prevailed in different parts of contemporary India.

11. Idol-worship does not occupy any prominence in the *Ekaśaraṇa* system. In performing all official religious ceremonies, a sacred book (esp. the *Bhāgavata* in Śaṅkara's translation) is placed on a pedestalled tray, and offerings and homage are paid to it as to the Lord. Even in the principal Vaiṣnavite shrines, a sacred book is always placed on the Lord's throne. The adoration of the sacred book is a feature, amongst all the various religious sects of India, only of the Shikhs. In the absence of any other point of correspondence between Assam Vaiṣṇavism and Shikhism, it does not appear that this custom should have been borrowed from the Shikhs. The present writer has no information whether the worship of sacred books characterises any school of Southern Vaiṣṇavism. But Rāmānuja's commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra, *Śāstra-yonitvāt* (V. S. I. 1. 3), which has been summarised as *Śāstra pramāṇa sambodhyam Brahma*,—the Brahman can be understood only through the Scripture, may, in some way, be looked upon as influencing the deification of sacred books.

12. Śaṅkara Deva was a Kāyastha (a Śūdra), but he counted some of the most prominent Brahmin scholars of his time amongst his immediate disciples. To the first batch of Brahmin followers he gave the *nāma-mantra* himself. They bowed to the sacred book placed on a tray. Later on when a good number was converted, he entrusted the task of giving *mantra* to the Brahmins to his family priest Rām Rām guru. Śaṅkara's practice was hotly challenged by hostile Brahmin Pandits. How could a Śūdra give *mantra* to Brahmins? But the reply of Śaṅkara and his Brahmin associates was that a Śūdra was debarred from giving Vedic *mantras* only to Brahmins. There was no injunction against a Śūdra giving *nāma-mantra* to any person. According to the *Varṇāśrama dharma*, each social order had its own allotted duties but in reciting and communicating the name of the Lord, there were no scriptural injunctions curbing any order's liberty. In other respects, the status of the Brahmins as custodians of the sacred lore and as entitled to perform religious rites and ceremonies was liberally recognised, nor were the Brahmins as a class anywhere denounced in his writings and teachings. He, however, like Manavala Mahamuni of the South (RAJAGOPALA CHARIAR: p. 105), rejected caste-superiority as a

ground of respect among men otherwise equally venerable "as lovers of God." "Why need one be a Brahmin," says Śaṅkara, "who devoutly recites the name of Kṛsna? He might be a cāṇḍāla, but he is far superior to any man who is not attached to the name of Hari." Rāmānuja's offer to partake of the leavings of Kanchipurna, a Śūdra's meal, does not shew that he had any great regard for the sanctity of caste as such.

13. While in certain schools of Northern Vaiṣṇavism the free congregational mixing of men and women devotees has been regarded as a fruitful source of religious abuses, the position of women in Assam and Southern Vaisnavism stands out as unique. It has been said of Rāmānuja that "women were never permitted to mix with men in devotion or abandon their usual house-hold duties much less to assume the character of nuns" (RAJAGOPALA CHARIAR : p. 113). In *Ekaśaraṇa* system there are *Kevalīyā* monks but there are no nuns. In the religious gatherings of men, women are not allowed. They carry on their devotional chantings in the courtyards of the temples in a separate group, and that too not simultaneously. It has even been said that Śaṅkara never gave any *nāma mantra* to women. But this point has now been slighly relaxed.

14. There are a few other points of minor resemblance which, considered by themselves, seem to be merely fortuitous and yet which, viewed in the light of the contexts of the previous sections, may seem to be significant. Śaṅkara Deva even during his life-time was venerated as an incarnation of Visnu, yet *guru-worship* in the form in which it prevails in certain systems of Northern Vaisnavism is remarkably absent from the Assamese system. Alone amongst all the founders of religious sects in India, Śaṅkara enjoyed the unique honorific title of *Mahāpurusa* even amongst his contemporaries. Hence the popular name of Śaṅkara's Vaiṣṇavism is *Mahāpuruṣīyā*. Different saints of India had different honorific titles. Caitanya was called *Mahāprabhu*, the saints of Shikhism were called *gurus*, Tulsidas was called *Gosvami* and so on. *Mahāpuruṣa* is not a very popular word to be used in an honorific sense. It is said that Yamunācharyya of Southern India composed a work named *Mahāpuruṣa Nirṇaya*, now lost. Might this designation also like Kevalīyā come from the South?—Saint Satagopa of the South is the author of a *Thousand* Tamil songs. Mādhava Deva, the apostolic successor of Śaṅkara Deva, at Śaṅkara's bidding composed a religious poem called *Hāzāri Ghoṣā*, the book of a *Thousand Ghoṣās* or stanzas. Rāmānuja lived up to 120 years.

There are two views about the age of Śaṅkara Deva. According to one view, he lived 105 years, according to another he lived 120 years.

15. Śaṅkara had numerous biographers. Amongst them two are Brahmins. But the most curious fact is the total silence on the part of all the biographers about who the *guru* of Śaṅkara was, or wherefrom he derived his system. Śaṅkara Deva also in his voluminous writings has nowhere made any reference to the source of his illumination. But one of his biographers, Ramananda Dvija represents Śaṅkara as saying to one of his followers that after he had visited the the temple of Jagannāth at Puri, he resolved not to bow that head of his down before any other God which was once bowed before the image of Jagannāth. This may lead on to the supposition that Puri was the scene of Śaṅkara's illumination. Centuries ago Rāmānuja had visited Puri and established a *mutt* at a place called Kūrmasthāna. Puri is the great cosmopolitan centre of various Vaiṣṇavite sects. It may be surmised that during his sojourn at Puri in his long pilgrimage, he came deeply under the influence of some teacher of Southern Vaiṣnavism and received the fundamental ideas of the Southern system which he later developed in the light of other Vaiṣṇavite texts. The *prāpatti* of the South passes for *śaraṇa* in Assam.

In the absence of personal knowledge about the ritualistic aspects of Southern Vaiṣṇavism, this paper is designed to raise a question rather than solve it

BIBLIOGRAPHY :

R. G. BHANDARKAR : *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Other Minor Religious Systems, 1913.*

S. K. AIYANGAR : *Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in Southern India, 1920.*

S. K. AIYANGAR : *Śrī Rāmānujācharya* (Natesan & Co.).

T. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR: *The Vaiṣṇavite Reformers of India, 1909.*

H.C. RAY CHOWDHURY: *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, 1920.*

NATESAN & Co. : *Śaṅkara Deva*, (in *Chaitanya to Vivekānanda, 1928*).

Hādhōkht Nask

By

Ervad M. F. Kanga, Bombay

Introduction :

The Yashts *XXI* and *XXII* or Yasht Fragments are commonly known amongst the Parsis as the Hādhōkht Nask, which is a mere fragment made up of three not consecutive frakarts, although their context does not correspond to any part of the description of that Nask as described in the monumental work, the *Dēnkart*, the Encyclopædia of Zoroastrianism. The name Hādhōkht occurs in the Avesta in the form 'Hadhaokhta' i.e. 'together with that which is spoken' as the name of certain Avestan texts collected in the *XX* th or Hādhōkht Nask. The Yashts *XXI*, *XXII* as given by Westergaard, Sarosh Yasht Hādhōkht, and Āfrīngān ı Gāsānbār are traditionally supposed to belong to this Nask.[1] The Yasht *XXI* forms the first chapter of this Nask dealing with the praise of Ashem Vohu,[2] which is among the most frequently used of the Avestan prayers. Though most frequently used in the ritual it is certainly not of the same sanctity as the Yathā Ahu Vairyō. Darmesteter well remarked that "Yasht *XXI* is a eulogy of the Ashem Vohu prayer, the value of which rises higher and higher, according as the circumstances under which it is being recited are of greater importance."[3] Similar, though not identical, is the remark of Haug when he says very finely that "the larger or smaller amount of merit, resulting from repeating this prayer depends upon the time and occasion when it is done."[4]

The Yasht *XXII* styled as Yasht Fragments by Westergaard, forms the second and the third Fragards of the Hādhōkht Nask (§§ 1-36). The rest of the Sections of the Third Fragard, viz. Sec. 37-38, Sec. 39-40, Sec. 41-42 respectively are separated by me into three other subfragments from the view-point of their subject-matter. These Second and Third Fragards describe the Zoroastrian Conception of Eschatology, the ancient Iranian doctrine of a Future Life. Among the nations of antiquity there seems to have been

---

1. Cf. Geldner *G. Ir. Ph.* II. 20.
2. For translation and comment, see *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian* by Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Part I. p. 152-161.
3. See S. B. E. Vol. XXIII. p. 311.
4. See Haug's *Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*, p. 217.

none that had a more clearly developed system of eschatology, a firmer conviction of the immortality of the soul, and a surer belief in Resurrection and Tan-i Pasēn,[5] than had the ancient Iranians as far as we can judge from Avesta and Pahlavi literature. The doctrine of a life eternal for the soul and the ultimate regeneration of the world when all things shall have come to an end, is one of the characteristic features in Zarathushtra's teachings. As regards the fate of the soul immediately after death, the Gāthās do not provide us with a detailed picture. It is only the Later Avestan writing which embodies several passages explicitly describing how the wicked or the righteous soul is believed to hover near its earthly tenement for three days and three nights before it passes to the *Judicium Particulare*. There are many allusions to the sojourn of the spirit from this world to the one beyond in the Zoroastrian scriptures. The typical passage is found in the Hādhōkht Nask (Yasht *XXII*. 1-36).[6] The Pahlavi Texts such as Mēnōk-i Khrat, Dātistān-i Dēnīk and the Grand Bundahishn, not only paraphrase the Avestan material with elaborate details, but also contribute some novel ideas concerning the said subject.

The fate of the soul after death and the individual judgment are themes favourite in Zoroastrian texts. For the first three nights after death the soul hovers about the lifeless frame and experiences joy or sorrow according to the actions performed in this life below (§ 1-6 and 19-24). On the dawn of the fourth day after death, the romantic journey of the soul begins and its voyage into the hereafter is described in allegorical and picturesque words. We can scarcely say how old its material is. On the one side it touches the Gāthās, with which it is truly one in spirit; on the other it comes near to the Pahlavi Vision of Ardā Vīrāf, the Parsi analogue of the "Apocalypse of Peter" and similar predecessors of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The soul takes flight from earth amidst the waftings of a perfumed breeze or stifled by a blast of miasma, according as the individual has been righteous or wicked. It is then met either by a beautiful maiden or a hideous hag. The image in either case is a reflection of a man's former life and Daēnā[7] (§ 7-14, 25-32).

---

5. Lit. the Future Body. For further details see my *Philosophy of Zamyāt Yasht*.

6. Compare *Vīshtāsp-Sāst Nask Fragard* VIII. § 53-64; see my article *A Critical Estimate of Vīshtāsp Yasht*.

7. On the concept fo the Term Daēnā in the Avesta, see my *Dēn Yasht* (Yasht XVI).

The soul thus arrives at the Chinvat Bridge,[8] the Bridge of judgment or the Bridge of the separator as Prof. JACKSON calls it. The individual judgment now takes place in the presence of the three Yazatas, Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu. These are the joint assessors before whom the life account is rendered, and the good and bad respectively are weighed in the balance. After the individual judgment has taken place, descriptions portray the progress of the righteous man on the spirit-journey through the mansions of Humata, Hūkhta, Hvarshta. (§ 15-18). At last the soul of the righteous enters into Heaven, the place of Eternal Light, 'anaghra raochāo', or the blissful Garō-nmāna.[9] In sharp anti-thesis to this is the frightful descent of the wicked soul through the grades of Evil Thoughts, Evil Words and Evil Deeds into the Pandemonium. This scene of the frightful torment, which rivals Dante's Inferno is the abode of the Druj, Drujō-demāna, the dwelling of the Worst Thought or the Worst Life-it is Hell (§33-36). These two fragards are a study in contrast and furnish a curious double vocabulary of the Avesta with one word for Ohrmazdian being and another for Ahrimanian being.

Translation of the Hādhōkht Nask :

Fargard I : (1) Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent spirit, Creator of the corporeal world, Thou Holy One! Wherein alone of Thy word (is contained) the revelation of all good things, of all things containing the seed of Asha ?' (2) Him answered Ahura Mazdā : 'In the praise of Asha (i. e. Ashem Vohu), O Zarathushtra !' (3) 'He who recites Ashem Vohu[10] readily with an anxious mind and with a devoted heart, praises me, Ahura Mazdā, praises the water, praises the earth, praises the cattle, praises the trees, praises all the good creation of Mazdā the seed of Asha.' (4) 'This truly-spoken hymn (of Ashem Vohu) [or the hymn Ahuna-Vairya], properly-intoned, O Zarathushtra! indeed, increases strength and victory in the soul and heart of the reciter.' (5) 'One recital of Ashem Vohu or a single act of propitiation of the righteous, O Spitama Zarathushtra, is verily worth a hundred sleep-prayers, a

8. For further details, see *Chinvat-peretu* by Dr. H. LOMMEL in *Sir Jivanji Mody Memorial Volume*, p. 265. Chinvat is perhaps rather "exactor"; Chinvato-peretu means the bridge or passage-way of the exactor, connected with Chaēnā "exaction". The translation "separator" requires vi-chay. NYBERG connects Chinvat with Sanskrit Ciketi, Cinoti "look towards".

9. Lit. Abode of Song, paradise.

10. Lit. praises righteousness.

thousand prayers for eating meals and ten thousand recitals whatsoever at the departure of life from the body.' (6) (Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda :[11]) 'What is the one recital of Ashem Vohu which is worth ten other recitals of Ahem Vohu in greatness, goodness and excellence?' (7) Him answered Ahura Mazdā : 'O Holy Zarahushtra! that (one recital of Ashem Vohu) indeed (is worth ten others) when a man at the time of partaking recites Ashem Vohu to both Khurdat and Amartāt[12] by professing good thought, good word and good deed and by renouncing wicked thought, wicked word and wicked deed.' (8) (Zarathushtra interrogated Ahura Mazdā :[11]) 'What is the one recital of Ashem Vohu which is worth a hundred other recitals of Ashem Vohu in greatness, goodness and excellence? (9) Him responded Ahura Mazda: 'O Holy Zarathushtra! that (one recital of Ashem Vohu) verily, (is worth a hundred others) when a man after having drunk the squeezed Haoma-juice recites Ashem Vohu by professing good thought, good word and good deed and by renouncing wicked thought, wicked utterance and wicked action.' (10) (Zarathushtra questioned Ahura Mazdā :[11]) 'What is the one recital of Ashem Vohu which is worth a thousand other recitals of Ashem Vohu in greatness, goodness and excellence? (11) Ahura Mazda replied him: 'O Holy Zarathushtra! that (one recital of Ashem Vohu) in fact, (is worth a thousand others) when a man changing the side after awaking from sleep and falling asleep again recites Ashem Vohu by professing good thought, good word and good deed and by renouncing wicked thought, wicked utterance and wicked action.' (12) (Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda :[11]) 'What is the one recital of Ashem Vohu which is worth ten thousand other recitals of Ashem Vohu in greatness, goodness and excellence? (13) Ahura Mazda answered him: 'O Holy Zarathushtra! that (one recital of Ashem Vohu) truly (is worth ten thousand others) when a man waking up and rising from sleep recites Ashem Vohu by professing good thought, good word and good deed and by relinquishing wicked thought, wicked utterance and wicked action.' (14) (Zarathushtra interrogated Ahura Mazdā :[11]) 'What is the one recital of Ashem Vohu which is worth this entire region Khvaniratha

11. Inserted by the present writer from the context. Text omits.

12. Haurvatāt, lit. wholeness, perfection, Salvation. This divinity is always mentioned in connection with Ameretāt, which means lit. 'immortality'. In later Zoroastrianism Haurvatāt and Ameretāt preside over the health-giving waters and trees respectively. The pair seem to symbolize the waters of health and the tree of life.

(inhabited) with cattle, with chariots[13] and with men, in greatness, goodness and excellence ?' (15) Him responded Ahura Mazdā : O Holy Zarathushtra, that (one recital of Ashem Vohu) indeed (is worth the entire region Khvaniratha) when a man at the last end of life recites Ashem Vohu by professing good thought, good word and good deed and by forsaking wicked thought, wicked utterance and wicked action.' (16) (Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazdā:[11]) ' What is the one recital of Ashem Vohu which is worth all this that is between the earth and the sky, this earth and those luminaries and all good (things) created by Mazdā, the seeds of Asha, in grandeur, goodness and excellence ?' (17) Him replied Ahura Mazdā : ' O Holy Zarathushtra ! that (one recital of Ashem Vohu) verily (is worth all that is between the earth and the sky) when one turns away from wicked thoughts, wicked words and wicked deeds.'

Fragard II :—(1) Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda, Most Beneficent Spirit, Creator of the corporeal world, Thou Holy one ! When a righteous one dies, where does his soul abide that night ?'

(2) Thereupon Ahura Mazda answered : 'It takes its seat near the head, chanting the Ushtavaiti Gāthā, proclaiming happiness : Happiness unto him, happiness unto any one whomsoever, Ahura Mazda, ruling-at-will, shall grant.[14] On that night (his) soul experiences as much joy as all that which (he experienced as) a living being.'

(3) (Zarathushtra interrogated Ahura Mazda :) ' Where does his soul abide on the second night ?'

(4) Same as para 2.

(5) (Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazdā :) 'Where does his soul abide on the third night ?'

(6) Same as paras 2 and 4 respectively.

(7) ' At the end of the third night, when the dawn appears the soul of the righteous man seems to be among plants, and to be inhaling fragrant odours. There seems to blow towards him, from the region of the south, a sweet scented wind, more sweet-scented than all others.

(8) ' Then the soul of the righteous man seems to inhale this wind with the nose, (and reflects) : 'Whence blows this wind, which is the most fragrant wind I ever inhaled with (my) nostrils ? '

13. Mat rathem. Pahlavi. Apāk ras. Is it the corrupted form of Mat arethem ? Av. aretha, Skt. artha-means affair, matter, business, desire.' Ms. K20 mat-rathwem, rathwem means (i) judge, (ii) an epoch, period, fixed time.

14. A quotation from Yasna Hā 43, first chapter of II Gāthā.

(9) At the approach of this wind, there appears to him his own 'Daēnā' in the shape of a maiden beautiful, shining, white-armed, robust, of fine appearance, erect, high-breasted, of beautiful body, noble, of glorious lineage, fifteen years old in appearance, as beautiful in form as the most beautiful[15] of creatures.

(10) Then the soul of the righteous man addressed, asking: 'What damsel art thou, whom I have ever seen as the most beautiful of damsels in form?'

(11) Then to him his own 'Daēnā' replied: 'O Thou youth of good thought, good word, good deed, of good conscience, I am the "Daēnā" of thine own self'. (The youth speaks:) 'and who is it that had loved thee for that greatness, goodness, excellence, fragrance, victorious might, fitness for overcoming enemies, as thou appearest unto me?'

(12) (The Maiden answers:) 'O youth of good thought, good word, good deed, of good conscience, it is thou that hast loved me for such greatness, goodness, excellence, fragrance, victorious might, fitness for overcoming enemies, as I appear unto thee.'

(13) 'When thou sawest another performing burning (of the dead) and idol-worship, indulging in loquacity, and cutting down trees,[16] then thou wouldst sit down, chanting the Gāthās, worshipping the good Waters and Fire of Ahura Mazdā, and propitiating the pious man coming from near and from afar.'

(14) 'Then owing to this good thought, good word and good deed (of thine), (thou madest) me being loveable, still more loveable, (thou madest) me sitting in a high place, sitting in a still higher place.' (Ahura Mazdā speaks:) 'Then men will hereafter worship me, Ahura Mazdā, with permanent worship, the permanently consulted.'[17]

(15) 'The soul of the righteous man advanced with a first step, (which) placed (him) in the Good-Thought-Paradise; the soul of the righteous man advanced with the second step (which) placed (him) in the Good-Word-Paradise, the soul of the righteous man advanced

---

15. Sraēshtāish, instrumental pl. of Sraēshta Prof. SCHWYZER in his essay on "*Die Sogenannte missbrauchlichen Instrumentale im Avesta*" ingeniously shows that this termination—āish is not at all the instrumental suffix, but an abbreviated form of the genitive plural-aisham and its nominative-accusative use is to be explained as partitive-genitive.

16. Names of sinful actions, the meanings of which are not clear. The word varakhedhra is found in *Vishtāshp Yasht*, 37, 59 as vakhedhra. If this reading is to be followed, the word means discourse, cf. Skt. vaktra.

17. hām-parshtemcha, abridged for dareghō-hām-parshtemcha. See BARTHOLOMAE, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 17. 112 seq.

with the third step (which) placed (him) in the Good-Deed-Paradise; the soul of the righteous man advanced with the fourth step (which) placed (him) in the Endless Lights.'[18]

(16) The righteous who had previously departed addressed him asking: 'How, O righteous one! didst thou pass away? How, O righteous one! didst thou come away from the abodes, rich in cattle,[19] full of aspirations and enjoyments of love,[20] from the corporeal world to the spititual world, from the perishable world to the imperishable one? How long was thy felicity?'

(17) Thereupon spoke Ahura Mazdā: 'Ask him not whom thou askest (because he has come) from the dreary path, full of distress and difficulty, after the separation of body and consciousness.'

(18) 'Of the food brought to him (is the celestial food) of Zaremaya Raoghna.[21] This is the food, after death, of a youth of good thought, of good word, of good deed, of good conscience. This is (also) the food, after death for a woman, richer in good thoughts, richer in good words, richer in good deeds, easy-to-be-governed, submissive and righteous.'

Fragard III:—(19) Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazdā: 'O Ahura Mazdā, most Beneficent Spirit, creator of the corporeal world, Thou Holy One! When a wicked one dies, where does his soul abide that night?'

(20) Thereupon Ahura Mazdā replied. 'There, indeed, in the vicinity of the head, O Holy Zarathushtra! it runs about chanting the hymn of the Kimā Gāthā:[22] "To what land, O Ahura Mazdā! shall I go to flee, whither to flee?" During that night the soul experiences as much unhappiness as all that which (he experienced as) a living being.'

(21) (Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazdā:) 'Where does his soul abide on the second night?'

---

18. i. e. paradise.

19. Gaomavaitibyascha. See Vīshtāsp Yasht. § 62. gaomavant-adj. 'provided with milk'.

20. Vayavaitibyascha (BARTH.) Variant, Vayaēibyascha, Māyavaitibyascha, doubtful. BARTH translates Māyavant-adj by "where co-habitations or pairings take place." DARMESTETER says "pertaining to love." Cf. Yasna Hā 43. 2. Māyāo which is translated by KANGA "wealth," by GELDNER "pleasures," by the Pahlavi Versionist "patmān mēnishn" i. e. moderate thought.

21. i. e. nectar, ambrosia. BARTHOLOMAE (Air Wb. 144) translates "spring-butter" partitive genitive used as subject.

22. Reference to Yasna Hā 46. 1 commencing with words kām nemōizām etc. the Gāthā of despair and dejection. According to DARMESTETER kimā is an adjectival form of kām.

(22) Same as para 20.

(23) (Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazdā :) Where does his soul abide on the third night ?'

(24) See para 20.

(25) At the end of the third night, O Holy Zarathushtra ! when the dawn appears, the soul of the wicked man seems to be amid frost and to be inhaling miasma. There seems to blow towards him from the region of the North, from the regions of the North a foul-smelling wind, more foul-smelling than all others.

(26) Then the soul of the wicked man seems to inhale this wind with the nose (and reflects) : 'Whence blows this wind which is the foulest wind I ever inhaled with my nostrils ?'

(27)[23] At the approach of this wind, there appears to him his own Daēnā in the shape of a Jahika ugly, naked, with exposed thighs in front and buttocks behind, deformed, as ugly in form as the ugliest of creatures.

(28) Then the soul of the wicked man addressed her, asking : 'What Jahika art thou, whom I have ever seen as the ugliest of Jahikas in form ?'

(29) Then to him his own Daēnā replied : 'O thou youth of wicked thought, wicked word, wicked deed, of wicked conscience, I am the conscience of Thine own self.' (The youth speaks :) 'And who is it that hath loved thee for that ugliness, corruption, putrefaction, stench, defeated strength, weakness to overcome the enemy as I appear unto thee.'

(30) (The Jahika answers :) 'O youth of evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds, of evil conscience it is thou that hast loved me for such ugliness, corruption, putrefaction, stench, defeated strength, weakness to overcome the enemy as I appear unto thee.'

(31) 'When thou sawest another chanting the Gāthās and worshipping the good waters and the Fire of Ahura Mazdā and propitiating the pious man coming from near and from afar, then thou wouldst sit down performing burning (of the dead) and idol-worship, indulging in loquacity and hewing down trees.

(32) 'So me, unloveable, (thou madest) still more unloveable, me being ugly, (thou madest) still uglier me being lamentable

23. The full Avestan text is here missing All the editors abbreviate §§ 27–33 and recommence the text from the word tūirim in § 33, but this is supplied by Ervad Tehmurasp Anklesaria in his Yashts. But its contents as being quite opposite of Fragard II. 9–14 could easily be restored from these sources by using antonyms which are found in the Vendidād. **For the first time these missing sections are translated by me.**

(thou madest) still more lamentable; me being sitting in a backward place, (thou madest) sitting in a still backward place.' (Augra Mainya speaks :) 'These (are thy) wicked thoughts, these (are thy) wicked words, these (are thy) wicked deeds. Then the wicked will hereafter worship me, Augra Mainyu, the long-worshipped one and the one whose evil communion is sought.'

(33) The soul of the wicked man advanced with a first step (which) placed (him) in the Wicked-Thought Hell. The soul of the wicked man advanced with the second step (which) placed him in the Wicked-Word-Hell. The soul of the wicked man advanced with the third step (which) placed (him) in the Wicked-Deed-Hell. The soul of the wicked man advanced with the fourth step (which) placed him in the (abyss of) Infinite Darkness.[24]

(34) To him addressed a wicked one, previously departed asking : 'How, O wicked one, didst thou die ? How, O wicked one, didst thou come away from the abodes full of cattle and full of passions and enjoyments of love, from the corporeal world to the spiritual world, from the perishable world to the imperishable one ? How long was thy misery ?'

(35) Augra Mainyu howled out : 'Ask him not what thou askest because he has come from the dreadful, wretched parting way, after the separation of body and consciousness.'

(36) Of the food brought unto him (are some) from poison and poisonous stench. That is the food after death for a youth of wicked thought, wicked word, wicked deed, and of wicked conscience. That (also) is the food, after death, for a Jahika of very advanced wicked thoughts, wicked words and wicked deeds.

---

24. i. e. Hell ; antonym of anaghra raochåo.

The Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu

(Its Proto-Indian Origin and Location)

By

A. P. KARMARKAR, Bombay

I

It may seem paradoxical or surprising if one were to assert that the beginnings of Vaiṣnavism can be traced in those of early Śaivism. *Before the recent discoveries in the various sites of Mohenjo Daro,* Chanhu Daro and Harappa, it was almost taken for granted that all the roots of the later Hindu civilisation could be traced mostly to the Vedic period, and that whatever there was in India on the advent of the Aryans was purely of a primitive character. But the above discoveries, including the numerous inscriptions obtained therein, should really change the outlook of modern scholarship. In fact, here we find a repository of knowledge, which may even give us courage in proving that the Aryans, with the exception of their institution of sacrifice or their conceptions regarding the heavenly bodies, possessed very little that could create any sense of awe and inspiration in the minds of the indigenous peoples of India. In view of this their real efforts towards consolidation begin only after their arrival in India It is henceforth that they imbibed the best traditions of the land and tried to give a colouring of their discipline of Vedic ritualism to the same. Eventually they discarded as non-Aryan or *Avaidika* whatever they were unwilling to assimilate or imbibe in their own fold or pantheon. The whole history of Vaiṣṇavism can be said to belong to this sphere of their ingenuity with the aid of which they could militate against any other religious system in India. Eventually we find in Vaisnavism the best of the elements of early Śaivism, the cult of the Ābhīras and that of the Bhrgus, Rāma, Buddha and others. We, however, propose to deal here with the earliest aspect of this religion which is revered by thousands of Hindus to-day.

II *The Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu*

In one of his writings the Rev. H. HERAS, S.J., points out that the idea of Matsyāvatāra of Viṣnu is a direct borrowing from that of the proto-Indian cult of Āṇ. However, two exploits are attributed to Viṣṇu in this connection, e. g. the saving of Manu from the great Deluge; and, secondly the taking out of the Vedas from the clutches of Hayagrīva or some other demon, who had stolen the same away

into the depths of the sea. The first account is narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[1] the *Mahābhārata*,[2] the *Matsya*,[3] the *Bhāgavata*[4] and other *Purāṇas*. The second account is detailed in the *Bhāgavata*[5] and some of the other *Purāṇas*. The first exploit consists of saving Manu or Satyavrata Manu, and is said to have taken place either in Northern or Southern India. The second is described as having taken place in Prayāga and other places. Without going into the *pros* and *cons* of the question regarding the correctness of the details of these variant versions, we may say that our main purpose shall be served if we just try to locate the country in which the fish-emblem of god Śiva (Āṇ) was originally worshipped, and which thus must have been responsible for giving a currency in regard to the exploits of this god.

(*a*) *The Country of the Mīnas*

The Indus Valley inscriptions have given us an interesting clue in regard to the original home of the Mīnas or the Matsyas of later times. They speak of the Northern and the Southern Mīnas.[6] Before this, mostly depending on the later Purānic versions, scholars in the field of Research used to locate the same somewhere in the midland of India. But in our opinion, the original habitat of this proto-Indian tribe can be located in Northern India, e. g. somewhere roundabout the Harappa site, wherein part of the Indus Valley discoveries are made.

We think that the following grounds are enough to arrive at such a conclusion :

(i) The *Viṣṇudharma Purāṇa*[7] states that the countries of the Trigartas, Mīnas and the Kaulutas are situated in the north-eastern direction of India. Thus the country of the Mīnas, according to this version, was just adjacent to the territory of the Trigartas, whose original home was situated round-about Lahore.

(ii) The *Rāmāyaṇa*[8] refers to the forest Bhāruṇḍavana of the Northern Matsyas (Uttarān Vīra-Matsyānām) and locates it to the north of the River Sarasvatī.

1. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 8.
2. *Mahābhārata*, *Vana Parva*, Ch. LXXXVII.
3. *Matsya*, P. Ch. I.
4. *Bhāgavata* P. Sk. VIII, Adh. XXIV.
5. *Muir's Sanskrit Texts*, p. 39, f. n.
6. H. Heras, Mohenjo Daro, The People and the Land *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, 4 p. 708.
7. *Viṣṇu Dharma Purāṇa*, Adh. 10, V. 10.
8. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 71, 5.

(iii) The *Mahābhārata*[9] describes that the Dvaitavana is situated to the North of the R. Sarasvatī. This Dvaitavana, however, seems to be the same as the Bhāruṇḍavana of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, especially in view of the fact that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the Matsya King as 'Dhvasan Dvaitavanam!'[10]

Thus from the above data one may safely come to the conclusion that the original territory of the Matsyas was located between the Forest called either as Bhāruṇḍavana or Dvaitavana, situated to the North of the R. Sarasvatī, and the country of the Trigartas, which was originally situated round-about Lahore. It is not impossible that the country could have even extended far into the interior, though to what extent we do not know. If this be correct then the Harappa site also must have formed part of the same. It should also be noted in this connection, that the *Viṣṇudharma P.* uses the word 'Mīna' as against 'Matsya', which is also the reading of the Indus Valley inscriptions as deciphered by the Rev. H. HERAS, S.J.

(b) The Totem of the Mīnas

As Father HERAS has pointed out the earliest inhabitants of India were totem-worshippers, and that they derived their tribal names from their respective totems. The totem of the tribe of the Mīnas was evidently the Fish. The Indus Valley inscriptions also indicate that the Mīna was further identified with Ān, the proto-type of the historic god Śiva. The following inscriptions may elucidate the point better:

"The Supreme Being of the Mīnas."[11]

"The three eyes of the Great Fish"[12]

"The three Fish eyes."[13]

The Purāṇas also wonderfully corroborate the above version of the Indus Valley inscriptions. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*[14] describes that the Lord of Cupid installed the image of the Fish-emblem of Śiva on the Manikūta Mt. in Assam. Further, in one of the passages of the *Skānda Purāṇa*[15] Śiva is addressed to as "To Mīna, to the Lord

9. *Mahābhārata*, III, 177.

10 *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, XIII, 5, 4, 9.

11. H HERAS, The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. V, pp. 4 ff.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Kālikā Purana*, Adh. 82, 2 ff.

15. *Skānda Purāna*, *Māheśvara* Kh., *Ke. Kh.* Adh 17.

तस्मिंस्त्रिनेत्रा मत्स्याश्च दृश्यंतेऽद्यापि भामिनि ॥ अ. २२५, २ ॥

Cf. also त्रिनेत्रा मत्स्यका यत्र जलं स्फटिकसन्निभम् ॥ अ. २७५, २ ॥

of the Mīna (or Mīnas)". The same Purāṇa[16] also once refers to the 'Three-eyed Fish.' Thus the Purāṇic traditions also help us in proving the interconnection of Śiva and the Fish-God

(*c*) *The Exploits of the Fish and the Country of the Mīnas*

If the above conclusions be correct, namely, that the worship of the Fish-emblem of god Ān (Śiva) was prevalent in the country of the Mīnas, which was situated in Northern India, and that all this belonged to the pre-Vedic period, then we should be really in a position to prove that the version of the exploits of the Fish-god also must have arisen in this land alone.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* should really help us in solving the above problem. In fact, the account of the flood-story detailed in it is the earliest in world literature, or as Vaidyanatha AYYAR describes it 'the Parent Flood Legend.[17] It narrates that a Fish saved Manu from the Flood (Aughah) and that it took him to the Northern Mountain. The following passages are important from the historical point of view

तमेवं भृत्वा समुद्रमभ्यवजहार । स यतिथीं तत्समां परिदिदेश ततिथीं समां नावमुपकल्प्योपासांचक्रे सऽऔघ उत्थिते नावमापेदे तं स मत्स्य उपन्यापुप्लुवे तस्य शृङ्गे नावः पाशं प्रतिमुमोच तेनैतमुत्तरं गिरिमतिदुद्राव ॥ ५ ॥

स होवाच । अपीपरं वै त्वा वृक्षे नावं प्रतिबध्नीष्व तं तु त्वा मा गिरौ सन्तमुदकमन्तश्छैत्सीद् यावद्यावदुदकं समवायात्तावत्तावदन्ववसर्पासीति स ह तावत्तावदेवान्ववससर्प तदप्येतदुत्तरस्य गिरेर्मनोरवसर्पणमित्यौघो ह ताः सर्वाः प्रजा निरुवाहाथेह मनुरेवैकः परिशिशिषे ॥ ६ ॥[15]

Both the *Atharva Veda*[19] and the *Mahābhārata*[20] agree in describing that the spot where the bark was tied down was situated on the Himalaya Mountain. But even they fail to trace the exact location. However Dr. A. C. DAS seems to be correct when he tries to locate the same in Kashmere. He says · "there is some indication in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the situation of the region named Ilā There it has been stated that Manu at the time of the great Deluge sailed in his ship northward from the shores of the southern ocean, and his bark having been stranded on the "Northern Mountain," i. e. the Himalaya, he disembarked and landed on firm ground on the mountain. Here he met a beautiful damsel, named

16. *Skānda P. Prabhāsa-khanda.*

17. A. S. Vaidyanātha AYYAR. The Flood Legend of the East, *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. II. p. 14.

18. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 8.

19. *Atharvaveda*, XIX, 39, 7-8.

20. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, p. 218 f. n.

Iḷā, who described herself as his daughter. It is very probable that this was the region (situated in Kashmere) called Iḷā, in the Rigveda, and if our surmise be correct, it was situated on the Himalaya and regarded as one of the best countries, known to the ancient Aryans."[21]

Thus, though we need not go into the details of the problem regarding the age of the flood, still it is clear that both the exploits of the Fish refer to its oceanic activities. It is a well-known fact that the early portions of the Vedas were composed in the land of the five Rivers. And the Fish that snatches away the Vedas from the clutches of the demon is responsible even for saving Manu and landing him in Kashmere, which is situated at a near distance from the original home of the Mīnas. Indeed, it seems to be true that both the accounts refer to matters of great consequence. Is it possible that the land of the five rivers was once overflooded, so much so that the cultures of both this mighty proto-Indian nation as well as that of the Vedic people came to an end simultaneously—thus making place for a new era, namely that of the Brāhmaṇas?

If this be so, then it is probable that just after the flood subsided both the exploits were attributed to the Fish, the original God of the Mīnas. e. g. that it saved the humanity in Northern India from the great calamity, and that it also saved the Vedas, which seem to have been in a written form then—a fact which becomes clear from the existence of the proto-Indian script. The legend then travelled both in the Southern and the Northern directions, and was thus later responsible for the Chaldean and the Jewish legends as well.

As time went on the legend of the Fish underwent three different stages of transformation in India. In the first stage the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* deprives it of the proto-Indian character of the Divinity which was originally identified with the Fish. In the second, the Fish stands identified with Brahmā in the *Mahābhārata* (as Father HERAS would suggest it). Finally, in the third stage, the advocates of Vaiṣṇavism attribute all the doings of the Fish to their supreme God Viṣṇu, the Preserver of the universe.

---

21. A. C. DAS, *Rigvedic India*, p. 59.

Prakrit Ucciḍima and Uuccuḍai

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona

The Sanskrit root **cṛ-*, postulated by Professor Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI[1] in his discussion of the translation compound *tuṇḍi-cela-* formed the basis of my own discussion on the origin of Ardhamāgadhī *caḍagara-*.[2] I was interested in tracing further formations of this base in both Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. As a result of my investigations I find that although the base **cṛ* or **cṛ-* has not been very productive, the different treatments of vocalic *ṛ* in MI-A. as an *a*, *i* or *u*, have resulted in certain back formations in Sanskrit.

It has already been demonstrated by Professor CHATTERJI that this base **cṛ-* in the form **cṛta-*is the origin from which Skr. *caṭa-*, *ceṭa-*, *ceḍa-*, and *cela-* and MI-A. *cāṭa-* and *caṭṭa-* are derived. The relation between *caṭa-* and *ceṭa-* is almost parallel to that between Skr. *gṛhá-* and *gehá-*; *caṭa-* is the result of the *a*-treatment while *ceṭa-* is the secondary result of the *i*-treatment.

A proof of this *i*-treatment may now be seen in the Prakrit form *ucciḍima-* cited in Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchīnāmamālā*,[3] explained as 'mukka-majjāya' or 'boundless' as BÜHLER takes it.[4] BÜHLER, however, connects Pkr. *ucciḍima* with Skr. *ut* + *caṭ-*.

The semantic relationship between Skr. *caṭ-* and *car-*, anticipated through OI-A. **cṛ-*, may be realised from the following series : *caṭati* reaches, *uccaṭati* reaches above or beyond, goes away, disappears : *cárati* wanders ; *uc-cāṭaḥ* running : *uc-cāráh* discharge, excrement; *uc-cāṭanam* eradicating, causing a person to quit his occupation by means of magical incantations[5] : *uc-cāraṇam* articulation; *uc-cāṭita-* driven away : *uc-cārita-* pronounced; *caṭakaḥ* a sparrow : *cárakaḥ* a wanderer; *caṭu-*, *cāṭu-* pleasing : *cáraṇam* good behaviour.

Now as BÜHLER explains, Skr. *ut* + *caṭ-* gives us this sense of 'boundless', *mukka-majjāya*, but the connection between Pkr. *ucciḍima-* and Skr. *uccaṭ-* can only be understood in the light of OI-A. **cṛta-*.

---

1. Some Etymological Notes, *New Indian Antiquary* 2,421-27.
2. Indo-Arica I, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 1,153-56.
3. Verse 180d, BÜHLER's Edn., *Bezzenberger Beitrage* 4, 104.
4. *Bezzenberger Beiträge* 4, 121.
5. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Samskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899, p. 173,

Further, the Dhātupāṭhas give us Skr. *cuṭati, coṭayati* splits, cuts off, *coṭati* becomes small (and variants *cuṇṭati, cuṇṭayati, cuṇḍati, cuṇḍayati*), *cuṭṭayati* becomes small, *cuḍati* conceals. Formantically none of these roots are very productive, and they may be explained together on the basis of OI-A. **cṛta*-and *cṛt*. Skr. *cuḍ*- and *cuṭ*- are semantically interrelated, 'concealing or hiding' being one aspect of 'making small or scarce'. The remaining bases are only enlargements of these.

Thus Skr. *caṭ*- and *cuṭ*-, *cuḍ*- are back formations into OI-A. from the MI-A. **caṭa*- and **cuṭa*-, **cuḍa*-. Similarly Skr. *ceṭati* 'sends out' (base *ciṭ*-) although formed probably after Skr. *ceṭaḥ*,[6] represents a back formation from MI-A. **ciṭa*- preserved in Pkr. *ucciḍima*-. If one such hypothetical base explains to us the origin of many of these Skr. vocables whose genesis is not clear on the basis of Old Indo-Aryan, but depends only on the Dhātupāṭhas the roots of which when not occurring in Vedic and Classical literature are often suspect, there is all the greater need to subject the whole Skr. vocabulary to a regular examination and separate the back formations, borrowals, etc. from Middle Indo-Aryan.

---

6. *Ibid* p. 395.

Varieties of Viṣṇu Image and the probable Date of their Innovation

By

G. H. KHARE, Poona

In Memoir no. 2, entitled *Varieties of Viṣṇu image* by B. B. BIDYABINOD[1] and in other works also,[2] it has been shown that a single Viṣṇu image can have 24 varieties by the interchange of the conch, the wheel, the mace and the lotus, the four attributes generally shown in Viṣṇu's hands. But no attempt has been made, so far as I know, to fix the period of the introduction of this practice, which I wish to do here, though tentatively.

I have found the varieties of Viṣṇu image dealt with in the following works and I tabulate them here in a chronological order.

	Date in A.D.
(1) *Śrītattvanidhi* (STN)	1794–1868
(2) *Dharmasindhu* (DS)	1790
(3) *Nirṇayasindhu* (NS)	1612
(4) *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* (DMP)	1433 1468
(5) *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (CC)	1260-1275
(6) *Tantrasāra* (TS)	1197-1276
(7) *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* (AC)	1129
(8) *Vṛddhahārīta Smṛti* (VHS)	9th century
(9) *Agni Purāṇa* (AP)	... ...
(10) *Padma Purāṇa* (PP)	... ...

STN is an encyclopaedic work and its author points out the source from which it has extracted the description as '*Pāñcarātre*

1. Published by the Archaeological Survey of India.
2. Elements of Hindu Iconography Vol. I, p. 227; *Mūrtivijñāna* by G. H. KHARE, p. 23.

Kriyāpāde'.[3] But as this is a generic phrase, it does not help us to hunt out the exact work in which we may find the quotation. For instance in the *Nāradapañcarātra*, published in the Bibleotheca Indica (BI) series,[4] though we come across the 24 usual names of Viṣṇu, the 24 varieties of the image are not to be traced. The author of DS explicitly mentions 'the verse of Bopadeva occurring in Sindhu' (NS) as his source for the descriptions of the varieties and cites 13 verses by way of its explanation.[5] The author of NS quotes a verse of Bopadeva as his source, which is just like an aphorism, explains it and concludes his explanation with the remarks that the original is to be found in Hemādri.[6] In the commentary on this sentence, in the edition of NS published in the Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, 12 verses have been given which describe the 24 varieties.[7] One would naturally expect to find these verses in Hemādri; but the verses describing the varieties in the BI edition of CC are found to be entirely different from the former.[8] I have shown elsewhere that the author of DMP has borrowed profusely from earlier works;[9] but I have failed to trace the source for the description of the 24 varieties. The descriptions in CC appear to have been taken from *Siddhārtha-saṃhitā*, a rare work not mentioned even either by SCHRADER in the list given in his book[10] or by Dr. DASGUPTA in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, where he goes on describing several Pañcarātra works in printed and ms. forms.[11] Madhvācārya, in his TS, often bases his statements, it is said, on several Purāṇas, but I cannot trace his source for the description of the varieties.[12] The author of AC has depended for his iconographic material chiefly on the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[13] but the description of the 24 varieties could not be traced to that or any other work. Though the exact date of

3. Published by the Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, S'aka 1823, p. 50.

4. In 1865 A.D., p. 164, 3rd Rātra, 2nd Chapter. I learn that the Venkaṭeśvara Press of Bombay has published a different type of *Pañcarātra*, but I could not get it anywhere in Poona.

5. Poona edition, 1911; p. 256.

6. Published by Sundarmalla Santurama, Bombay, 1892, p. 275. अत्र मूलं हेमाद्रौ ज्ञेयम्.

7. pp. 1236, 1237.

8. Vol II, part 1, p. 114.

9. My article in Marathi in the *Quarterly of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala*, Vol. XVI, p. 77.

10. Introduction to the *Pāñcarātra* and the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, p. 6.

11. Vol III, p. 21.

12. Ch. I, vv. 23–29.

13. *New Indian Antiquary* Vol II, p. 620.

VHS is not known, it is very difficult to place it before the end of the 8th century. About the age of PP and AP, I cannot say any thing definitely. Especially the ritualistic details in both these Purāṇas show that those parts at least are very late in point of date.

One special feature about the descriptions in the last three works, which must be mentioned here, is their connection with other Viṣṇuite tantric rites. Thus the description in AP is preceded by chapters on the worship of Śālagrāma and other Viṣṇuite rites, rituals and daily practices.[14] The description in PP is preceded by the explanations of 12 kinds of purification, 5 kinds of worship and the worship of Śālagrāma.[15] The description in VHS occurs in the details of the worship of Vyūha i.e. of the group of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha together.[16] Moreover VHS describes Viṣṇuite practices with much elaborateness which shows that it is a Viṣṇuite work. It becomes, therefore, evident that the varieties are very closely related to other sectarian Viṣṇuite practices.

The date of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is not finally settled, I believe, but there is a consensus of opinion that it was composed about 900 A. D.[17] It is the most important Viṣṇuite work; still it neither mentions the 24 varieties nor enumerates the 24 names of Viṣṇu which serve as the base for the varieties. *Viṣṇudharmottara* which is generally placed somewhere in the 7th century A. D.[18] deals with image making in extenso; but it does not refer to the 24 varieties as well as the name-group of 24. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is another very important Viṣṇuite work, the date of which is not far from the 6th century.[19] It also does not allude to the 24 names of Viṣṇu in the present order and the 24 varieties of his image based on them. Varāhamihira, who died in 587 A. D.[20] states in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, that the 12 forms of Viṣṇu represented by his first 12 names are the presiding deities of the 12 Hindu months beginning with Mārgaśīrṣa.[21] But he has neither referred to the 24 varieties nor anywhere mentioned the lotus as an attribute of Viṣṇu while describing the 8, 4 and 2 handed images of him and the attributes

14. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series no. 41; chapters 46–48.
15. Ibid *Padma Purāṇa*, Pātāla Khaṇḍa, ch. 78.
16. Ibid no. 48; pp. 329–330.
17. WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 556 and note 3.
18. Ibid p. 580 and S. KRAMRISCH: *Vishṇudharmottara* intro. p. 5.
19. WINTERNITZ, HIL Vol I, p. 545 and note 2.
20. Ibid p. 523, note 2.
21. Ratnagiri edition Ch. 105, vv 14, 15.

pertaining to them.[22] Amara who probably lived in the 4th century A.D.[23] cites in his lexicon 39 names of Viṣṇu among which appear 16 of the 24 name-group. But they are not mentioned in any particular order; much less in the present order. Moreover though he gives Caturbhuja as a name of Viṣṇu, he never refers to a lotus as his attribute.[24]

I tabulate here, in a chronological order, what I have said above[25]:

(1) *Amarakoṣa*	4th century	No ref. to 24 names, 24 varieties and the lotus attribute.
(2) *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*	6th ,,	Ref. to first 12 names; but not to the varieties and the lotus attribute
(3) *Viṣṇupurāṇa*	6th ,,	No ref. to 24 names & varieties
(4) *Viṣṇudharmottara*	7th ,,	,, ,,
(5) *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*	9th ,,	,, ,,

I, therefore, tentatively conclude that though the group of 24 particular names of Viṣṇu may have been formed before the 6th century, the 24 varieties of Viṣṇu image based on that name-group must have come into existence not before the end of the 9th century along with other Viṣṇuite tantric rites, rituals and daily practices which were probably being innovated in that period.[26]

---

22. Ibid Ch. 58, vv. 31-35.
23. K. G. OKA: *Amarakosha* Intro. pp. 8, 9.
24. Ibid text pp. 5-7.
25. A revered friend of mine has brought to my notice that the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* alludes to the first twelve names of the 24 name-group. (Mysore Gov. Orie. Lib. Series, Bible. Sans. No. 34, pp. 235). Prof. KANE opines that this *Dharmasūtra* must be placed somewhere between 500-200 B. C. At the same time he has clearly stated that 'there are many repetitions even in the first two *praśnas* (our reference falls in the second) which, therefore, make one rather doubtful about the authenticity of the first two *praśnas* also in their entirety (*History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I, p. 23). There are other reasons also as to why the particular portion should be treated as an interpolation and irrelevant. I have, therefore, thought it better to exclude the reference altogether.
26. Have these varieties to do anything with the 24 Jaina Tīrthankaras? This is a question which must engage the attention of scholars working in this field.

Cultural Descendants of Rāvaṇa

(The ruler of Laṅkā)

By

M. V. Kibe, Indore

In my two papers[1], I have shown that the struggle between Rāmacandra, the Hero of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Rāvaṇa, the King of Laṅkā, took place on the plateau north of Laṅkā, perched on a peak of the Amarkaṅṭak Mountain. This plateau is situated in the modern State of Rewa. It is now known as the forest of Puṣparaj Gadh. This vast tract of Puṣparaj Gadh is inhabited by a tribe of men called Gonds. Among them are still observed several customs, even such as cannibalism of which mention is found in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, as those of the relations of and followers of Rāvaṇa. He himself seems to have been civilised, although he too was not free from all the customs prevalent among his tribe or tribes.[2]

The several tribes of Gonds who inhabit this tract call themselves as (1) Ravana Vaṁśī (descendants of Rāvaṇa), (2) Banor Vaṁśī (descendants of monkeys), Komar Vaṁśi (descendants of the Kumārs, sons of Rajas) and even Raghu Vaṁśī (descendants of Rāmacandra, evidently of his followers). They are divided amongst these four principal castes. It may be noted that although the family of Rāvaṇa is called after its progenitor as *Sālakatankatā*,[3] he is said to be born of a family of Pulasti Ṛṣi.[4] Amongst the Gonds there are also Gotras which are 23 viz. (1) Rajgagon, (2)

1. Rāvaṇa's Lankā located in Central India, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, (Calcutta) Vol. IV. No. 4, 1938.

2. *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Poona, Vol. VII Part IV.
Rāmāyana (Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore Madras, 1933)
ददर्श गिरिशृङ्गाभं पुरुषादं महास्वनम् ॥ (३–२–४)
विराध इति मामाहु: ॥ पृथिव्यां सर्वराक्षसाः ॥ (३–३–५)
also
रावणावरज: कश्चित्खरो नामेह राक्षसः । (२–११७–११)
धृष्टश्च जितकाशी च नृशंसः पुरुषादक: । (२–११७–१२)
अनेन (कुंभकर्णेन) भक्षिता ब्रह्मन्नृषयो मानुषास्तथा । (७–१०–३८).

3. *Ibid* केनाचित्वथ कालेन राम सालकटङ्कटा । (७–४–२३).

4. *Ibid* पुलस्त्यवंशादुद्भूता राक्षसा इति नः श्रुतम् । (७–४–४)
भज विश्रवसं पुत्रि पौलस्त्यं वरय स्वयम् ॥ (७–९–१२)
दशग्रीव: प्रसूतोऽयं (७–९–३३)

Umrao, (3) Sadharan Gon or Zamidari, (4) Mazi, (5) Vaiga, (6) Moi, (7) Paliha, (8) Panika, (9) Agoria, (10) Kamarai, (11) Pathari, (12) Dharkar, (13) Tavalmanjan, (14) Koir, (15) Biyar, (16) Dusadh, (17) Vind, (18) Raithor, (19) Manaro, (20) Ghasiya, (21) Paviya, (22) Pava, and (23) Kamar. Some of the original names may have undergone some verbal change. Besides these gotras, there are Kulas (families) which are known after the name of the deity they worship and which are to be found among all the tribes of Gonds. They are 20 in number. The similarity between the name of the Gond and Gaud who are Brahmins, is remarkable and it may be responsible for the idea that Rāvaṇa was a Brahmin. The twenty families are named as below: (1) Markam, (2) Khashars, (3) Notiya, (4) Suri, (5) Poya, (6) Korim, (7) Tekama, (8) Marai, (9) Netam, (10) Mapachi, (11) Oima, (12) Soima, (13) Chichama, 14) Parneha, (15) Maravi, (16) Ghurava, (17) Partithi, (18) Partoli, (19) Sapatia, and (20) Oika. These are found promiscuously among all the 23 Gotras. Every one of them has a different head-quarter town. Thus :— (1) Nigari, Nivas for (1), (2) Mahora, Jhara, Mersenda and Gadai Gao for (11), (3) Ganari for (2), (4) Nandhi, Tunguna for (4), (5) Juri, Sarangagadh for (7), (6) Gadh, Mohda for (8), (7) Lohajhar, Dhanvahi for (9), (8) Songadh for (10), (9), Duari, Changohar for (12), (10) Manaura for (15), (11) Gharhar for (16), (12) Chunaguna,-Chapaundhi for (20), (15) Pondakı for (13), (16) Munda for (5). All these villages are situated in the Rewa State.

Among some of these Gonds, a child is named after the sixth day of its birth and the name of a visitor to the habitation on that day is given to the child and amongst some others the naming ceremony takes place after five months of his bırth. Their marriage custom ıs of the kind descrıbed in Hindu Śāstras as the Rākṣasa form of marriage i. e. the bridegroom steals the bride from her relatives, and then the so-called relıgıous, or practically the customary ceremony, ıs performed. Dıvorce or remarriage is afforded or performed respectively, in a strange manner. Men and women stand in two rows opposite to, or facıng each other, and then they take a forward step and a backward one. In this process a woman touching the forefinger of the left foot of a man becomes his kept wife. In this manner a woman has simultaneously 15 or 16 lawfully wedded husbands or a man has as many wives. Rāvaṇa abducted many wives.[5]

---

5. *Ibid* जहे पथि नरेन्द्रर्षिदेवदानवकन्यकाः । (७-२४-१)
एवं पन्नगकन्याश्च राक्षसासुरमानुषीः ।
यक्षदानवकन्याश्च विमाने सोऽध्यरोपयत् ॥ (७-२४-२)

The Gonds worship 41 deities, which are located under a tree outside the habitation. Most of their images consist of horse riders. The gods and goddesses which are indistinguishable from each other, bear names, some of which are sylvan such as (1) Bodaka Deva (of Banyan tree), (2) Ningi Deva, (3) Ghamsam Deva (thick forest) and so on, others have the names of the Hindu deities, such as (1) Mahiṣāsura, (2) Māri, (3) Śāradā, (4) Kālikā and so on. To all of them animals, including in some cases human beings (a custom which is now reported to be stopped) are sacrificed and then the worshippers eat this flesh. They also offer liquor to the deities before drinking it. The Ninga Deva especially is offered human sacrifice by the Gonds known as Dhura. In the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* too this is the way in which Rāvaṇa propitiated the deities and Kumbhakarṇa required tons of flesh to eat.[6]

Some of the Gonds observe untouchability probably imitating the surrounding Hindus.

Their songs, which are known as (1) Saika, (2) Kamra, (3) Sura, (4) Binaha and so on according to their tunes or metres, contain references to their customs etc. and to some Hindu heroes like Kṛṣṇa. The latter are evidently modern, but in a few of the songs there is mention that Hanumān lived in Laṅkā, which he invaded with an army consisting of monkeys. These according to their tunes, or metres, are sung on different occasions. For instance, a particular kind, say, Bibaha, is sung on marriage occasion and another on a different occasion, such as worship.

Similarity between this culture and that described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to be more than accidental.[7]

---

6. *Ibid* वराहान्महिषांश्चैव बभक्ष स महाबलः । (६-६०-६४)
आददबुभुक्षितो मासं शोणितं तृषितोऽपिबत् । (६-६०-६३)
रावण उवाचः—
मम त्वां प्रातराशार्थे सूदाश्छेत्स्यन्ति खण्डशः ॥ (५-२२-९)
दशवर्षसहस्रं तु निराहारो दशाननः ।
पूर्णे वर्षसहस्रे तु शिरश्चाग्नौ जुहाव सः ॥ (७-१०-१०)

7. I am indebted to my friend Rai Bahadur Brejendranath CHATURVEDI, Political and Finance Minister of Reva for collecting the information regarding Gonds, given in this arricle, for me.

Devotional Lyrics in Kannaḍa Literature

By

K. G. KUNDANGAR, Kolhapur

The social and religious systems in Karnāṭaka have seen many a vicissitude on account of the religious waves emanating and surging from the north and spreading over the whole of India, and others taking their rise in Karnāṭaka and surging over the whole of the North. Of these *Bhagavadgītā* preaches KARMA, BHAKTI, and JÑĀNA MĀRGAS. KARMA is practised by Kṣatriyas, and jñāna in course of time became the privilege of Brāhmaṇas, as in Kali age all others except them came to be regarded as Śūdras. This feature of social inequality drove all the lower class people to BHAKTI (devotion), became the source of religious discontent, and served as food for the three great religious thinkers Rāmānuja, Basavēśvara, and Madhva. As a result of his thought Rāmānuja came to discard the Māyā theory of Śaṅkara and established BHAKTI CULT. Even then the Brahmanic SOCIAL SUPREMACY denied to the lower communities the broad principle of religious equality, as a result of which the fire of discontent, smouldering as it did, burst into flames in the form of Vīraśaiva school of thought within a short period of thirty years after Rāmānuja. The author of Vīraśaiva cult was Basavēśvara, the prime minister of the Kalacūri king Bijjaḷa. His Vīraśaivism was based on Śaivāgamas. It was the outcome of serious thinking on the social and religious problems. According to this system social and religious equality was awarded to all irrespective of their caste and creed, provided they were given Liṅga-dīkṣā. This was the first and last great work in religious field to achieve unity and solidarity of the country. Similar attempt was made with success by Queen Elizabeth in England three hundred years after Basavēśvara. To illustrate his theory of equality Basavēśvara though born in a Brāhmaṇa family denied to himself that birth of his and considered himself born in the lowest community. For, he says in one of his sayings :—

"The son of the servant in the house of Cennayya (a Harijana) and the daughter of the maid-servant in the house of Kakkayya (a tanner) had gone to collect dung-cakes. They enjoyed the company of each other and I was born to them. Kūḍalasaṅgamadēva, you are the witness to it."

This saying of Basavēśvara illustrates two important facts. (1) The discontent in social inequality had become very keen in

those times. (2) Basavēśvara was very sincere to remove this disability of the lower classes. To set an example he denied and declared openly his birth in a high and respectable family and considered himself born in the lowest class of society and that too illegitimately. Herein lies his greatness. His declaration contains one very important truth, that birth is not a qualification for social and religious excellence, and to tread the path of the FINAL BEATITUDE. He threw open the gate of religious freedom to all irrespective of their birth. People of all communities, therefore, flocked under his banner, and it is no wonder.

His philosophy was based on Śivaliṅga-bhakti, Śiva-pūjā, sacrifice of everything in words and deeds to that God, complete self-surrender, and high moral standard. It is in six stages called STHALAS. Bhakti always meant DUALISM. After the first three stages his philosophy ends in ADVAITISM. It admits of Sāṅkhya-tatvas also. It is also called, therefore, Śakti-viśiṣṭādvaita. It is in the Bhakta (the first) and the Śarana (the fifth) Sthalas that scope is found for lyrical sayings. A number of Śiva-śaranas of the 12th century have written their sayings in Kannaḍa, which are highly lyrical and which deviate from the classical style of Kannaḍa campū-purānas, and thus created quite a new form of literature. They are all in prose, and are understandable even to the illiterate. Yet Harihara, a poet of the first quarter of the 13th century says that these prose sayings were set to music and sung. In fact even now with a little or no change there can be seen in them poetic beauty, musical cadence, and prosodic order. These sayings were very popular with the public for reasons of mental and moral philosophy, lyrical elements and sweetness of language.

When Bijjaḷa was killed, and Basavēśvara went to Kūḍala-saṅgama, where he became one with his lord Saṅgamēśvara, Vīra-śaivism received a temporary set-back. Its revival and social organisation were taken up in the times of Vijayanagara empire when Lakkaṇṇa-daṇḍēśa was the prime-minister. Since then that school of thought is prominant throughout Karnāṭaka, though much social inequality is to be noted in the sub-communities. In fact the spirit of Basavēśvara's philosophy is lost in today's Vīraśaivism as is seen in its practice.

The principle of preaching in Kannaḍa, and preaching of Bhakti to all classes did not escape the notice of the Brāhmaṇa Ācāryas on the pontifical throne. Till the 13th century Brāhmaṇas held that it was sacrilegious to write in Kannaḍa. Sanskrit being the language of gods was regarded as the only pure and holy vehicle of thought.

All the Brāhmaṇa writers, therefore, took to write in Sanskrit. Had they taken to write in Kannaḍa the literature in that language would have still more been enriched as this class was mainly the intelligentsia of the times. However, they now saw what blunder they had committed and took to write in Kannaḍa. Thank God ! the beginning was made by an Ācārya on the pontifical throne. Otherwise had it been made by an ordinary Brāhmaṇa he would have been an out-caste immediately, and would have suffered SOCIAL BOY-COTT and such other OPPRESSION. The then Ācārya also had to suffer at the hands of the so-called pandits. But he was too strong for them. The idea of Sanskrit was, therefore, abandoned. His Holiness Naraharitīrtha, the third Ācārya on the pontifical throne after Madhva first composed songs in Kannaḍa in praise of Kṛṣṇa. Thus Kannaḍa became the vehicle for thought expression to Brāhmaṇas, especially to Mādhvas. His followers who are called Haridāsas (slaves of Visnu) praised in lyrical ballads the greatness, the kindness, the superiority, and the pomp of Visṇu (Kṛṣṇa). These lyrics are called Kīrtanas. The whole family of such Dāsas who took to Kannaḍa was out of derison called Dāsakūṭa, which in later times lost its sting and became a respectable term. This FAMILY TRADITION continues to this day. Its members are seen from the Kāvērī to the Kṛṣṇā and upwards.

The Vīraśaiva vacanas and Dāsakūṭa kīrtanas may be looked at in their various aspects as : pieces of literature, pieces of musical ballads, and pieces to be repeated over and over again for mind culture. But it will be seen here how far the human experiences are reflected in these and how far they will help a human being in his spiritual up-lift. There is no subtlety of logic in them ; there are no religious disputations in them ; there are no practices of dhyāna, dhāranā and samādhi in them. But the Dāsas have sung in their kīrtanas what happiness and misery they have experienced in their lives, what emotions they had had, what ideas flashed in their minds, how they atoned for their sins, and how they enjoyed God's favour. They have expressed in common words some things which are uncommon. Their first philosophical idea runs thus : Almighty is the CREATOR OF THIS UNIVERSE. He is the primum-mobile in the working of nature. He is eternal and full of happiness. This world is temporary and is full of misery. When this idea flashes in the minds of Dāsas they are inspired, and their life becomes sunny. All nature's work is controlled by Him. Man out of pride believes that he does everything. This vain idea of his is deep-rooted in him. He marries, he earns money, he builds his house, he builds

temples, he becomes the centre of cultural movement and advancement of civilization. But he perishes and everything of his and all his work is perishable. Dāsas never forget the TRANSITORINESS OF THIS MATERIAL WORLD, man's happiness, and his pomp. To illustrate these ideas is given the following translation of one of Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtanas*.

"O Lord, how can I pray to you! How can I understand your greatness! You are Hari and Mukunda, and I am a worm born with a human form. You are the Supreme Soul, I am a helpless being! You are Garuḍa-vāhana, I am a sinful mad-man! You are SELF-LUMINOUS, I am a beggar! You are benevolent and lying under the milky-ocean, I am stricken with extreme love, and anger! You are one to be found in the fourteen worlds, I am a wicked fellow calling names to you! You are ALL-PERVADING, I am vicious every moment! You are the lord of Vaikuṇtha, I am a doll with a perishable body!—You are glorious Veṅkateśa staying at Tirupati, I am one living on your praise! You have got birudas, I have sought your shelter. You are glorious Ādikēśava of Kāginele."

Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtane 45*.

Here the dāsas admit their COMPLETE DEPENDENCE on the all-kind Veṅkaṭēśa. A person may certainly lose his pride when he keenly and sincerely considers his dependence. He begins to think that man is not the maker of his fortune; he is subservient to God's will; he has no power and control over anything; his body is not his; his limbs are not his; his mind is not his; his emotions and intellect cannot be controlled by him. Dāsas also thought like this. Inspired with such thought it was but natural for them to sacrifice everything to Him. This wave of thought forms part of his SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE. Kanakadāsa says in this connection:—

"Lord, this body and soul are yours; happiness and misery experienced by me every day and at every moment are yours; my interest in listening to sweet talk, veda, śāstra, and purāṇas is yours; my intent looking at the beautiful form of charming ladies is yours; besmearing my body with sweet scents is yours; the tongue's pleasure yielding sweetness embedded in articles of food is yours; O Ādikēśava, the father of Kāma, You are the only INDEPENDENT PERSON and not men."

Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtane 10*.

Similar idea is found in Basavēśvara's vacana:

"My happiness and misery are yours; my prosperity and adversity are yours; my honour and dishonour are yours. O Kūḍala-Saṅgamadēva, a fruit is not heavy to the mother creeper."

P. 10—55.

Mahādēviyakka, another Śiva-śaraṇe, says:—

"You are the forest. You are the great and good trees in the forest. You are the birds chirping and twittering in trees. Cennamallikārjuna, you are ALL-PERVADING. Will you not be so kind as to show me your face?"

P. 1—4.

By such ideas it seems that Jīvātmā has no independence at all. In fact the part played by Jīvātmā in the drama of the universe is very small. If it is asserted that Jīvātmā has no independence philosophy will prove false; Jīvas will come under inanimate kingdom; and the differentiation of merit and sin will be no-where. The mind of a devotee, therefore, when it is subservient to independence is not brought into full play. For, the same devotee on a second occasion roars with invincible power. This paradox may be explained thus: Souls are dependent. Yet the devotee finds out the nature of the SUPREME SOUL (Paramātmā), accepts His supremacy and mastery, and shares his pomp. He becomes one with God. At the time of such an experience the SUPREME KNOWLEDGE strikes a cord in his heart and produces waves of music in praise of the SUPREME SOUL. The former extreme humility of his now changes into supreme power. His joy knows no bounds, and his courage is unlimited. Purandara-dāsa says:

"What if people are well-disposed to us; or what if people are angry with us when we Haridāsas are (at once) one with Him, who is lying in MILKY OCEAN? What if we are sent into exile by the ruling prince; what if we are stopped by ferocious animals in a forest; what if an army of Māris, and a circling force hem us in, when we the Haridāsas are approaching the son of Vasudēva, the NAVEL-FLOWERED GOD? What if a serpent in a forest coils round the foot; what if worms and flies swarm round the body like bees; what if the power of Śani, Maṅgala, Budha, and other heavenly bodies fails, when Haridāsas are completely engrossed in meditating on the glorious feet of Purandara, the saviour of the inflicted?"

Part I. V. 138.

Under similar circumstances Mahādēviyakka says:—

"I am pleased with you; you are pleased with me. I cannot stay away from you; neither can you stay away from me. Is there any other place for you and me? I know you are very kind. I am to stay in conditions ordained by you. You know that Cennamallikārjuna."

P. 33. V. 8.

Purandar again says in this connection :—

"Oh Gopāla, what can others do when I am meditating on you?"

Part II. V. 121.

On such happy occasions man undertakes great works. The insurmountable difficulties disappear without his knowledge. History tells that great works are achieved in moments of inspiration when he says to himself "what of difficulties when the Lord is propitious?"

The idea of Soul's dependence may draw us to another side track. The WORLDLY LIFE is not ETERNAL since it is not satisfying all our desires. If we dearly love our wives and children Yama snatches them away. Our very body is perishable. If this is the experience of Dāsas the trend of thought of a worldly man is quite the contrary. Purandara says :—

"The servants af Yama entertain no kindness to human beings. Remember, therefore, the name of glorious Hari, being free from anxiety, oh mind. I have married a few days back. There are one or two milch cows at home. I have purchased a field only yesterday and the crops are ready. When you say that you have got money and you cannot die, oh Jīvātmā, will Goddess of death leave you? I have built a new house, and a śānti is to be performed. My wife is carrying; my son is to be married tomorrow; my life is very happy. The servants of Yama will not leave you when you say that you cannot die."

Part I. V. 63.

This is a message of Haridāsas to the worldly people.

PERISHABLENESS is the source of misery. This truth presents to the mind's eye a series of miseries in worldly life. When the mind is highly strung like this intellect comes forward to show the causes and effects of misery in all its perspective. The effect of such working in the mind is aversion to worldly life. Haridāsas and Śiva-śaranas (Vīra-śaiva saints) have by their description of sorrows and miseries in life brought home to the mind of the public their experiences in this connection. In the heat of their description they take away all that is good and worth having in Saṁsāra. It then becomes a veritable NARAKA by their description. In their ardent desire to become one with the Almighty they forget the beauty of nature, and they revile Saṁsāra with great abhorrence.

Kanakadāsa says :—

"How can I say that I am born in a particular caste? (I can say this much that) Jagannātha has made this human form. I did not know the real PLACE (PASSAGE) of my birth emitting noxious smell, the impure limb. My birth was in a BATH-PIT. I ate the BREAST FLESH. (For this reason) I am almost blind. Why should I then be proud of my caste?"

Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtane 37*.

Mahādēviyakka says in the same strain :—

"Fie upon this body! It is full of impure waste—matter; It is a pit of urine; it is a skeleton of bones; and it is a pool of pus. Do not be guiled away because of your body. You mad fellow, know Cennamallikārjuna."

In censuring Saṁsāra like this they have not failed to observe its usefulness. Their philosophy lies in warning against the momentary worldly happiness in which the Almighty is forgotten, and the way to eternal happiness will be missed. They seem to say that Saṁsāra will give rise to continued misery. Beauty to them is a snare of infatuation. Human beings will, therefore, have to undergo terrible mental anxiety.

Purandara says .—

"Everywhere there is anxiety. I cannot find even a single person free from mental worries. Brahma has lost his head and is full of anxiety; Māruti is worried for his monkey form; Kāma is troubled because he was burnt to ashes; and the three-eyed God is unhappy over his fate of begging."

Part I. V. 174

These ideas will go to suggest that the world is not false; and it can neither be considered true. When the mind is thus wavering between the two a key to solution flashes and the problem gets solved. Pining for such a light is the sign of devotees like Haridāsas.

Purandara says :

"Which is the way to Vaikuṇṭha, Lord? Show me the way to that place. Which is the way? Show that to me, oh GOD OF DEPENDENCE, to attain your feet."

Part II. V. 139.

The mind's darkness then gradually disperses at the rise of light and hope. The importance of life is felt. He is convinced of the fact that the human birth is not merely Māyā, but it is a means to attain the final beatitude.

Purandara says :—

"The human life is very important. You fools, do not waste it. When you have got eyes, ears, hands, feet, and tongue why do you waste it and be fools? Without tasting the nectar of Hari's name will it be proper to fast for the sake of females and fields? For what reason have you forgotten YADUPATI? Will your sons, your wealth, and your corn save you? Even hereafter you worship with one mind glorious and handsome Purandara-Viṭṭhala."

Part I. V. 14.

Such is the message Haridāsas find for themselves and for the world. Then arises in them a sort of courage, a sort of new energy. It is then they are in eclat. Purandara says: "Man must swim, and he must win." Part I. V. 12. He must enjoy beauty in life; but he must not be a victim to pride. He must be in it, but free from it like the lotus-leaf in water. Sensuousness in man then does not bring on any troubles. For, that extreme love, which is full to the brim in this world, is directed to Him in all its forms (filial, parental, fraternal, and wifely). Here is proved the Nāradīya sūtra सा तु परमप्रेमरूपा। Vaikunthadāsa had no children. To satisfy his desire for children he used to see in his trance Keśavasvāmi in the form of a child and to enjoy parental soft emotion. Purandaradāsa has sung a very beautiful lyric in which he expresses his strong desire to clasp in his arms his God Purandara-Vitthala in the form of a child with all ornaments on his person. In another lyric he expresses his motherly affection to child Raṅga asking him not to go out beyond the threshold. For, he is afraid of a kidnap of his darling. (Part II. V. 112.) Mahādēviyakka says: "My husband has come today to my house, my sisters All of you decorate yourselves. Cennamallikārjuna has just come. My dears, come and give him a hearty welcome." (P. 35. V. 8.)

This philosophy leads to another consideration wherein fatalistic theory is upheld in the sufferings and actions of man. Man is to suffer or to enjoy happiness as the fruit of his actions in his previous birth. No superhuman power has control over these. Purandara says :

"If the fruit of my actions is too strong how can you help it, oh God? The SCRIPT OF BRAHMA is not an ordinary one. It has been written on my FOREHEAD by rules. I have not given food to my guests. I have not left the company of other women even for a moment. I was a blockhead and a fool. What will be my fate, Oh Kṛṣṇa? Enjoying food and drink, having turned my back to snāna, sandhyā, japa, etc., having left out meditation on your feet

I was wandering from house to house like a dog. O FATHER OF MANMATHA, save me hereafter at least having given me the company of your Dāsas."

Part I. V. 129.

Kanakadāsa says :—

"No one can escape from the fruit of previous actions. It is troubling Brahma, Śiva and others. Vīra-Bhairava is naked. Māri and Masaṇi are begging. Sūrya and Candra are suffering at the hands of Rāhu. Hara of five heads has a begging pot in his hand."

Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtane 33.*

Haridāsas are here aiming at three things : (1) They admit the power of KARMA ; (2) they atone for their misdeeds ; and (3) they hanker after the blessings of Hari, which alone can liberate the atoning soul. So PASCĀTTĀPA is the key to Hari's favour. For this they always seek the company of the devotees of Hari. They call themselves Hari's servant's servant's servants, and they believe that the servants of Hari are pure like HOLY PLACES. Purandara says :—

"The body of a devotee of Hari is Kurukṣētra. Those who consider them human beings are the dwellers in NARAKA. The heart that always remembers the pure is Kāśipura. The mind that remembers MADHU-VAIRI is Maṇikarnikā. The mouth that repeats the name of PADMANĀBHA is Vaikuṇṭha. The tongue that praises him is Śrīmuṣṭa."

Part I. V. 108.

Kanakadāsa says :—

"I am the servant of Hari's servant's servant, save me my Lord ; do not abandon me."

Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtane 15.*

He further adds :

" Yama strictly ordered his servants not to touch Śeṣa-śayana's servants' servants' servants."

Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtane 77.*

So confident are they of their LIBERATION.

They have no faith in the daily rounds of religious observances. These when followed strictly, they believe, will lead to hypocrisy.

Purandara says :

"You are jumping here and there saying ' purity, purity'. But the way to purity is quite different. Meditation on the feet of the PROTECTOR OF THE UNIVERSE continuously is purity. It is not purity to wear clothes dipped in water and dried. It is purity if no scope is given to Ṣaḍripus in the body. If hungry Brāhmaṇa guests come

to the house at midday they are sent away saying that they have no means. But at the same time they dine sumptuously which is nothing but the worst impurity."

Part I. V. 114.

Such sort of purity and false self-respect was experienced by Kanakadāsa when after worship Tīrtha was first offered to him by His Holiness Vyāsarāya. It was not appreciated by Brāhmaṇas in general and the Brāhmana śāstris in particular, as he (Kanakadāsa) belonged to the SHEPHERD CLASS. On the other hand they resented this action of the PRECEPTOR. His Holiness knew who Kanakadāsa was, and what was his worth. As soon as he received Tīrtha he sang thus :

"I am saved. My rebirth is stopped. Padmanābha has favoured me. Hari-tīrtha and Hari-prasāda reached my tongue, the nectar of His name reached my ears, Hari-dāsas became my relatives, and His Śrīmudrā became my ornament. My hundred forefathers are LIBERATED, I became eligible for MOKSA, and the lord of Rukmiṇi is within my reach being delighted at my unmixed devotion."

Kanakadāsa's *Kīrtane 86.*

This is the sort of joy experienced by Hari-dāsas when they are within the near reach of their goal. They are very eager to see their Lord. Their eagerness is that of a mother who has stayed away from her young child for a long time, or that of a cow coming with speed in the evening to suckle its calf.

Purandara says :

"Come quick, my Lord. Let me see you to my heart's content. You, STORE OF KINDNESS, do not trouble me. Raṅgayya, I importune you."

Part I. V. 84.

Such eagerness of theirs to find the REALITY and to meet their Lord goes on increasing to the highest pitch. Then it may appear like VIRAHA. Mahādēviyakka says :

"You swarm of bees, mango tree, moon-light, cuckoo, I beseech all of you. Did you see my lord Cennamallikārjuna? Please show him to me."

P. 34. V. 6.

Finally they see their God and experience the HEAVENLY JOY, Purandara says :

"My God is come. My Lord is come. The God of gods, the SUPREME GOD is come. URAGAŚAYANA is come. GARUDAVĀHANA is come. The FRIEND OF ARJUNA is come. Nārāyaṇa is come."

Part I. V. 48.

"Gōvinda came crawling. Ambujanābha kindly came to my house."

" How can I be poor, how can I be an orphan, when you are with me, oh Hari ? You are my parent, you are my friend and well-wisher, you are my relative, and you are my all. Great Kṛṣṇa, you are my ornament kept safe in a box."

Part I. V. 146.

These are the words of a mother playing sweetly with her child with all endearment. Such sort of mother's words can even now be heard in every house in Karnāṭaka. He further adds :

" This disease of my WORLDLY LIFE is cured. For, I found a physician by name Krsna. A numberless people are cured by him. All of them become virtuous.—He has got candrōdaya and cintāmaṇi. His bag is full of mātrās. His cure is guaranteed.—He is praiseworthy with THOUSAND NAMES. He is the owner of everything. The physician is by name Hari-sarvottama. Purandara-Viṭṭhala is blameless."

Part II. V. 155.

" How great must be my merits since Veṅkaṭeśa of auspicious greatness has come to my place ? Necklace, keyūra, rings, the seven padakas in between the necklace, the great necklace of pearls are his ornaments. Wearing them has come Veṅkateśa of Melugiri."

Part II. V. 193.

The pleasure thus experienced by Dāsas, it is believed, is ETERNAL. They are happy in themselves. They are playfully engaged with their Lord. They laugh with him. Sometimes with VIRODHA-BHAKTI they revile him, and find fault with him lovingly. This is the attainment of either Sāyujya, or Sāmīpya, or Sālōkya.

The *kīrtanas* and *vacanas* are full of worldly experience and therefore they appeal to us most. The music in the *kīrtanas* of Hari-dāsas attracts our ears, and therefore, they are heard everyday even now sung by the males and females all alike in general, and the Brāhmaṇas in particular in Karnāṭaka. People gather in temples in the evening for bhajana and sing them. Aṇṇā Kirloskar, coming as he does from Karnāṭaka, was an ardent lover of *Dāsa-kīrtanas*. His love for them could be seen in songs he composed in his drama Saubhadra. झाली ज्याची उपवर दुहिता, राधाधरमधुमिलिंद जयजय, and अरसिक किती हा शेला are the songs based on the tunes of Purandara-dāsa's *kīrtanas*.

The Andhras in Ancient India

By

B. C. LAW, Calcutta

The earliest mention of the Andhras as a tribe is to be found along with the Śavaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mūtibas, in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* where all these tribes are referred to as *dasyus* or non-aryans.[1] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also the Andhras are mentioned along with the Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas and the Mūtibas. Dr. VINCENT SMITH is of opinion that the Andhras were a Dravidian speaking people and were evidently the progenitors of the modern Telegu-speaking people occupying the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā,[3] while Mr. P. T. S. IYANGAR also holds that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe that extended its political power from the west gradually to the east down the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā valleys.[4] That the Andhras were indigenous to the Deccan is attested to by both the epics; the *Mahābhārata* says that they were Dakṣiṇā-pathajanmānah, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* connects them with the Godāvarī:

Dakṣiṇā-patha-janmānaḥ sarve naravar-āndhrakah,
Guhāḥ Pulindāḥ Śavarās Cucukā Madrakaiḥ (?) saha.
(*Mbh* XII, 207, 42)

Nadīṃ Godāvarīṃ caiva sarvamevānupaśyataḥ
Tathaivāndhrāṁśca Puṇḍrāṁśca cotān Pāndrāṁścaveratān
(*Rām*. Kish. Kāṇ. 41 chap. 12.)

That the Andhras occupied the Godāvarī-Kṛṣṇā valley is further upheld by one of the earliest records of the Pallava dynasty that flourished in the Andhra region. The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava ruler Śivaskandavarman prove that the Andhrāpatha or the region of the Andhras embraced the Kṛṣṇā district with Dhaññakada or Bezwada as its capital.[5]

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[6] mentions in the list of peoples inhabiting the eastern countries a tribe called the Andhrarakas

1. *Aitareya Br.*, VII, 18.
2. "*Antān vaḥ prajāḥ takṣiṣṭa iti* etc. *Andhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śavarāḥ Pulindāḥ Mūtibāḥ itı uddyantāḥ vahaboḥ bhavanti.*"
3. *Ind. Ant.* 1913, pp. 276–78.
4. *Ind. Ant.* 1918, p. 71.
5. *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 88.
6. Canto, LVII, 42.

which is substituted by the Andhravākas.[7] But both seem to be misreadings for the Andhras who were always a people of the Southern regions, as also in view of the fact that the same *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* places a people called the Andhas along with the Maulikas, Aśmakas, Bhogavardhanas, Naiṣikas, Kuntalas etc., in the Southern region.[8] The reading Andhas is also corrected in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as Andhras.[9] These people are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in the Udyoga and Bhīṣma parvans, as Andhakas and Andhras respectively.[10] According to the Sabhā and Vanaparvans,[11] the Andhas or Āndhras were a rude uncivilised people.

The earliest epigraphic mention of the Andhra people is made in some of the Edicts (XIII R. E.) of Asoka where the Andhras, Palidas (Pāladas, Parimdas = the Pulindas, or the Pāradas), Bhojas and Rathikas (Rāstrikas) are said to have been vassal tribes of the great Maurya. The Andhra people are also referred to by Pliny who says that the Andarae or Andhras possessed a very large number of villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.[12]

The great Sātavāhanas whose founder Simuka who is credited by the Purānas to have assailed the Kāṇvāyanas and destroyed the remains of the Sunga power in about the first century B. C. and who is said to have started a dynasty that ruled over the Dakṣiṇāpatha, for about 250 years, are claimed by the Purāṇas to have been Andhras or Andhra-bhṛtyas. The exact significance of this appellation cannot however be determined but doubtless they ruled over the whole of Andhradeśa and the adjoining regions.

In the Harāhā inscription of the Maukhari king Kumāragupta III (554 A. D.) a certain 'lord of the Andhras' (Andhrādhipati) is said to have given the Maukhari king a great trouble by his 'thousands of three-fold rutting elephants.'[13] Dr. H. C. RAI CHAUDHURI suggests that the Andhra king referred to was probably Mādhavavarman (I, Javāśraya) of the Polamuru plates belonging to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family.[14] This suggestion seems to be in agreement with the fact that the Jaunpur inscription of Īśvaravarman, father of

7. XLV, 122.
8. LVII, 48–49.
9. XLV, 127.
10. XVIII, 586 and X, 357 respectively.
11. IV, 119; XXX, 1175; XXXIII, 1270, and Vana p. li. 1988.
12. *Ind. Ant.* 1877, p. 339.
13. *E. P. Ind.* XIV, p. 110 ff.
14. *P. H. A. I.* 4th edn. p. 509.

Iśānavarman Maukhari, refers to victory over the Andhras on behalf of Iśvaravarman.[15] The Vākāṭaka king Harisena, father-in-law of Mādhavavarman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family referred to above, also claims to have conquered the Andhra and Kaliṅga regions.[16]

The Ikṣvākus succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the rule of the Andhra region where almost all the records of the dynasty have been found. At the time of Pallava Śivaskandavarman the Andhrāpatha or the Andhra country seems to have come under the sway of the Pallava dynasty whose head-quarters at this time were at Dhaṁnakada (Dhānya-kaṭaka). According to the Purāṇas the Andhra (i. e., the Sātavāhana) dynasty had five different branches.[17] In fact one of these five branches, namely the Cutusātakarṇi branch is known from inscriptions, coins and literary references to have ruled in the Kuntala country before the Kadambas.[18] The *Vāyu Purāṇa* in the same context referred to above refers to the Ābhiras who ruled after the Andhras (i. e., the Sātavāhanas).

In about the second quarter of the seventh century A. D. the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the An-to-lo or the Andhra country. The nearest transcription of An-to-lo is Andara which is comparable to Pliny's Andaræ referred to above, though doubtless it means the Andhra country. From Kosala (evidently South Kosala) the pilgrim travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 li to the An-to-lo country which

> "had a rich fertile soil with a moist hot climate; the people were of violent character; their mode of speech differed from that of 'Mid-India', but they followed the same system of writing. There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3,000 brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high walls and storeyed terraces..." [19]

The name of the capital of the country as given by the pilgrim was Ping-ki-lo which does not seem to have as yet been correctly identified, though Cunningham sought to equate it with Warangol.

We have seen above that in the time of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, Dhāryakaṭaka was the capital of the Andhrāpatha, but Yuan

15. *C. I. I.* III, p. 230.

16. *JRAS.* 1914, p. 137.

17. E. g., *Vāyu* p. 99, 358. "*Andhrāṇāṃ saṃsthitāh pañca teshāṃ vaṃśāḥ samāḥ punaḥ.*"

18. SIRCAR, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 218 ff. For a summary of the historical vicissitudes of Andhradeśa after the Sātavāhanas, see ibid, pp. 3–5 of the Introduction.

19. WATTERS, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 209.

Chwang seems to refer to Dhānyakaṭaka as a region separate from Andhra. The pilgrim proceeds to relate that from Andhra he continued his journey south, through wood and jungle, for over 1,000 li, and reached the Te-na-ka-che-ka country which was above 6,000 li in circuit, and its capital was above 40 li in circuit. Te-na-ka-che-ka has been equated with Dhanyāyakaṭaka or Dhanakaṭaka.[20]

> "The country had a rich soil and yielded abundant crops; there was much waste land and the inhabited towns were few; the climate was warm, and the people were of black complexion, violent disposition, and fond of the arts. There was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries but most of them were deserted, about 20 being in use, with 1,000 brethren mostly adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika system. There were about 100 Deva temples and the followers of the various sects were numerous. ..."

Stray references to the Andhra country and people are made in later epigraphic records as well. Thus the Indian Museum stores inscription of the 9th year of Nārāyaṇapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty refers to the Andhra-vaiṣayika Śākyabhikṣu Sthavīra Dharmamitra who erected an image, evidently of the Buddha.

The Pāli Buddhist literature is not wanting in references to the Andhras. The Apadāna,[21] a book of the Pāli Canon, mentions Andhakas along with the Muṇḍakas, Kolakas and Cīnas who came to show respects to a banker's son named Jatukannika in the town of Haṁsavatī.

A young brahmin after completing his education at Takkasilā (Taxila), then a great seat of learning, came to the Andhra country to profit by practical experience.[22] Assaka and Alaka or Mulaka were the two Andhaka kings.[23] A brahmin well versed in mantras belonging to the kingdom of Kosala came to live in the kingdom of Assaka on the banks of the Godāvarī.[24]

---

20. WATTERS, ibid, vol. II, p. 214 ff. But there are scholars who hold that Yuan Chwang's description of the city and its surroundings does not suit the identification. FURGUSSON, BURGESS and SEWELL therefore locate the city at Bezwada. CUNNINGHAM, AGI, MAJUMDAR's edn. Notes, p. 737.

21. Pt. II, p. 359.

22. *Jat.* I, pp. 356 ff.

23. *Suttanipāta* Commentary, II, p. 581.

24. *Suttanipāta*, p. 190.

Mukuṭa, Mauli and Kirīṭa

By

N. V. MALLIA, Annamalainagar

The term 'Mukuṭa' has individually no fixed and uniform meaning pointing to any particular kind of head-dress and its connotation, as its association with terms indicative of different types of headdresses shows, can be determined only with reference to the particular context in which it is used. The term 'Kirīṭa' is clear in its connotation; it refers to the high and brilliant crown of Viṣṇu among gods, Durgā among goddesses as also the consorts of Viṣṇu, and emperor amongst men. A problem was, however, raised in recent times as regards the relation of Kirīta to Mukuta. A commission was appointed by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar for the purpose of investigating from all points of view the question of the relation of Kirīta to Mukuta. Consequently Mr. OJHA came out with an article under the title 'Kirīṭa-Mukuta'. In this article published in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*[1] OJHA discusses three possible views—namely: (1) Kirīṭa and Mukuṭa are mere synonyms; (2) they are two quite distinct things; and (3) that Kirīta is a kind of Mukuta—and observes in the end that "Kirīta is a subvariety of the Mukuta and this is the final conclusion that seems most acceptable".[2] The authority he cites in support of this observation is the text of the *Mānasāra.*[3]

B. C. BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA thinks that this distinction of taking Kirīṭa as a special kind of Mukuta is arbitrary and says that according to ancient Sanskrit texts Kirīṭa is the same as Mukuta or a crown.[4] Here it deserves to be remembered that the term 'Mukuta' when used individually and with reference to the head-dress of Viṣṇu may be taken as a synonym of Kirīta but when it is used in association with another term which denotes a particular type of head-dress, it cannot be taken as a mere synonym of Kirīta. There is no doubt that Amara takes it as a synonym of 'Kirīta' when he states[5]:—

" अलङ्कारस्त्वाभरणं परिष्कारो विभूषणम् ।
मण्डनं चाथ मुकुटं किरीटं पुन्नपुंसकम् ॥ "

1. Vide *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp, 433–438.
2. *Ibid*, p. 438.
3. Vide P. K. ĀCĀRYA's edition of the *Mānasāra*, chapter on Maulilakṣaṇa, sts. 4–11.
4. Vide *Indian Images* by B. C. BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, p. 56.
5. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, II, 6, 102.

A compound expression '*Maṇimukuṭa*' in the sense of 'jewel-crown' occurs in the course of a description of the Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu in the *Prapañcasāra* of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. It runs thus[6] :—

" विष्णुं भास्वत्किरीटं मणिमुकुटकटीसूत्रकेयूरहार-
ग्रैवेयोर्म्यादिमुख्याभरणमणिगणोल्लासिदिव्याङ्गरागम् ॥ "

Śrī Śaṅkara prescribes 'Maṇimukuṭa' to Manmatha, Pāvaka, Lokeśvarī, Śrī and Dharaṇī the consorts of Viṣṇu, and this Maṇimukuṭa may be understood in the sense of Kirīṭa referred to in the stanza quoted above. References to 'Maṇimukuṭa' or 'Mukuṭa' in the sense of Kirīṭa may be noted in the following lines[7] :—

(1) " मणिमयमुकुटाद्यैर्दीप्तं (मन्मथम्) । "
(2) " मुकुटादिविविधभूषोऽवताच्चिरं पावकः प्रसन्नो वः । "
(3) " धृतमणिमुकुटा श्रेयसे श्रीर्भवेद्वः । "
(4) " मणिमुकुटविचित्रालङ्कृता (श्रीः) । "
(5) " रत्नाकल्पाभिरामा मणिमयमुकुटा चित्रवस्त्रा प्रसन्ना (धरणी) । "
(6) " आबद्धरत्नमुकुटां (लोकेश्वरीम्) । "

Like the term 'Mukuta', the term '*Mauli*' is sometimes used in the sense of Kirīṭa. Amara refers to this term 'Mauli' in the *Nānārthavarga* and gives three meanings, namely, चूडा, किरीटं, संयतकेश: ॥ He[8] states :— " चूडा किरीटं केशाश्च संयता मौलयस्त्रय : । "

The *Śabdakalpadruma*[9] adds two more, namely, 'Mastaka' (quoting Hemacandra, 3, 2, 230) and 'pradhāna' (quoting the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 59, 14). In support of the use of the term 'Mauli' in the sense of Kirīṭa one may copiously quote lines from contemplative verses and stotras. In many contemplative verses (*dhyānaślokas*) which set to describe Visnu the term 'Kirīṭa' is used, and in a description of Mukunda, the term 'Mauli' is used doubtless in the sense of Kirīṭa. The *Prapañcasāra*[10] thus states:—

(1) " विष्णुं भास्वत्किरीटाङ्गदवलययुगाकल्पहारोदराङ्घ्रि—
श्रोणीभूषं सवक्षोमणिमकरमहाकुण्डलामण्डितांसम् । "
(2) " वलयाङ्गदहारकिरीटधरं (हरिम्) । "
(3) " जय रत्नकराबद्धकिरीटाक्रान्तमस्तक ! ॥ "
(4) " अर्कौघाभं किरीटान्वितमकरलसत्कुण्डलं......मुकुन्दम् । "
(5) " भास्वन्मौलिर्विचित्राभरणपरिगतः स्याच्छ्रिये वो मुकुन्दः ॥ "

---

6. Vide *Prapañcasāra*, (AVALON's ed.) XXVI, 21.
7. Ibid—(1) XVIII, 4; (2) XVI, 27; (3) XII, 21; (4) XII, 42; (5) XIII, 12; (6) XIII, 4.
8. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, III, 3, 192.
9. *Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. III, p. 790.
10. *Prapañcasāra* (AVALON's ed.), (1) XIX, 4; (2) XXII, 9; (3) XXI, 61; (4) XX, 7; (5) XXIV, 4.

And in the Acyutāṣṭakastotra,[11] Śrī Śaṅkara in verse 8 refers to '*Ratnamauli*' thus :—

" कुंचितैः कुन्तलैर्भ्राजमानाननं रत्नमौलिं लसत्कुण्डलं गण्डयोः ।
हारकेयूरकं कंकणप्रोज्ज्वलं किंकिणीमंजुलं श्यामलं तं भजे ॥ "

The goddesses Śrī and Bhuvaneśī are said to wear 'Mauli' which is, in other words, a Kirīṭa. Thus see the *Prapañcasāra*[12]:—

(1) " रत्नौघाबद्धमौलिः (श्रीः) । "

(2) " भास्वद्रत्नौघमौलिस्फुरदमृतरुचो रञ्जयच्चारुरेखाम् ॥ "

The Goddess of Victory under the names Durgā and Kātyāyanī whose power represents the compound of elements characteristic of the different gods, wears a Kirīṭa which is characteristic of Viṣṇu, according to the *Prapañcasāra*. A crescent which usually adorns Śiva's head-dress is also found added to the Kirīṭa of Durgā. In the course of the description of this goddess, sometimes the term 'Kirīṭa' is used and sometimes the term 'Mauli'. One is led to take 'Mauli' in such an instance as connoting Kirīta. The *Prapañcasāra*[13] states:—

(1) " शङ्खारिचापशरभिन्नकरां त्रिनेत्रां तिग्मेतरांशुकलया विलसत्किरीटाम् । "

(2) " मेघश्यामा किरीटोल्लसितशशिकला...... । "

(3) " परिलसितकिरीटा । "

(4) " अहिकलितनीलकुञ्चितकुन्तलविलसत्किरीटशशिकला । "

(5) " हेमप्रख्यामिन्दुखण्डात्तमौलिम् । "

In the *Ādityahṛdayastotra*,[14] occurring in the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* Āditya is described in the first *Dhyānaśloka* as "भास्वद्रत्नाढ्यमौलिः" where 'Mauli' means Kirīta, for subsequently Sūryanārāyana is, in the same stotra, described as " किरीटी " ॥

Like the term 'Mauli' which is sometimes used in the general sense of head-dress as in the *Mānasāra* chapter entitled '*Mauli-lakṣaṇa*' the term 'Mukuta' is used in the same general sense of an head-dress. In the course of an enumeration of the ornamentations in general of an image, the *Sātvata* and *Īśvara Saṃhitās* refer to 'Mukuta'. Thus state the two *Saṃhitās* :—[15]

" हारनूपुरवलयकटकाङ्गदभूषिता ।
माल्योपवीतकेयूरमकुटाद्युपशोभिता ॥
प्रतिमा मन्त्रमूर्तीनां कृता भवति सिद्धिदा । "

---

11. *Bṛhatstotraratnākara* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), p. 47.

12. *Prapañcasāra* (AVALON's ed.)—(1) XII, 4; (2) XV, 3.

13. Ibid—(1) XIV, 4; (2) XIV, 70, (3) XXXII, 8; (4) XIV, 27; (5) XIV, 23.

14. Vide *Bṛhatstotraratnākara* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), pp. 147, 161.

15. *Īśvarasaṁhitā* (Śāstramuktāvalī Series, 45), XVII, sts. 214[2], 215; *Sātvata Saṁhitā* (Śāstramuktāvalī Series, 15), XXIV, 214.

The general sense of 'Mauli' and 'Mukuṭa' as a head-dress in general may be pointed out in compound expressions such as 'Kirīṭamauli', 'Jaṭāmauli', 'Kirīṭamukuṭa', 'Jaṭāmukuṭa', and 'Karaṇḍamukuṭa'. In these compound expressions, one may take the terms 'mauli' and 'mukuṭa' as indicative of the general sense of 'head-dress' and the other terms 'Kirīta', Jatā, and Karaṇḍa as conveying the special sense of the '*type of headdress*'. We may quote below lines in which the compound expressions noted above occur. Brahmānanda, addressing the Lord in verse 5 of *Harināmāṣṭaka*[16] says :—

" केशिप्रणाशन सुकेश किरीटमौले
जिह्वे जपेति सततं मधुराक्षराणि ॥ "

In the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* the compound expression '*Kirīṭamukuṭa*' is used in the following description[17] :—

" वनमालाधराः सर्वे श्रीवत्सकृतलक्षणाः ।
शोभिताः कौस्तुभेनैव रत्नराजेन वक्षसि ॥
किरीटमुकुटै रम्यैर्हारकेयूरनूपुरैः ।
रम्यैरलङ्कृताश्चैव भावनीयाः सदैव हि ॥ "

Of the three main classes of head-dresses referred to in the *Kāśyapaśilpa*—viz., Kirītamukuta, Jaṭāmukuṭa, and Karaṇḍamukuṭa —*Kirīṭamukuṭa* is prescribed for the head of Viṣṇu[18] (Paṭala 48, stanza 19), Vaivasvata (Patala 48, st. 39), Vināyaka (Paṭala 47, st. 29), and Vaiṣṇavī of the Saptamātṛkās (Paṭala 46, st. 79). We may also take note of the three references[19] to Kirīṭa-mukuta occurring in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Pṛthugadya*, and *Kramadīpikā*, viz. :—

(1) " हलचक्राब्जमुसलधारिणं वनमालिनम् ।
हारकुण्डलकेयूरकिरीटमुकुटोज्ज्वलम् ॥ "

(2) " किरीटमुकुटचूडावतंसमकरकुण्डल इति । "

(3) " इन्दीवरनिभं सौम्यं पद्मपत्रायतेक्षणम् ।
स्निग्धकुण्डलसम्भिन्नकिरीटमुकुटोज्ज्वलम् ॥ "

The *Kāśyapaśilpa* prescribes Jaṭāmukuta for Vīrabhadra and Vināyaka (Paṭala 46, st. 69), Analeśvara (Paṭala 46, st. 64), Rudra (Paṭala 48, st. 62), Īśa (Ibid., st. 77), Śarva (Ibid., st. 96), Sukhāsanamūrti (Paṭala 61, st. 27), Candraśekharamūrti (Paṭala 63, st. 53), Vṛṣavāhanamūrti (Paṭala 64, st. 14), Tripurāntakamūrti (Paṭala 67, st. 25.), Kalyāṇamūrti (Paṭala 68, st. 6), Caturvaktra (Paṭala 48,

16. Vide *Bṛhatstotraratnākara* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), p. 85.
17. *Īśvarasaṃhitā* (Śāstramuktāvalī No. 45), XXIV, 127, 128¹, 129²
18. Vide *Kāśyapaśilpa* (Ānandāśrama Series).
19. Vide *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 434.

st.99), Brahmāṇī (Paṭala 46, st. 73), Sarasvatī (Paṭala 48, st. 114), and Īśvarī (Paṭala 46, st. 75). Cūḍāmukuta is said to form the head-dress of Aśvins (Patala 46). With this list may be compared the following lines from the *Prapañcasāra* which refer to the '*Jaṭāmauli*' of Śiva. The head-dress of Śiva, of his consort under the name Pārvatī or Ambikā, and finally of Bhāratī the goddess of Speech, is described as resplendent with the light of the crescent tied in the knot. The lines[20] run as follows :—

(1) " अहिशशधरगङ्गाबद्धतुङ्गासमौलिः (उमेशः) । "
(2) " शीतांशुखण्डप्रतिघटितजटामौलिं (पार्वतीशं) । "
(3) " मौलिबद्धेन्दुरेखागलदमृतजलार्द्रं (ईशम्) । "
(4) " कालहन्त्रे नमश्चन्द्रखण्डमण्डितमौलये । "
(5) " सेन्दुमौलिः (पार्वती) । "
(6) " असकलशशिराजन्मौलिः (पार्वती) । "
(7) " इन्दुकलाकलितोज्ज्वलमौलिः (देवी) । "
(8) " उद्यद्भास्वत्समाभां विजितनवजवामिन्दुखण्डावनद्ध—
द्योतन्मौलिं त्रिनेत्रां विविधमणिलसत्कुण्डलां पद्मगात्रां (अम्बिकाम्) । "
(९) " वाणी मन्दस्मितमुखी मौलिबद्धेन्दुरेखा । "

Incidentally we may remark here that the head-dress under the name Kotīra is referred to in the *Prapañcasāra*, once in connection with the description of Bhāratī and then of Maheśa. Thus states the *Prapañcasāra*[21] :—

(1) " धृतशशधरखण्डोल्लासिकोटीरचूडा
भवतु भवभयानां भञ्जिनी भारती वः । "
(2) " त्र्यक्षः कोटीरकोटीघटिततुहिनरोचिः कलोत्तुङ्गमौलिः । "

In the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, 'Karaṇḍamukuta' is stated as the head-dress of Durgā (Patala 48, stanza 16), Gaurī (Ibid., stanza 91), Rohiṇī (Ibid. st. 44), Śakti of Viṣṇu (Ibid., st. 23), Varuṇa (Ibid., st. 53), the twelve Bhāskaras (st. 80).

In instances of such compound expressions as are cited above, viz., 'Kirītamauli', 'Jatāmauli', 'Kirīṭamukuta', 'Jaṭāmukuṭa', and 'Karaṇḍamukuṭa', the terms 'mauli' and 'mukuṭa' should be understood as referring to head-dress in general, the particular type being specified by the first member of the compound expres-

20.—(1) *Prapañcasāra* (AVALON's edn), XXIX, 3.
(2) Ibid, XXVII, 4. (3) Ibid, XXVIII, 33.
(4) Ibid, XXVI, 60. (5) Ibid, XIII, 80.
(6) Ibid, XXXIV, 38. (7) Ibid, XIII, 70.
(8) Ibid, X, 10. (9) Ibid, VIII, 41.
21.—(1) Ibid, VIII, 29. (2) Ibid, XXVII, 41.

sions, such as 'Kirīṭa', 'Jaṭā', and 'Karaṇḍa'. While it is true that in some places the terms 'Mauli' and 'Mukuṭa' when individually used are taken as synonyms of 'Kirīṭa', they are not always thus understood, and especially in a compound expression like 'Kirīṭa-mukuta' or 'Kirīṭamauli' they do not stand to mean any specific type. Their exact signification either in the sense of the special type of head-dress known as Kirīta or head-dress in general is to be determined therefore with reference to the context in which the terms are used. The statement of B. C. BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA that "according to ancient Sanskrit texts it (i. e. Kirīta) is the same as 'mukuṭa' or a crown" seems to be only partially true in view of the fact that the connotation of the term 'mukuta' is not a uniform and fixed one as proved by the varied use of the term in various Sanskrit texts, whereas the connotation of the term 'Kirīṭa' is a fixed one. The view expressed by OJHA, namely, that 'Kirīṭa' is a sub-variety of the 'Mukuta' holds good, but this also is true in so far as the compound expression Kirītamukuṭa (किरीटाख्यं मुकुटं किरीटमुकुटम्) allows. It cannot be conclusively and wholly established that the term 'Mukuta' in the general sense of head-dress is 'the most acceptable' view in view of the fact that in the *Tantrasamuccaya*[22] it is found employed in the sense of a common shining element of the two types of head-dresses known as 'Koṭīra' and 'Kirīṭa'. Thus vide the *Tantrasamuccaya* on

कोटीरादिलक्षणम् :—

" अत्रैकाङ्गुलसम्मितेन परिवेष्टयोष्णीषपट्टेन के
कोटीरं मुकुटोज्ज्वलं विरचयेदष्टाङ्गुलैः सर्वतः ।
ष्यष्टाभिर्धृतिसम्मितैर्दिनकरद्वन्द्वप्रमैर्वाङ्गुलै-
रुष्णीपोपरिभासमानमुकुटोपेतं किरीटं हरौ ॥ "

The Characteristics of Koṭīra etc.

"In the case of all gods in general, having tied round the top of the head with a head-band of one aṅgula in height, one should make a '*Koṭīra*' measuring eight aṅgulas in height and shining with a 'mukuta' (crest); in the case of Hari, one should make a '*Kirīṭa*' over the head-band with a height of sixteen, eighteen, or twenty-four aṅgulas accompanied by a bright 'mukuṭa' (crest)."

The commentator Śaṅkara[23] clearly explains the unmistakable text in which the term 'mukuṭa' is used in the sense of a part of the head-dresses Koṭīra and Kirīṭa. He states :—

22. *Tantrasamuccaya* (T. S. S. ed.), Paṭala II, st. 109.
23. Ibid, Part I, p. 115.

" मुकुटोज्ज्वलं मुकुटेन उज्ज्वलं कोटीरं जटाबन्धं विरचयेत् ।
उष्णीषपट्टस्योपरिभागे शोभमानेन मुकुटेनोपेतं किरीटं विरचयेत् । "

It is clear that the term 'mukuṭa' as used in the text of the *Tantrasamuccaya* connotes not the whole head-dress specifically called Kirīta nor the whole head-dress in the general sense of the term, but a part of a head-dress, a resplendent concomitant or a common shining adjunct of different types of head-dresses like the Koṭīra and Kirīṭa. This view of the *Tantrasamuccaya* seems to be based upon the etymological significance of the term 'Mukuṭa', the root whereof conveys the sense of 'to adorn'. Bhānuji Dīkṣita,[24] the son of Bhattoji Dīkṣita thus remarks on the formation of the term 'mukuṭa':—

" मङ्क्तेऽनेन वा । 'मकि मण्डने' (भ्वा. आ. से.) बाहुलकादुटः । आगमशास्त्र-
स्यानित्यत्वान्न नुम् । एकोकारम् ॥ (मुकुटम्, इति) द्व्युकारपाठे बाहुलकाद्
धातोरत उः । "

In the two commentaries of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*[25] entitled *Amarakośodghāṭana* of Ksīrasvāmin and *Tīkāsarvasva* of Vandhyaghatiya Sarvānanda it is found stated:—

" मङ्क्यतेऽनेन वा । " " मकुटद्वयं म उ ड इति ख्याते । 'मकि मण्डने' 'मङ्केः
उटन् नलोपश्च'। एवमकारादिर्मकुटः । 'अन् मुकुटादिषु' (परिच्छे. १
सू. २२) इत्यत्र प्राकृतशास्त्रे वररुचिना उकारश्च मकारवान् । "

The term 'Mukuta' may be rendered as 'crest' as in the word 'crest' the meaning 'any ornament or device fixed on the top of the head-dress or the top of anything' is recognised. Crest is also rarely used in the sense of crown.[26]

The features of the 'Kirīta' are described in the stanza that follows:—

" कुर्यात् किरीटं शिखरैः समेतं त्रिपञ्चसप्तप्रमितैर्यथार्हम् ।
अण्डोपमं वा कमलोपमं वा छत्रोपमं वा कमठोपमं वा ॥ "

"Furnished with three, five or seven *śikharas* and resembling an egg or lotus or umbrella or tortoise according as fitness demands one should make a '*Kirīṭa*'".

A Kirīṭa should be furnished with three, five or seven *śikharas*, says the author. The śikharas referred to here are the storeys of the crown. In a building interpreted in terms of the human organism the roof is called the 'śikhara',[27] bearing as it does the *śikhā* or

24. Vide the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), p. 238.
25. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (T. S. S. Ed), Part II, p. 361.
26. Vide *New English Dictionary*, Vol. II, pp. 1166-1167.
27. Vide *The Annamalai University Journal*, Vol. IX, No. 1, p. 33.

finial as the human head a śikhā or topknot. From the instance of architecture as we come to iconography we notice that there is in both the roof of a temple and crown of an image the common covering function. The portion above the 'gala' or neck of the Jāti, Chandas, Vikalpa or Ābhāsa class of temple, is characterised by a series of storeys or roofs disposed horizontally one above another. A crown too, characterised by a series of divisions (three or five or seven) lying horizontally one over another lends itself to a comparison with a temple possessed of a series of storeys. Thus the horizontal stages or divisions of a Kirīṭa seem to acquire the appellation '*śikharas*' and if this analogy of the divisions of a Kirīta and storeys of a temple is granted, one may render the expression '*śikharas*' of a crown as '*storeys*' in English. Such transferred and figurative usage of terms as we have noticed above is not uncommon in the English language also. The *New English Dictionary* after referring to the primary significance of the word 'storey (pl: storeys)' as 'each of the stages or portions one above the other of which a building consists' observes that in the transferred and figurative sense it implies 'anything compared to a storey of a building; one of a series of stages or divisions lying horizontally one over the other".[28]

One's head is thus jocularly called 'One's upper storey'. A high head-dress[29] formerly worn by women (obs.) is called a 'turret'.

It is interesting to note the richness of variety in respect of the design of crown indicated by the different standards of comparison —namely, egg, lotus, umbrella, and tortoise—instituted in the description of Kirīta in the *Tantrasamuccaya*.

28. Vide *The New English Dictionary*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 1042.
29. Ibid, Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 507.

Tritasaurya

By

V. V. MIRASHI, Nagpur

It is well known that the Kalacuri dynasty produced in the last quarter of the 9th Century A. D. a powerful prince named Kokalla I who ruled at Tripurī. He had eighteen very valiant sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī. He made his younger brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* by his side. A descendant (or, according to some records, a son) of one of these younger brothers, Kaliṅgarāja by name, carved out a kingdom for himself in Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Chhattisgarh).[1] No inscription of this king has come down to us, but in the Ratanpur stone inscription of his descendant, Jājalla-deva I, there occurs the following verse about him :—

प्रापत्तेषु कलिंगराजमसमं वंशः क्रमादानुजः
पुत्रं शत्रुकलत्रनेत्रसलिलस्फीतप्रतापद्रुमः (मम्) ।
येनायंत्रितसौर्यकोस(श)मकृशीकर्तुं विहायान्वय-
क्षोणीं दक्षिणकोशलो जनपदो वा(बा)हुद्वयेनार्ज्जितः ॥ Verse 6.

Dr. KIELHORN, who has edited this inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, translates this verse as follows :[2] "The race of one of these younger brothers in the course of time obtained an unequalled son, Kaliṅgarāja, a tree of prowess grown large by the water of the eyes of the wives of the enemies ; who, in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya, abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of Dakṣina Kośala." KIELHORN evidently made the *pada-ccheda* in the third quarter of this verse as *Yena ayaṁ Tritasaurya-kosa(śa)m* etc. and took Tritasaurya as the name of the country from which Kaliṅgarāja proceeded to conquer Dakṣina Kośala. Again, he found a mention of this country in another verse of the same inscription. The following verse occurs there in the description of Kokalla, the king of Tripurī and an ancestor of Kaliṅgarāja:—

तेषां हैहयभूभुजां समभवद्वंसे(शे) स चेदीश्वरः
श्रीकोकल्ल इति स्मरप्रतिकृतिर्व्विस्व(श्व)प्रमोदो यतः ।
येनायंत्रित[सौर्यं]– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – मेन मातुं यशः
स्वीयं प्रेषितमुच्चकैः कियदिति ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडमन्तःक्षिति ॥ Verse 4.

1. This statement occurs in many records of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur, see e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 34 ; Vol. XXII, pp. 164–65, etc.

The stone is broken at the proper left corner which has caused a loss of six *akṣaras* in the middle of the third quarter of this verse. KIELHORN has made no attempt to restore them. He translates this verse as follows :—'In the race of these Haihaya princes was born that ruler of Cedi, the illustrious Kokalla, an image of the god of love, whence all derived delight ; by whom, being on earth, in order to measure his own fame, how much it might be, this...... of (?) Tritasaurya, was sent high up into the universe.'[2] KIELHORN read *preṣita uccakaiḥ* in place of *preṣitam-uccakaiḥ* and obviously construed the sentence in the second hemistich as follows:— *Antah-kṣiti yena svīyaṁ yaśaḥ kiyad-iti......mena mātuṁ ayaṁ Tritasaurya... brahmāṇḍam preṣitaḥ*. He has therefore made the *pada-ccheda* in the third quarter of this verse also as *yena ayaṁ Tritasaurya* etc. On the reading *preṣi[ta u]ccakaih*, KIELHORN has added the following note :—' The *akṣaras* in brackets may be *ta u* or *tam-u*.' But the lithograph which accompanies his transcript clearly shows the reading to be *preṣitam-uccakaiḥ*. According to KIELHORN's *pada-ccheda* the sentence would therefore be *yena ayaṁ Tritasaurya ...... brahmāṇḍam preṣitaṁ*, which is grammatically indefensible. Besides, he does not state what thing of Tritasaurya it was which Kokalla sent up high into the Universe to measure his own fame !

In the whole range of inscriptional literature these are the only two passages in which a reference to the Tritasaurya country has been discovered. But relying on the high authority of KIELHORN scholars[3] have implicitly accepted the foregoing translation of the two verses. Tritasaurya has not, however, been located so far. If Kaliṅgarāja proceeded from Tritasaurya to conquer the Daksina Kośala Tritasaurya must evidently have been the ancestral country where Kokalla and his descendants were ruling. But this country was known as Dāhala or Ḍabhālā.[4] Its ancient name was probably Traipura from Tripurī its capital, which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas.[5] But neither of these is identical with Tritasaurya. Rai Bahadur HIRALAL, therefore, thought that Tritasaurya was a tribal name.[6] He conjecturally supplied the lost *akṣaras* in the third

2. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 37.

3. See, *e.g.*, BANERJI, *Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments*, M. A. S. I. No. 23, p. 23, p. 8 and RAY, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 755 and 802.

4. See Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (Bom. Sanskrit series), canto I,' vv. 102-03 ; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

5. See e. g. *Matsyapurāna* (Ānandāśrama ed.) p. 202.

6. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LIII (1924), pp. 270.

quarter of verse 4 in the Ratanpur inscription and proposed to read the second hemistich of it as follows:—

येनायं त्रितसौर्य[सैन्यबलमाया]मेन मातुं यशः
स्वीयं प्रेषितमुच्चकैः कियदिति ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडमन्तःक्षिति ॥

HIRALAL has not given a complete translation of this verse, but he has taken it to mean that 'the measure of Kokalla's prowess was the great army of the Tritasauryas whom he apparently defeated and thus exalted his fame.' As regards the other verse (6) where also the name Tritasaurya occurs, he says, 'In verse 6 Kaliṅgarāja's high-mindedness is exhibited by his generous act of leaving his own king's army with the intention of lessening the burden on the enemy's treasury. So valorous was Kaliṅga that the fight would have continued with the greatest vigour, entailing a heavy expenditure on the enemy's treasury, if he had not left the army and directed his attention to fields and pastures new.'' This idea of leaving one's sovereign's army to prevent the drain on the enemy's treasury is foreign to Sanskrit literature and inscriptions. If Kaliṅgarāja left the ancestral country for this purpose, he must have forced his liege-lord to make a disadvantageous peace with the enemy. For this action Kaliṅgarāja should receive condemnation and not praise, for his generosity was entirely misplaced !

HIRALAL's further attempt to connect the Tritasauryas with the ancient valorous tribe of the Tṛtsus on the ground that phonetically the words appear similar, is equally indefensible ; for Tritasaurya cannot be derived from Tṛtsu by any grammatical rule. Besides, the tribe Tritasaurya is as unknown to history as the country of Tritasaurya This interpretation also cannot, therefore, be upheld.

The difficulty, in my opinion, is caused by the wrong *padaccheda* of *yen-āyaṁtritasaurya* in both the verses. We have to separate the *padas* in verse 6 of this inscription as *yena ayaṁtrita-sau-*(*śau*)*rya-*[7] *kosa*(*śa*)*m-akrīśīkartuṁ* and translate the second hemistich as 'who, in order to augment his unrestrained valour and treasure, left the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of Dakṣiṇa Kośala'. *A-yantrita* means unrestrained or unchecked.[8] The verse means that Kaliṅgarāja's valour was unchecked. To augment it and to replenish his treasury he left his ancestral country of Ḍāhala and founded a kingdom in Dakṣina Kośala. There is thus no reference in this verse either to the country or to the tribe of Tritasaurya.

7. The dental *s* has been used for the palatal *ś* in several places in this inscription.

8. This is the usual sense of *a-yantrita*. See, *e.g.*, *Manusmṛti* Adhyāya II, v. 118.

In verse 4 also we have to make the same *pada-ccheda*. As stated before, six *akṣaras* are lost in the middle of its third quarter. The two *akṣaras mena* which follow make it probable that they formed part of the word *āyāmena* 'by or in extension'. The four *akṣaras* which precede *āyāmena* are more difficult to restore. It is, however, possible to conjecture that we have here an adjectival compound expression qualifying *yena*. We find that the poet has used *yena ayaṁtrita-sau(śau)rya-kosa(śa)ṁ* in verse 6 of this very inscription. Of this the first eight *akṣaras yena a-yaṁtrita-sau(śau)rya* are found repeated in the expression, now partially lost, in the present verse. It is not therefore unlikely that the two following *akṣaras* of that expression were *kosa(śa)* as in verse 6. The remaining two *akṣaras* have, of course, to be restored conjecturally. I propose to read the third quarter of this verse as *yen-ayaṁtrita-sau(śau)rya-kosa(śa) balin-āyāmena mātuṁ yaśah* The complete verse will therefore read as follows:—

तेषां हैहयभूभुजां समभवद्वंसे(शे) स चेदीश्वरः
श्रीकोकल्ल इति स्मरप्रतिकृतिर्व्विस्व(श्व)प्रमोदो यतः ।
येनायंन्त्रित[सौ(शौ)र्य] [कोस(श)व(ब)लिनाया*] मेन मातुं यशः
स्वीयं प्रेषितमुच्चकैः कियदिति ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडमन्तः क्षिति ॥

'In the race of these Haihaya princes was born that lord of Cedi, the illustrious Kokalla, an image of the god of love, in whom the whole world took delight—(he), who, with his unimpeded valour, treasure and might, sent forth his own glory high up in order to measure how much the universe, which includes the earth,[9] was extended (in space).' The idea that a king's fame spreads above to heaven and down to the nether regions occurs often in Sanskrit literature. Take, for instance, the following well-known verse from the sixth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*[10]:—

आरूढमद्रीनुदधीन्वितीर्णं भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम् ।
ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम् ॥

'Whose fame has climbed mountains, has plunged into the oceans, entered the abode of serpents, has gone up and being continuous, cannot be measured by any standard.' In verse 4 of the Ratanpur stone inscription, the poet has fancied that the reason for the king's fame going high up was to measure the extent of the universe.

The verses 4 and 6 of the inscription thus contain no reference at all to the country or the tribe of Tritasaurya.

9. KIELHORN has taken *antaḥ-kṣiti* as an Avyayībhāva compound meaning 'on the earth'. I take it as a Bahuvrīhi compound qualifying *brahmāṇḍa* and meaning 'which includes the earth'. Compare *nadīm=iv=āntaḥ-salilāṁ Sarasvatīṁ* in the *Raghuvaṁśa* Canto III, verse 9.

10. *Ibid.*, canto VI, verse 77.

The Concept of Suggestion in Hindu Aesthetics

By

P. S. NAIDU, Annamalainagar

'Suggestion' has been a baffling problem for Western psychologists as well as for Hindu philosophers, and is still puzzling them, because their mind is not properly oriented to the problem. Suggestion is a psychological phenomenon, and to approach it from the purely literary or the æsthetic point of view is to court failure and disappointment. The entire history of Hindu æsthetics bears evidence to the futility of the non-psychological mode of approach to the problem we have taken up. From the legendary Bharata down to Jagannatha questions of æsthetics have been handled with an astounding childlike naivitc which surprises us. These scholars were engaging their acute minds on the superficial aspects of a profound psychological problem. But what could they do? Psychology was then an unknown science.

In the West, in spite of scientific advances, this particular problem was mis-handled, because the proper type of psychology for analysing 'suggestion' was born only in 1908 when McDOUGALL'S *Social Psychology* was published. The older arm-chair intellectualistic psychology was puzzled bv the different types of suggestion. There is, in the first instance, suggestion which leads to intellectual assent; then there is poetic suggestion through metaphor and simile which induces pleasure in contemplating those figures; and finally, there is æsthetic suggestion which produces a profound mental change. How are these, and several other types of suggestion leading to belief and action to be thought together, and a consistent theory evolved? No answer to this question was forthcoming until Hormic psychology appeared on the scene, and evolved a theory to solve the riddle of suggestion.

Hormic psychology insists on an understanding of the structure and function of the human mind before problems relating to the fields of æsthetics, literary criticism, economics, politics, sociology etc., are taken up, for all these are merely questions of applied psychology. Before you tackle problems of applied science, you must grasp the fundamentals of general science.

It has been established after careful scientific investigation that the structure of the human mind is instinctual. We may express this highly scientific conclusion in crude language thus: 'the

human mind is a bundle of instincts.' All the motives of man which impel him to action of various grades—from simple food-seeking to the highest type of self-sacrifice depicted in the 'Tale of Two Cities' may be resolved ultimately into the fundamental elements which are called *Instincts* or *propensities*. It is to be borne in mind that this conclusion has been reached after a very careful comparative study, conducted by the best scientific methods available, of men and higher animals on the one hand, and of primitive and civilised races on the other. So, we hold that in the human mind we have just instincts; nothing more and nothing less.

How many of these elements are there? It is here that there is wide disparity in the views held by psychologists. We, in our country, have upheld an eight-fold scheme, while Western psychology is inclined to double that number. This divergence in the views of experts need not cause us any inconvenience, for contemporary science in all its departments is full of such conflicting theories.

The more important among these instinctual elements are these: fear, anger, disgust, sex-lust, self-assertion, tender-emotion, curiosity, laughter, food-seeking, submission, acquisitiveness, construction, appeal etc.

It may be objected at once that this view of man's mind reduces him almost to the level of the animal. Is not man moved by noble and divine sentiments? Is he not a seeker after truth, beauty, and goodness? How could you reduce all his ambitions, ideals, hopes and aspirations to these primitive elements? In answer to these questions I would first draw the attention of the critic to the ghastly scenes of the battle-front. Man is still a creature of primitive emotions, and impulses. The veneer of civilisation is very thin. It takes very little to break this thin crust and reveal the brutal passions boiling and seething underneath. *Man is not a rational animal, but an instinctive animal.* In the second instance, we shall show how these instincts go to make up the 'sentiments'. In this connection it is helpful to think of the way in which chemistry analyses the world. All the beautiful and soul-stirring things of the world are composed of organic and inorganic compounds, and these in their turn are analysable into elements which number about a hundred. The union of these chemical elements in different ways and different degrees and proportions produces this rich kaleidoscopic world of the sense manifold. On lines very similar to this the primitive and fundamental instincts (which correspond to the chemical elements) get organised, round objects and persons, and generate concrete

sentiments. Hatred, for example, is a concrete sentiment produced by the organisation of the elements of fear, anger and disgust round a person or object. The human mind, it must be remembered, is dynamic. It is born into this world with certain inherited structural elements—the instincts. But with the growth of experience these elements are organised and compounded into different 'sentiments'. Love, hatred, awe, reverence, gratitude etc., develop in this way. Out of these grow the abstract sentiments of loyalty, patriotism etc. All the lofty moral and æsthetic sentiments and their generous impulses are thus formed out of the primitive instincts and their emotions. The former are, no doubt, the immediate excitants of human behaviour, but it must never be forgotten that they are only composed of the latter, and can be easily analysed into their components which are primitive, and animal in their nature.

This psychological analysis of the structure of the human mind is of absorbing interest, but our task lies elsewhere. We shall, therefore, take up at once the dissection of the instincts.

Each instinct has a special structure. It is stimulated by certain objects or ideas, it generates an emotion, and finally leads to a course of action. There are, thus, three aspects to an instinctive structure: the perceptual, the emotional and the behavioural aspects. Fear, for example, is stimulated by the perception of the mysterious, the unaccountable and the threatening and the injurious. As soon as these objects are perceived the emotion of *fear* is experienced, and that results in flight to a place of security. Each one of the instincts may be trisected in this manner into its cognitive, affective and conative phases. Of these the first and the last may undergo considerable modifications through experience. The adult may learn to control the natural 'expressions' of fear. He may put on the mask of courage in the face of deadly excitants of fear. And on the other hand he may learn through his own personal experience to be afraid of many harmless things, such as large sheets of water, narrow places and lightning. In the midst of all these modifications of the initial cognitive or perceptive and the final behavioural aspects, the central affect remain unchanged. The emotion of fear is always the same emotion of fear. It changes into nothing else.

The central emotional part may be further analysed into the mental experience proper, and its bodily manifestations called the 'expressions' of the emotion. In fear, there is first and foremost the mental experience of the emotion. On the bodily side we have pallor of the face, dryness of the mouth, shrinking and trembling,

perspiration, horripulation, goose-flesh, cessation of the digestive processes, heightened activity of the adrenal gland, increase of blood-pressure, the rushing of energy through the diversion of the blood stream to the muscles of the legs, etc. These expressions of the emotion of fear are admirably suited to further the behavioural aspect of the instinct of flight. In every instinct, the emotion and its expressions help to accelerate the activity which is the natural goal of the instinctive impulse. It is in this 'expression' of the emotions pertaining to the instincts that the solution to the problem of suggestion is to be found.

We have noted already that every instinct is set in motion by certain objects or ideas of those objects. Now, there is a peculiarity of the instinctual structure of the human mind, as well as of animal mind, which has far reaching consequences. On the cognitive side the instinct is so organised that it is aroused to its full intensity not only by the perception of the objects which are its natural excitants, but also by the perception of the 'expressions' of the emotion as displayed by a member of the same species. 'For each emotion...there are two classes of stimuli which have the innate capacity for evoking it. One of these is the actual object, such as thwarting agencies for anger and dangerous stimuli for fear. The other comprises the perception of the emotion in question as expressed in the behaviour of another. Thus the facial expression, the cries, and movements of fear directly arouse fear in a person wittnessing them, and arouse it, moreover, as an instinctive response. The gregarious wild horse, we are told, tells off one or two members of the herd to mount guard while the others go to sleep or feed. As soon as danger is sighted by the scouts they send forth a neigh of fear, and it is this peculiar neigh that puts the whole herd to flight. The latter have not sighted the source of danger, but the expression of the emotion of fear in the scouts has served to induce fear sympathetically in the minds of others, and flight results. This sympathetic induction of emotions is the foundation for the Ancient Hindu Aesthetic theory of 'Suggestion'.

Sympathetic induction works not only at the primitive instinctual level, but also at the higher sentiment level. Among persons who have reached more or less the same stage in the scale of sentiments the exhibition by speech, gesture, and other perceptible forms of expression of any sentiment will induce the same sentiment in the minds of the beholders. It is this sympathetic induction of the sentiments that is the basis of *Rasa*.

The three aspects or phases of the instinctual structure of the human mind have already been noted. When these instincts

combine or unite to generate sentiments, it goes without saying that the resultant sentiments also will have a three-fold structure—that is a central emotional part composed of the emotions of the instincts that enter into its constitution, the initial cognitive part and the final behavioural part—these two again being compounded of the original elements. Now, when the central part is aroused through sympathetic induction then the mental energy traverses both backwards and forwards arousing the cognitive and behavioural parts. In other words sympathetic induction of emotions arouses cognition and conation also. The term 'suggestion' should be properly applied only to the sympathetic arousal of the cognitive part of mental structure, sympathy to the central and imitation to the last aspect. When, for example, the love-making scene in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam* is enacted, the æsthetic expression of *Śṛṅgāra* through speech, music and dance induces sympathetically the corresponding sentiment in the mind of the audience. The mental energy thus released will work forward, and make each man or woman think of his or her own lover and love experiences. And, on the final behavioural side the energy will be consumed in intense and concentrated appreciation, and incipient imitative movements with a final outburst of applause when the curtain drops.

We have observed already that considerable modifications are possible of the instincts both on the cognitive and active behavioural sides. The same remark may be made of sentiments also. Moreover, as the central part of the sentiment is itself a blend of several emotions, the expressions of these emotions too are subject to modifications.

It is now clear what the nature of the psychological experience is that was indicated by the word 'suggestion' in Ancient Hindu Aesthetics. It is the sympathetic induction of the compound emotions which constitute the central part of sentiments by excitants of a purely æsthetic origin. Rasa experience is founded on this type of induction. The question, therefore, for us now is whether the elaborate psychological scheme outlined above was comprehended by our ancient thinkers. I have no hesitation in affirming that the fundamental principles of hormic psychology were known to our philosophers. But, their analysis is rather defective. As I have said elsewhere, 'Utter confusion faces us when we take a glimpse of the rasa doctrine, for we discover at once that the *rasa* elements belong to different levels of mental organisation or culture. *Bhayānaka*, *bībhatsa*, *adbhuta* and *raudra* belong to the primitive emotional level of mental structure; *hāsya* and *karuṇa*

and *vīra* to the higher sentiment level, while *sṛṅgāra* is very near the top of the scale of sentiment values...'

'Hindu psychology too starts with the innate endowment of the human mind...The *Sthāyi bhāvas* are the propensities (or instincts) of Western psychology, and of these *krodha*, *bhaya*, *jugupsā*, and *vismaya* may be accepted as being really elemental. *Hāsya* should be interpreted as laughter, and *rati* as simple sex passion... *Śoka* is not elemental, and so it should be replaced by tender emotion which is the most fundamental component of the complex texture of *śoka*. *Utsāha* should be replaced by self-assertion. With these modifications we may accept the foundation of the *rasa* theory.'

'Each *sthāyi bhāva*...is excited by its specific *vibhāvas*. As a result of this excitation there arises an emotion whose expression constitutes the *anubhāvas* and *sāttvika bhāvas*. When an emotion is excited, it is accompanied by two types of bodily expressions, one composed of the results of the glandular discharges and movements under the guidance of the autonomic system, and the other of movements mostly directed by the Rolandic region. These are the *sāttvikabhāvas* and *anubhāvas*...'

'When we enter into the region of *vyabhicāri* and *sancāri* bhāvas we find comfusion doubly confounded... Many of the *sancāri* and *vyabhicāri* bhāvas are compound sentiments, some are derived emotions, and to add to this confusion a few are merely physiological states. This confusion has been introduced even into the *vibhāvas*...'

The several types of confusion that I have noted above may be removed by accepting the psychological foundation so carefully laid by the hormic school. The jumbled mass of ideas relating to the components of *rasa* will then fall into order just as loosely scattered and chaotically massed iron-filings assume an orderly pattern when brought within a powerful magnetic field. *'Rasa' may then be defined as the mental counterpart of the totality of experience generated in a cultured person by the sympathetic induction of blended emotions belonging to the sentiments by excitants of a purely aesthetic origin.* In this way of looking at the genesis of *rasa* we have to distinguish between the cognitive and the affective elements in the mental process of induction. That is, when a dramatic scene is being enacted, or a dance recital is being given, we should first understand that these Nāṭyaic performances are the outward expressions of the highly cultured sentiments which the dramatist wants to convey to the audience through the 'actions' of the danseuse or the actor. When the audience or a part of it rises to the high sen-

timent level demanded by the author, then it will catch, as it were, the infection of feeling through the visible and vocal representations. Sympathetic induction takes place at the moment when the infection catches. In this induction we have to distinguish between the feeling that is induced and the intellectual elementl which come after. 'Suggestion' has been used to indicate the totas process, and I object to it first on the ground that the cognitive bias in the connotation of the term is greater than the conative, whereas in the concrete experience of *rasa* the affective and conative elements are dominant; and secondly, 'Suggestion' in Hindu Aesthetics is an unanalysed concept, an uncritical acceptance of which will result in confusion. Hence the Western psychological analysis should be unhesitatingly accepted by us as the most suitable foundation for the *rasa* doctrine.

The last and the most important question for us is whether the *rasa* theorists have understood the process of sympathetic induction correctly. The answer to this questien has necessarily to be brief. We can touch only on the fringes of the solution given at two or three outstanding stages in the history of the evolution of the *rasa* doctrine. And at the initial stage of our discussion we must refer to Bharata, the fountain head of Hindu aesthetics. The cryptic verse wherein Bharata defines *rasa* is familiar to all of us. When this verse is studied carefully 'the question... arises to which Bharata himself gives no definite solution, viz., what relation these elements (*vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *vyabhīcāri*, *sancāri* and *sāttvika bhāvas*) bear to *rasa*, or in other words, how do they bring about this subjective condition of relish in the reader's mind, the solution depending...upon the explanation of the two much discussed terms *Saṁyoga* (lit. correlation) and *niṣpatti* (lit. consummation) in the original *sūtra* of Bharata.' It is in this way that a recent writer on Samskrit poetics, Dr. De, sets out Bharata's position. Bharata discusses the nature of the excitant of sentiments, and of the expressions of the blended emotions belonging to these sentiments. So far, his insight into human nature has enabled him to see the psychological structure of the mind of man. But, when faced with the problem of 'induction' his grip over facts becomes shaky. There is a hint as to the way in which dance and drama induce *rasa* in the minds of the audience in the two great concepts '*Saṁyoga*' and '*Niṣpatti*'. But the hint stops as a hint without any further analysis. Just because of the vagueness of the hint the *sūtra* lends itself to innumerable interpretations. And Bharata's successors did evolve widely differing, and often conflicting theories out of the original *sūtra*. One may deplore the vagueness which fostered the growth

of disharmony among theorists, but it is out of this conflict that psychological ideas flowered out among literary critics and aesthetic thinkers of our country.

We have seen that the seed for the tree which was to yield the fruit of the psychological theory of suggestion is to be found in Bharata's original verse. Long before the Dhvanikāras, Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seem to have taken one or two important steps along the path to the goal of *rasa*. Of the views of these three thinkers Dr. De writes in the second volume of his *Samskrit Poetics*, 'Lollaṭa's view appears to be that the spectator ascribes to the well-trained actor the same mental state as belonged to the hero, and his apprehension of this imparted feeling produces a similar feeling in his mind causing delight. Śaṅkuka thinks that the well-trained actor so cleverly simulates the action of the hero that the spectator apprehends the actor to be identical with the hero and *infers* from this illusion the actual feeling of the hero in his own mind, being moved by the extra-ordinary beauty of the represented action.' Here we have definite attempts to explain the origin of *rasa*. Both are crude and hesitant answers to the great question. Śankuka, in particular, shifts the emphasis to the wrong place, namely, cognition In neither do we find any attempt at psychological analysis. Yet, it must be said to the credit of these two thinkers that instead of accepting uncritically, as Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Rudrata had done, the position of Bharata, they attempt to explain the basis of the sympathetic induction of emotions. From our point of view such an attempt, though yielding no fruit, marks a clear advance. In Bhatta Nāyaka we find a further advance. *Rasa* is now sought to be located in the mind of the *Rasika*, and that is the right way of tackling the problem. The *sthāyi bhāva* is the foundation for *rasa*. An element of *bhoga* enters, and finally the state of supreme relish is sought to be raised to super-mundane levels. A further advance is made in Abhinavagupta's conception of *rasa-vyañjanā*. But it is when we come to Viśvanātha that we find a clear description of the origin and dvelopment of 'Suggestion'. In a short chapter devoted to the subject the author deals with the nature of this psychological process. But the confusion that we have been complaining against is to be found here also. Therefore, the only way of improving the existing state of affairs in the field of Hindu Aesthetics is to give the proper psychological orientation to the theories, and such orientation can be effected only by the most up-to-date and perfect system of psychology known to us, namely the Hormic System.

The Legend of Śunaḥśepa in Vedic and Post-vedic Literature

By

H. G. NARAHARI, Adyar

Among the legends current in Vedic Literature, the story of Śunahśepa occupies a place which can be rivalled by few others belonging to its class. Besides being the earliest specimen of story-narration called *Ākhyāna*,[1] the legend is important also in that it forms the basis of many an important controversy on such subjects as the prevalence of human sacrifice in Vedic India. It is perhaps this intrinsic importance of it that is responsible for its being narrated very often not merely in the Vedic texts, but also in the Epics, the Purānas and secular literature.

The story is narrated *in extenso* for the first time in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 3.), though it is not impossible to find traces of it in the *Ṛgveda* which betrays, to some extent, a knowledge of this story. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, King Hariścandra, the son of Vedhas, of the Ikṣvāku race was childless, though he had a hundred wives. Troubled at heart, he approaches the Ṛsi Nārada who lived in his own house and asks him the reason why all beings, both rational and irrational, crave for off-spring. In ten stanzas which he repeats in reply, Nārada points out the importance of the possession of a son. This enhances the eagerness of the king to have a child, and Nārada suggests to the king that he would do well to propitiate Varuna who, on being pleased, would favour him with a son. The king does accordingly, and, after a time, a son named Rohita is born to him on the condition that the child should be sacrificed to Varuna soon after his birth.

After the birth of the child, Varuṇa promptly arrives and demands of the king the sacrifice of his son. Paternal affection, more powerful than the sense of duty, prompts the king to be recalcitrant, and he consequently tries to postpone the fulfilment of his promise by offering lame excuses. He asks Varuṇa to wait till the child is ten days old, and when Varuna appears then, he is asked to wait till teeth appear in the mouth of the child. Varuṇa is further asked to wait till the teeth fall out, and till the child, being a Kṣatriya, is fully invested with armour. Varuṇa accordingly

1. Prof. KEITH, however, does not seem to be inclined to allow the appellation of *Ākhyāna* to this legend—*JRAS.* (1911), pp. (988–89).

waits and appears when this last condition is fulfilled. The king is now unable to invent any more pleas, and hence he calls his son and informs him that he is to be sacrificed. The boy flies away in panic to the woods. This so enrages Varuṇa that he inflicts dropsy on the king.

The boy Rohita had wandered for about a year in the forest when he heard of his father's illness. He immediately decides to return, but Indra meets him in the guise of a brahmin, speaks to him about the advantages of travelling and asks him to wander for one more year. For six years Rohita wanders, being prevented from returning by Indra each one of the six times he decided to do so.

At the end of this period he meets the starving *Ajīgarta* who, overcome by his indigence, is ready to sell one of his three sons–*Śunaḥpuccha*, *Śunahśepa* and *Śunolāṅgūla*, to be sacrificed in place of Rohita on payment of a ransom of a hundred cows. Ajīgarta wants to retain his eldest son with him, while his wife declines to part with her youngest son It consequently falls to the lot of Śunahsepa to go as the sacrificial victim. Rohita takes him to his father and tells him that he has bought him to be sacrificed in his stead. Varuna is then approached by Hariścandra and he gladly accepts the exchange.

The sacrifice was duly begun and after the preliminary ceremonies were over, there could be found no one who would consent to tie him to the post (*Niyoktāram na vividuḥ*). Ajīgarta offers to do this if he is paid a hundred cows. After this was done, there was again no one to be found who could be the slaughterer (*Viśasitā*). Ajīgarta again offers himself for this post if he is paid a hundred cows more. When this ransom was paid, he comes, sharpening his sword, near the victim. Śunahśepa feels sure that he would be butchered even like a beast (*Śunaḥśepah īkṣām cakre amānuṣamiva vai mā viśasiṣyanti iti*), and he, therefore, appeals to the gods for help. He appeals in succession to Prajāpati, Agni, Savitṛ, Varuna, Indra, Aśvins and Uṣas. After having tossed him between themselves for some time, the gods at last release him. As he repeats one verse after another to Uṣas, the cords binding him fall off bit by bit, and with the repetition of the last verse he becomes free from his fetters and Hariścandra from his disease. Śunaḥśepa is next invited to join the priests as one of them. After doing so, he invents the *añjaḥsava* method of preparation of the Soma which he carries out under the recital of the verses *Yac chiddhi tvam gṛhe gṛhe*, *Uccisṭham camvoḥ* etc.

2.

After the sacrifice is over, he goes and sits by the side of Viśvāmitra. Ajīgarta reclaims Śunaḥśepa as his son. But Śunaḥśepa replies that his conduct has been so base that no reconciliation can ever be possible with him. Viśvāmitra also joins Śunaḥśepa in condemning Ajīgarta, and, saying that the gods have given Śunaḥśepa to him, names him Devarāta and gives him the primogeniture among his hundred children. The elder fifty, who did not approve of this, were cursed by Viśvāmitra and the younger fifty, who acceded to his wish, were blessed by him.

This, in brief, is the story that is contained in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII.3.), and we will now see with how much of this the Ṛgvedic poets were already conversant. While it is true that it is not possible to find a regular narration of the story of Śunaḥśepa in the *Ṛgveda*, it has to be admitted still that the Ṛgvedic seers were not unfamiliar with the story. The *Ṛgveda* contains not merely more than one allusion to the liberation of Śunahśepa from the fettered stake,[2] but also all the hymns which Śunahśepa is said to have recited, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, to effect his release and in the course of the *Añjah sava* ceremony of which he is called the inventor.[3] Śunahśepa is said to have applied first of all to Prajāpati with the verse *Kasya nūnam katamasyāmrtānām* which is nothing else than RV. I.24.1. Being directed by Prajāpati, he next applies to Agni with the verse *Agner vayam prathamasyāmṛtānām* (RV.I.24.2.). Thence directed, he is next said to have addressed Savitr with the three verses beginning with *Abhi tvā deva savitah* (V.I.24.3-5). He is further reported to have addressed Varuna with the following 31 verses [RV. I. 24 (6-15); I. 25. (1-21);], and Agni, again, with the succeeding 22 verses [RV.I.26; I.27 (1-12)]. Śunaḥśepa praises the *Viśvedevāḥ* next with the verse *Namo mahadbhyo...* (RV.I.27.13). He then praises Indra with the hymn *Yac chiddhi satya somapā...*(RV. I. 29.) and the *fifteen* succeeding verses [RV. I. 30. (1-15)]. Indra pleased by this praise grants Śunaḥśepa a golden chariot which he acknowledges gratefully by repeating the verse *Śaśvad Indra...* [(RV.I.30. (1-16)]. Śunaḥśepa is next reported to have praised the Aśvins with the next three verses [RV.I.30. (17-19)], and lastly, being directed by them, Uṣas with the succeeding three verses [RV. I. 30. (20-22)] which are said to have brought about his complete release.

2. RV. I, 24. 15 ; I. 25. 21 ; V. 2. 7. etc.

3. I am here unable to agree with Prof. KEITH who remarks that "it is admittedly the case that the Ṛg-veda verses which are put into the mouth of Śunaḥśepa have nothing to do with the legend in the Brāhmaṇa."—*J. R. A. S.* (1911)—p. 988.

Śunaḥśepa, who was thus released, is later said to have invented the method of direct preparation of Soma (*Añjaḥsava*), and, in the course of this ceremony, he is reported to have repeated the four verses beginning with *Yac chiddhi tvam gṛhe gṛhe* [RV.I.28.(5-8)] and the verse *Uccișṭham camvor* ..(RV.I.28.9.). He is said to have sacrificed the Soma under the recital of the four verses *Yatra grāvā pṛthubudhnā*...[RV. I. 28. (1-4)]. The two verses which the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* regards as being recited by Ṣunaḥśepa at the time of the *Avabhṛtha* ceremony, and the verse used by him in summoning Hariścandra to the *Āhavanīya* fire are nothing else than RV. IV. 1. (4-5), and RV. V. 2. 7. respectively.

It is thus clear that the account given in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* about Śunaḥśepa is ratified, to a very great extent, by the *Ṛgveda*. We will next see how in the later texts, Vedic and post-vedic, the version of the story contained in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* makes its appearance.

There is a section relating to the legend of Śunaḥśepa in the *Śānkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtras* XV. (17-27), but the importance of it consists only in the textual variations it contains in respect of the text in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[4]

The *Bṛhaddevatā*, ascribed to Śaunaka, seems to allude to the legend of Śunaḥśepa when it reiterates the statement made in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, that Indra presented Śunaḥśepa with a golden chariot, pleased by his songs of praise.[5]

The *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana shows its knowledge of the legend when it refers to Śunahśepa, the son of Ajīgarta and the seer of RV. I. 24. 1., who later becomes Devarāta, the son of Viśvamitra.[6]

In the Epics and Purāṇas, the Vedic version of the legend of Śunaḥśepa undergoes some changes. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* [I. (6. 1-2)],[7] Śunaḥśepa is the son of the sage Ṛcīka and is sold by his father to king Ambarīṣa of Ayodhyā for a hundred thousand kine as a victim for the sacrifice contemplated by the King. On the road, Ṣunaḥśepa comes to the lake Puṣkara where he sees the sage Viśvāmitra doing 'penance, stern and resolute, living on roots and

4. The variants presented in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śūtras* to the parallel passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmana* have been fully noticed by MAX MÜLLER in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*—pp. 573 ff.

5. स्तूयमानः शश्वदिति प्रीतस्तु मनसा ददौ ।
शुनःशेपाय दिव्यं तु रथं सर्वं हिरण्मयम् ॥ *Bṛhaddevatā*—III. 103.

6. कस्य पश्चोनाजीगर्तिः शुनःशेपः स कृत्रिमो वैश्वामित्रो देवरातः—
Sarvānukramaṇī—Ed. by A. A. MACDONELL—p. 6.

7. This section appears as I, (63-4) in GORRESIO's Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

fruit'. Weeping he approaches the sage and implores him to save him from his miserable plight. Viśvāmitra is moved by the boy's heart-rending story, and, therefore, calls his sons to him and asks one of them to go as a victim in Śunaḥśepa's stead. The sons refuse with scorn. In anger the sage curses them all, and teaches Śunaḥśepa *two* hymns[8] which he should repeat when he is tied to the stake. Śunaḥśepa did accordingly when he was tied to the stake, and Indra is induced by his prayers to come and set him free.

The *Mahābhārata* (VI. 6.) also contains an allusion to this story. The *Mahābhārata* agrees with the *Rāmāyaṇa* in calling Śunaḥśepa the son of Ṛcīka, but it follows the Vedic version in accepting King Hariścandra instead of King Ambarīsa.[9] The other incidents mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* viz.: Viśvāmitra's adoption of Śunaḥśepa as his eldest son, and his cursing of his fifty sons who refused to accept the primogeniture of Śunaḥśepa are also mentioned by the *Mahābhārata*.[10]

In the Purānic literature, it is possible to find two different shades of opinion as regards the version of the story. While the *Bhāgavata* (IX. 7) and the *Devī-Bhāgavata* [VII. (14-17)] follow the version of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 27.) follows, in the main, the account given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* when it narrates the story of Śunahśepa.[11] The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (IV. 7.) betrays knowledge of this story when it says that Śunahśepa was given by the gods to Viśvāmitra and was hence called *Devarāta*. It also mentions Rohita, the son of Hariścandra.[12] The *Vāyupurāṇa* follows the *Mahābhārata* in making Śunahśepa the son of Ṛcīka and in alluding to his being the victim at Hariścandra's sacrifice, to his later designation of Devarāta, and to Visvāmitra's grant to him of the primogeniture among his children.[13]

Among the works in secular literature, the *Manusmṛti* (X. 105) alludes to the story when it says that Ajīgarta incurred no guilt by giving up his son to be sacrificed, for he only did so that he may preserve himself and his family from hunger.[14] Kullūkabhaṭṭa the commentator on the *Manusmṛti*, names the son Śunaḥśepa and

8. According to GORRESIO's text, Viśvamitra taught Śunaḥśepa only *one* hymn—G. GORRESIO—'*Rāmāyana*'—I. 64. (1920), pp. 248-49.

9. *Mahābhārata*—(VI. 6. 7a)—p. 12. (Kumbhakonam edn.).

10. *Ibid*—VI. 6. 7 f.

11. But the King mentioned here is *Haridaśva*.

12. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*—IV. 3.

13. *Vāyu-purāṇa*—p. 331. (Ānandāśrama Edn.).

14. अजीगर्तः सुतं हन्तुमुपासर्पद्बुभुक्षितः ।
न चालिप्यत पापेन क्षुत्प्रतीकारमाचरन् ॥ —*Manusmṛti*—X. 105.

refers for his authority, to the original story found in the *Bahvṛca-Brāhmaṇa*.[15]

We have thus *three* recensions of the legend of Śunaḥśepa; the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* says that Śunaḥśepa, the son of Ajīgarta, was brought as a victim for the sacrifice conducted by King Hariścandra; the *Rāmāyaṇa* makes Śunaḥśepa the son of Ṛcīka and a victim for the sacrifice arranged by King Aṁbarīṣa; and the *Mahābhārata*, while following the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in accepting King Hariścandra, follows the *Rāmāyaṇa* in making Sunahṣepa the son of Ṛcīka. In his article entitled *Die Sage von Śunaḥśepa* in the *Indische Studien*, ROTH takes into account the legend of Śunaḥśepa narrated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*,[16] and concludes that there are *two* versions of the story, one of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the other of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and that, of these two, the latter, in course of time, becomes the prevailing one.[17] But, from what we have seen in the above pages, it is clear that there are *three* recensions of the legend current in Indian literature, and that, of these three, the *Vedic version* contained in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* seems to be the *most* popular as it is followed by not less than *six* more texts[18] which later attempt to narrate the story. The version in the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to be followed, at least in part, only by the *Harivaṁśa* and that in the *Mahābhārata* only by the *Vāyupurāṇa*. There can, however, be no hesitation in agreeing with ROTH when he says that the oldest story about Śunaḥśepa (which is contained in the Ṛgveda) knows only of his wonderful deliverance from the sacrificial stake by means of prayer to the various Vedic gods, and that the introduction of Viśvāmitra into the scene is of a later date.[19]

---

15. *Manusmṛti* with the *Manvarthamuktāvalī* of Kullūkabhaṭṭa—p. 415.—Ed. by P. H. PANDYA.

16. A. WEBER—*Indische Studien*—II. (112-23).

17. "Diese Opfersage geht in zwei wesentlich verschiedene Versionen auseinander, für uns in der ältesten form vertreten durch das *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* und das *Rāmāyaṇa*. Die letztere wird in der Folge die herrschende"—*Ibid*—p. 121.

18. The *Nirukta* (III. 4.) and the *Brahmapurāṇa* (Chap. 1°0) also betray knowledge of this story; the former work shows its knowledge of this story when it mentions Śunaḥśepa as an anomalous instance of a man being sold (*puṁso' pi ityeke, Śaunaśśepe darśanāt*), and the latter work speaks of *Ajīgarta*, the son of *Suryavasa* who, prompted by poverty not merely to sell his son but even, to butcher him, was condemned, after death, to fall into the abyss of Hell. Though it is not possible to determine exactly to which of the *three* versions mentioned above these two accounts of the story belong, it can safely be said that their learning is more towards the *Vedic version* than the others.

19. A. WEBER—op. cit.—II. 120.

Rulers of Punnāṭa

By

M. GOVIND PAI, Manjeshwar

The earliest mention, so far as I am aware, of Punnāṭa, one of the ancient kingdoms of Karnāṭaka, is met with in the Geography of Ptolemy,[1] a contemporary of Siro Polemaios, i. e. the Sātavāhana king Vāsishtīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi (91–119 A.C.), where it is described as a country producing beryl. It is next mentioned as Puṇaḍa in the Prākrit Chandravaḷḷi stone inscription[2] of Mayūraśarma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāsi, dated about 210 A.C.[3] One of the *sanghas* of the Digambara Jaina ascetics in Karṇāṭaka was called after that country as Punnāta *sangha*, and Jinasēna, the author of the Jaina *Harivaṁśa* belonged to that community.[4] To judge from the description given of Punnāta in the Māmbaḷḷi copper-plates (ll. 7–13), that country, which has been called there Puṁrāshtra, evidently by its Sanskrit (or Sanskritized) name, seems to have been a very fertile region watered by the rivers Kāveri and Kapini, and from the fact that in the Komaralingam copper-plates, in which the then ruler of Punnāta is said to have abided in the best city of Kitthipura i. e. Kīrtipura, that city would seem to have been its capital at least at that time. From these facts the ancient Punnāta has been rightly identified with that country through which the rivers Kāvēri and Kapini flow and which lies in the south of the Mysore state, including the present Heggaḍedēvanakōte taluk in it, and its capital Kīrtipura is thus no other than the present Kittūra on the Kapini river in that taluk. From a stone-inscription of c. 700 A. C., at Śravaṇabeḷgola,[5] we know there was also a Kittūra *saṅgha* among the southern Jainas.

So far we have only three records of the rulers of Punnāṭa. From the earliest of them, the Māmbaḷḷi grant,[6] which is neither dated nor complete, we know that the name of their dynasty is Tāmrakāśyapa-kula (ll. 5 and 15), and that a king of that dynasty

1. Mc CRINDLE'S *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy,* (Calcutta, 1927) pp. 180-181.

2. *Mysore Archaeological Report* (MAR) 1929, p. 50.

3. *Journal of Indian History* (JIH) XIII, pp. 132-36.

4. 'पुन्नाट संघान्वये प्राप्तश्री जिनसेन सूरि कवि'—*Jaina Siddhānta Bhāshara* (Arrah) I, 2-3, p. 74.

5. *Epigraphia Carnatica* (*EC*) II, No. 81.

6. *MAR*, 1917, p. 33.

Rāṣṭravarma, son of Vishṇudāsa and king of Puṁrāṣṭra i. e. Punnāṭa (ll. 5 and 15), married Prajāvati, a princess of the Hārīta-kula i. e. Hārīta family, and begot three sons (l. 16) of whom Pṛthivīpati was the eldest. The record then stops abruptly in the 21st line in the course of the description of Pṛithivīpati and there is no further writing, so that though at first sight it may appear doubtful whether it is his own inscription or that of a later ruler of his family, from the rather detailed description (ll. 18–21) of Pṛtbivīpati given in it, it may well be put down as his own. From the facsimile of the record[7] the 2nd *akshara* of the name of the mother of Pṛthivīpati, read as Prajāvati, seems rather to be a भा than जा, so that her name would appear to have been Prabhāvati and not Prajāvati. The genealogy as given in this grant is as follows :—

Visṇudāsa
|
Rāṣṭravarma *m*. Prabhāvati, princess of Hārīta family
|
Pṛthivīpati — 2nd son — 3rd son ... ... (*A*)

The next in point of time is the Basavanapura copper-plate grant.[8] Though it contains no name of Punnāta, there is hardly any doubt that it is a grant of one of the kings of Punnāta, and it is their genealogy which it unfolds. For beginning with a certain king Mika (l. 1), it states that he had a son Tāmrakāśyapa (l. 3), whose son was Rājāditya (l. 4). Some generations after him (l 5), there was king Rāṣṭravarma (l. 6) who married princess Prabhāvati of the Kadamba dynasty (ll. 7-9), and to them was born Skanda-varma (l. 18) who was the donor of the grant. Here there is the eponymous king Tāmrakāśyapa, from whom obviously the family derived its name Tāmrakāśyapa-kula, as is known from the Māmbaḷḷi grant. The Rāstravarma, who married the Kadamba princess Prabhāvatī as stated in this grant, is no other than the Rāṣṭravarma who married the princess Prabhāvati of the Hārīta family as stated in the other, for from several records[9] of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi we know for certain that they were called Hāritīputras, i. e. scions of the Hāriti family, while the later rulers of Goa as well as those of Hāngal were known by a similar name Kādamba, and not the same name Kadamba, nor do they seem to

7. *Ibid*, plate XII (opp. p 44), IIIa, l. 4.
8. *MAR*, 1936, pp. 126–128.
9. *EC*, VII *Sk*. 29, 66, 176, 264 etc.

have called themselves Hāritīputras. Without doubt therefore the genealogy recorded in the Basavanapura plates[10] is that of the Punnāṭa kings, and it stands as follows :—

Mika
|
Tāmrakāśyapa
|
Rājāditya
⋮
Rāṣṭravarma *m*. Prabhāvati of the Kadamba family
|
Skandavarma..................(*B*)

Now remembering that according to the Māmbaḷḷi genealogy *A*, Rāṣṭravarma was the son of Viṣṇudāsa, and Pṛthīvipati was the eldest of the three sons of Rāṣṭravarma and Prabhāvati, and assuming for the nonce that Skandavarma was their second son, the genealogy of the kings as obtained from these two grants would be—

Mika
|
Tāmrakāśyapa
|
Rājāditya
⋮
Viṣṇudāsa
|
Rāṣṭravarma *m*. Prabhāvati of tha Kadamba family
|
Pṛthivīpati — Skandavarma — 3rd son............(*C*)

The third and the last of their grants, viz. the Komaralingam copper-plate grant of Ravidatta, king of Punnāṭa (1. 9), records their genealogy from *Kāśyapō Rāṣṭravarmā* (ll. 3-4) i.e. Rāṣṭravarmā of the lineage of Kaśyapa or Kāśyapa, evidently alluding to his

10. The city of Dhavaḷapura mentioned as the *Skandhāvāra* i.e. the royal head-quarters of the donor-king of this grant (ll. 19–20), can not be identified, unless we assume (*MAR*, 1936, p 134) that because *kīrti* i.e. fame is often described as *dhavala* (white), it may be equated with the aforesaid Kirtipura of the Komaralingam plates. The witnesses to this grant (l. 30) are said to be the 'citizens of 96000 country' which is obviously the Ganga kingdom, otherwise known as Gangavādi 96000, so that the kingdom of Punnāṭa would appear to have been contiguous to the Ganga kingdom.

11. *Indian Antiquary* (IA), XVIII, pp. 366–68.

descent from Tāmrakāśyapa. His son was Nāgadatta (ll. 4-5), whose son Bhujaṁga[12] married the daughter of Siṁgavarma (l. 7) i.e. Siṁhavarma, and begot Skandavarma (l. 8) whose son Ravidatta was the donor of the grant (l. 11). The genealogy as given in the Komaralingam plates is as follows :—

Rāṣṭravarma
|
Nāgadatta
|
Bhujaṁga *m.* daughter of Siṁhavarma
|
Skandavarma
|
Ravidatta..............................(*D*)

We thus obtain the names of all the 3 sons of Rāsṭravarma, viz. Pṛthivīpati (from the Māmbaḷḷi grant), Skandavarma (from the Basavanapura grant), and Nāgadatta (from the Komaralingam grant), and we moreover know that Pṛthivīpati was the eldest of them. We have therefore to find out which of the other two sons was the elder brother. If we would just remember that the usual practice in naming one's children is to name the eldest one or more of them after one's father's elder brothers who were issueless, especially after those of them who were more distinguished than others, so as to keep their names intact in the family, and only thereafter to name the next child after one's own father, the fact that Bhujaṁga's son was named Skandavarma evidently after Bhujaṁga's uncle, and not as Nāgadatta after Bhujaṁga's father, suffices to argue that of the 2 sons of Rāshtravarma, viz. Skandavarma and Nāgadatta, the former was most likely the elder. Accordingly the final genealogy of these kings would be—

12. From the proposed reading भुजंगाधिराजः for the evidently faulty भुजंगाबरागः in the 7th line of this inscription (*Ibid* f. n. 12), the full foot कान्त्यानंगो युवतिषु नृप श्री भुजंगाधिराजः ॥ would clearly seem to be that of the *Mandākrāntā* metre, so that his name would be Bhujanga (and not Bhujaga), and since words such as Ananga, Singa (l. 7) etc. have been spelt in it as Anaṁga, Siṁga etc. etc., his name will likewise have to be spelt as Bhujaṁga and not as Bhujaṅga.

Mika
|
Tāmrakāśyapa
|
Rājāditya
⋮
Viṣṇudāsa
|
Rāṣṭravarma *m.* Prabhāvati of the Kadamba family
|
Pṛthivīpati | Skandavarma I | Nāgadatta
|
Bhujaṁga *m.* daughter of Siṁhavarma
|
Skandavarma II
|
Ravidatta......................................(*E*)

None of these three grants is dated in the Śālivāhana era or any other for that matter, nor does any of them contain the name of the *Saṁvatsara* of the Jovian cycle in which it was engraved. The Māmbaḷḷi grant however is incomplete, and all the date details found in the Komaralingam grant are *Phālgunāmā(vā)syā(yā)m-Ādityavārē Rēvatī nakṣatrē Sūryya-grahaṇē* = on the new-moon day of Phālguna, Sunday, under the constellation Rēvati and on the occasion of a solar eclipse, where though for one thing it is certain that the lunar month is the *amānta* Phālguna, and not *pūrṇimānta*, inasmuch as it is the new moon of only the *amānta* Phālguna, and never that of the *pūrṇımānta* Phālguna (i. e. *amānta*, Māgha), which is usually combined with the constellation Revatī, these details are of little value for settling its exact date.

The date details of the Basavanapura grant are yet vaguer: *Kārtikāmāsē Sūryyagrahaṇē Śukl(r)avārē Punarvasu nakṣatrē* = in *Kārtikāmāsa*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Friday, under the constellation Punarvasu. Here *Kārtikāmāsē* is no doubt a palpable clerical error for either (1) *Kārtıka-māsē* = in the month of Kārtika, or (2) *Kārtikāmāvasyāyām* = on the newmoon day of the month of Kārtika, and in the latter case however the Kannaḍa form *amāse* would seem to have been employed instead of the Saṁskrit *amāvāsyā*, and in either case the lunar month would clearly be Kārtika, and its lunar day, whether it has been mentioned as in the latter case, or not mentioned as in the former, could be no other than the newmoon day, as on no other day could a solar eclipse

ever occur. But neither the new moon day of *amānta* Kārtika nor that of *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika (i. e. *amānta* Āśvayuja) would ever be combined with the asterism Punarvasu, nor ever would there be a solar eclipse on the 4th or 5th lunar day of the dark half of *amānta* Kārtika, or the 6th or 7th day of the dark half of *purṇimanta* Kārtika, which are the only days of those months that ase combined with that constellation. Consequently in trying to settle the chronology of the rulers of Punnāṭa we shall have to find out if any of these names occur in the records of other kings whose dates are known and any definite synchronisms may thus be established with them and in this way at least the dates of the Punnāṭa rulers may be approximately determined.

In the Uttanūr plates[13] of the 20th regnal year of the Western Ganga king Durvinīta, son of Avinīta, as well as in the Mallōhaḷḷi (No. 2)[14] plates of his 35th year and in the Nallāla plates[15] and the Gummareḍḍipura plates[16] of his 40th year, he is described as *Punnāṭ(ḍ)arāja Skandavarma priya putrikā janman* = son of the beloved daughter of Skandavarma the king of Punnāt(ḍ)a. In order to find out which of the 2 Skandavarmas of Punnāta was the maternal grand-father of Durvinīta, we shall have to know first the regnal period of Durvinīta himself.

In my chronology of the Western Gaṅgas[17] I have already shown that Durvinīta, who made the grants recorded in the Nallāla and Gummareḍḍipura plates of his 40th regnal year, came to the throne in 478 A. C. and made those grants in 518 A. C. and reigned for a few years longer till at least about 520 A. C. It may be re-stated here in brief as follows—

(1) Durvinīta's son was Mushkara, whose son was Śrīvikrama, and Śrīvikrama's son was Bhūvikrama. The Bedirūr plates[18] of the 25th regnal year of Bhūvīkrama are dated Śālīvāhana Śaka (S.S.) 556, the 10th day of the bright half of Chaītra, Thursday, under the constellation Maghā=25th March 633 A. C., so that he must have acceded to the throne in 608-609 A. C. If now the total length of the reigns of his father and grand-father, viz. Śrīvikrama and Mushkara, be supposed to be, say, 40 years, Mushkara would

13. *MAR*, 1916.
14. *EC*, IX, DB. 68.
15. *MAR*, 1924, p. 70.
16. *Ibid*, 1912, pp. 31-32.
17. *Karnatak Historical Review* (KHR), II. 1. pp. 1-36; II. 2. pp. 17-26.
18. *MAR*, 1925, pp. 85-87.

seem to have succeeded his father Durvinīta in c. 568 A. C., and Durvinīta, who reigned for more than 40 years, would seem to have come to the throne earlier than c. 528 A. C.

(2) In the Humcha stone inscription[19] dated S.S. 999 Piṁgala *saṁvatsara*, the 2nd lunar day of the bright half of Jyēṣhṭha, Thursday=27th April 1077 A. C., in which the pedigree of the Western Gaṅgas is given at length, there occurs a Kannaḍa verse (ll. 28–29) in which Durvinīta is said to have defeated the Kāḍuveṭṭi i. e. the Pallava king of Kāñchi, and established his own daughter's son Jayasiṁha-*Vallabha* in the kingdom of the latter's family. The only Jayasiṁhas that are met with in South Indian history are these seven—(1) Jayasiṁha-*Vallabha* the grand-father of Pulikēśi I (c. 545-66) of the Chālukyas of Badāmi,[20] (2) Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha of the Gujarat branch of the same Chālukyas, and the brother of Pulikēśi II (609–54),[21] (3) another Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha of the Gujarat branch of the same Chālukyas, and the son of Pulikēśi II,[22] (4) Sarvasiddhi Jayasiṁha I (633–663) of the Eastern Chālukyas,[23] (5) Jayasiṁha II (696–709) of the Eastern Chālukyas,[24] (6) Jagadēkamalla Jayasiṁha I (1015–1042) of the Western Chālukyas,[25] and (7) Yuvarāja Jayasiṁha, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI (1076–1126) of the Western Chālukyas.[26] It goes without saying that none of these namesakes except only the earliest of them, viz. Jayasiṁha-Vallabha, could be the grandson of Durvinīta, who reigned in the 6th century, and this is further confirmed by the fact that he alone of them is called Jayasiṁha-*vallabha*, as is so patent from the 5th verse in the Aihoḷe inscription[27] of his great-great-grandson Pulikēśi II—

राजासीज्जयसिंहवल्लभ इति ख्यातश्चलुक्यान्वयः ॥

exactly as he is named on the Humcha stone (ll. 28–29).

19. *EC*, VIII, Nr. 35.

20. *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (HISI), p. 334; FLEET'S *Kanarese Dynasties* (*FKD*), Genealogical table opp. p. 336, and p. 342.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *HISI*, p. 336.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid*, p. 335; *FKD*, genealogical table opp. p. 428, and pp. 453–54.

26. *HISI*, p. 335; *FKD*, genealogical table opp. p. 428, and pp. 453–54.

27. *IA*, VIII, p. 237.

Gaṅga Durvinīta
|
daughter
|
Chālukya Jayasiṁha-Vallabha
|
Raṇarāga
|
Pulikēśi I
|
Kīrtivarma I — Maṅgalēśa
|
Pulikēśi II

From their various records we know[28] that Pulikēśi II came to the throne in 609 A. C., Maṅgalēśa ruled from 597–98 to 608 A. C., and Kīrtivarma I from 566–67 to 597–98 A. C., so that the regnal periods of Pulikēśi I, Raṇarāga and Jayasiṁha-Vallabha may be respectively put down approximately as c. 545–566, c. 530–545 and c. 505–530 A. C. Accordingly Durvinīta who set up his daughter's son Jayasiṁha-Vallabha as king on the throne of his fore-fathers, and as such would necessarily be his contemporary, even if for a few years, towards the end of his own reign, must have reigned till about 520 A. C., if not yet longer; and from the date details that are met with in his aforesaid and other records, we have shown that he came to the throne in 478 A. C., and was still on it when he made the grants mentioned in the Nallāla and Gummareḍḍipura plates.

In the Gummareḍḍipura plates (l. 30), Durvinīta is described as ज्येष्ठातनय, and in the Mysore Archæological Report for 1912 (p. 35[29] *Jyēṣṭhā* is explained as the proper name of his mother, which however is simply incorrect. For *Jyēṣṭhā* as a proper noun is the name of the goddess of misfortune, misery, poverty and strife,[30] and as such not even a beggar maid would ever be called by that name, let alone a princess and a queen. As a common noun on the other hand it means the eldest wife,[31] and that is exactly what it stands for in this inscription. Durvinīta was therefore the son of Avinīta by his senior-most queen.

28. *HISI*, p. 334.

29. *KHR*, II, 1, p. 18.

30. *Śabda-kalpadruma* lexicon (art. ज्येष्ठा, p. 549) where on the authority of *Padma-purāṇa*, *Jyēshṭhā* is said to be the goddess अलक्ष्मी (misery), who is दुःखदारिद्र्यदायिनी bestower of sorrow and poverty, and कलिवल्लभा, delighting in strife.

31. MACDONELL's *Skt.—Eng. dictionary*, p. 103.

In the Mallōhaḷḷi (No. 2) plates (ll. 35-37) as well as in the Gummareḍḍipura plates (ll. 23-24), Durvinīta has been described as—

(1) श्रीमत्कोंगणि महाधिराजस्य अविनीतनाम्नः पुत्रेण, (2) पुन्नाड(ट)राज स्कंदवर्म प्रियपुत्रिका जन्मना, (3) स्वगुरुगुणानुगामिना, (4) पित्रापरसुत समावर्जित-यापि लक्ष्म्या स्वयमपि प्रत्यालिंगित विपुल वक्षस्थलेन दुर्विनीतेन,

where it is obvious that every one of these phrases refers to Durvinīta himself and none of them to his father Avinīta. These epithets severally mean that (1) Durvinīta was the son of Avinīta, who was the Komgaṇi Mahādhirāja, (2) he was the son of the beloved daughter of king Skandavarma of Punnāṭa, (3) he followed in the good qualities of his *guru*, and (4) his broad chest was embraced by the goddess of prosperity of her own accord, though she had been bestowed by his father on another son (अपर सुत).[32] Now Komgaṇi Mahādhirāja is a well-known title of several of the Western Gangas, and from his many records[33] Avinīta also is known to have borne it. In the 3rd epithet स्वगुरुगुणानुगामिन्, the word *guru* may stand for either father or preceptor,[34] but a comparison with an analogous epithet applied to Durvinīta himself in his Bangalore Museum plates[35] (l. 27), viz. (श्रीमत्कोंगणि महाधिराजस्य पुत्रेण) तद्गुणानुगामिना = (by the son of Komgaṇi Mahādhirāja i. e. Avinīta, and) following in his (i. e. Avinīta's) good qualities, will at once convince that here however *guru* can only mean father, and not preceptor, so that स्वगुरुगुणानुगामिन् will have to be rendered as 'following in the good qualities of his father, i. e. Avinīta'. From the 4th epithet it is evident that though Durvinīta was the son of the senior-most queen of Avinīta, as we have just seen, he was nevertheless disinherited by his father, who bestowed his crown on another son, and Durvinīta wrested it from that brother. This fact is thoroughly confirmed by a similar, but a more graphic and more detailed, statement in the Nallāla plates (ll. 25-26) of Durvinīta, in which he is said to have caused the goddess of *sovereignty* to reside happily for ever on his own expansive breast,

32. Cf. *MAR*, 1912 (p. 35). "Though the father Avinīta had intended the crown for another son, the goddess of Sovereignty came of her own accord to Durvinīta.' But the word समावर्जित occurring in the text of the inscription, means 'appropriated, offered', and not 'intended'.

33. e.g. Nonamamgala (No. 1) plates (*EC*, X, *Mr*. 72), Śringērī plates (MAR, 1916), Bangalore Residency plates (MAR, 1911), Mallōhaḷḷi (No. 1) plates (EC, IX, DB. 67), Mercara plates (*EC*, *I*, Cg. 1).

34. गुरुर्महत्यागिरस्ते पित्रादौ धर्मदेशके। (Hēmacandra's *अनेकार्थसंग्रह*, v. 417).

35. *EC*, IX, Bn. 141.

having *forcibly* dragged her by the hair with the *might of his powerful arm*, though she had been firmly clasped within the fold of the arms of *his younger step-brother*.[36]—

निज वैमात्रेयानुज भुजद्वयातिगाढोपगूढां स्वभुजबल पराक्रमेनाक्रम्य कृतकेशकच-ग्रहां राज्यलक्ष्मीं स्वोरःस्थले विपुले नित्यसुखनिवासिनीं कृत (वान्)

Conclusively therefore Avinīta excluded his eldest son Durvinīta from succession and bestowed his crown on a son of one of his junior queens. This younger step-brother of Durvinīta may have ruled for some years after the death of Avinīta until when Durvinīta dethroned him. Consequently it was by the force of arms that Durvinīta wrested his succession from that younger step-brother and ascended the Ganga throne.

In the Uttanūr Copper-plates of the 20th year of Durvinīta's reign, 497 A. C., the Mallōhalli (No. 2) plates of his 35th year, 512 A. C., and the Nallāla as well as the Gummareḍḍipura plates of his 40th year, 518 A C, he is not only described as the daughter's son of Skandavarma, king of Punnātta, but also styled as *Samasta Pā(o)nnā(ṇṇā)t(d)a Punnāt(d)ādhipati*=the king of the *samasta*[37] i. e. united or combined, kingdoms of Pānnāta (or Ponnāta or Pānnāḍa or Ponnāda) and Punnāta (or Punnāda), as none of his predecessors is. Conclusively therefore Punnāta was not included in the Ganga kingdom when Durvinīta ascended the throne, and accordingly it must have been incorporated in the Ganga kingdom by himself either by conquering it from the contemporary king of Punnāta, or by inheriting it by the *dauhitra* right i. e. in right of his having been the daughter's son of its king Skandavarma.[38] Now if Durvinīta who, as we have just seen, openly declares in several of his inscriptions that he wrested the Ganga sovereignty from his

36. वैमात्रेय = descended from another mother, step-brother (MACDONELL's *Skt.-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 300), and अनुज = younger brother; वैमात्रेयानुज = younger step-brother.

37. This adj. *Samasta* cannot mean *all* or *whole* here as it is understood in *MAR* 1924 (p. 71) and 1925 (pp. 91–92), but it clearly means here *united* or *combined* (MACDONELL's *Skt.-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 337), as Pānnāta and Punnāta were two separate kingdoms Or does it refer to the incorporation of these in the Ganga kingdom and accordingly mean 'incorporated' in the Ganga kingdom i.e. united or combined with it ?

38. Vide *Manu-smṛti*—

दौहित्र एव च हरेदपुत्रस्याखिलं धनम् ॥ (IX, 131),

पौत्र दौहित्रयोर्लोके न विशेषोऽस्ति धर्मतः। (IX, 133);

and *Viṣṇu-smṛti* quoted in the *Mitākṣarā* commentary on *Yājnyavalkya-smṛti* (VIII, 136)—

अपुत्र पौत्र सन्ताने दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः ॥

younger step-brother, on whom their father Avinīta had bestowed it, had likewise conquered the kingdom of Punnāṭa from its ruler, he would have certainly declared it as well in his records. Since however there is not a word to that effect in any of his records, there could be hardly any doubt that he acquired Punnāṭa not by conquest, but by the right he had to its throne on his mother's side, which naturally came into operation when his maternal grand-father or uncle died issueless and there was no other heir to succeed.

In the undated Kuḷagāṇa plates[39] the Ganga king Śivakumāra, also known as Śivamāra I, who was most likely a cousin (and not a full) brother[40] of Bhūvikrama, the great-grand-son, as we have seen, of Durvinīta, and the donor as well of the afore-named Bedirūr grant of 633 A. C., Durvinīta is spoken of as king also of *samasta Pāṇāṭa Punnāṭa* i. e the united or incorporated kingdoms of Pānāta and Punnāta, which title however is not coupled with the name of any of the ancestors of Durvinīta, whence also it follows that Durvinīta was the first Ganga king to rule over Panāṭa and Punnāta. Besides the application of that title in the same plates to Bhūvikrama and Śivakumāra as well tends to argue that those territories were still included within the Ganga kingdom as far at least as the latter half of the 7th century in the reign of Śivakumāra.[41]

In the Bangalore Museum plates of the 3rd year of the reign of Durvinīta, 481 A C., he is neither styled king of Punnāta nor even spoken of as the daughter's son of Skandavarma of Punnāṭa as in his Uttanūr plates of 497 A. C. and other yet later records, as we have seen, whence it is manifest that he had not yet acquired Punnāṭa in 481 A. C., but came into its possession at sometime between 481 and 497 A. C. The non-mention of Durvinīta's relationship with Skandavarma in the Bangalore Museum plates may be explained as perhaps quite pertinent when he had not yet added Skandavarma's kingdom to his own, and its pointed mention

39. *MAR*, 1925, pp. 90-91.

40. *KHR*, II, 2, pp. 21-23.

41. When sometime later on the Ganga kingdom was under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Raṇāvalōka Kambarāja, brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III (791-815) made a grant from the Ganga capital Talakāḍ which is recorded in the Badanaguppe plates (*MAR*, 1927, pp. 112-15) of S. S. (7)30 full-moon day of Kārtika combined with the asterism Rōhinī, Monday = 6th November 808 A.C. Since in this inscription the village granted is said to have been situated in '*Punnāḍa Eḍenāḍu Vishaya*' i.e. the Punnāḍā and Eḍenāḍu country, Punnāṭa would seem to have been still included in ihe Ganga dominions in the 9th century.

in his later inscriptions as quite appropriate when he had already added Punnāṭa to the Gaṅga kingdom and had thus become king of his maternal kingdom as well. But the conspicuous absence of any reference whatsoever in this later records to the war, if any, he had to wage in order to obtain Punnāta, can not be otherwise explained except as due to the fact that he did not conquer Punnāta but came into its possession in a peaceful way, which having regard to his relationship with Skandavarma, so specifically mentioned in them, could not be any other than that of rightful inheritance, as otherwise there was hardly any need to repeat that relationship in only those later records when he had become the king of Punnāta as well Undoubtedly therefore Durvinīta inherited Punnāṭa by the right he had to its throne on his mother's side, and he must have incorporated it in the Ganga kingdom when its last king, who would evidently be his maternal grandfather or uncle, died issueless and the throne fell vacant. It is not unlikely that Ravidatta, whose is the last name in the above Punnāṭa Genealogy *E*, was also the last of the rulers of Punnāṭa, and it was from him therefore that Durvinīta inherited that kingdom. It thence follows that it was Ravidatta's father Skandavarma II, and not his much earlier namesake Skandavarma I, who was the maternal grandfather of Durvinīta.

Rāstravarma

Prthivīpati | Skandavarma I | Nāgadatta

Bhujamga

Skandavarma II

Gaṅga Avinīta *m*. daughter | Ravidatta

Gaṅga Durvinīta

We have seen that the Komaralingam plates of Ravidatta are vaguely dated as Sunday, the new-moon day Phālguna under the constellation Rēvatī, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, and we have said that since it is the new-moon day of *amānta* Phālguna, and never of the *Purṇimānta* Phālguna (i. e. *amānta* Māgha), which is usually combined with Rēvatī, the lunar month mentioned in these plates is assuredly *amānta* Phālguna. Now between the solar eclipses on Sunday the 3rd March 295 A. C. and Sunday the 24th February 491 A. C., both of which occurred on the new-moon day

of *amānta* Phālguna, there was no other on that lunar day which was also coupled with a Sunday, nor any other again until that of Sunday the 9th March 620 A. C.; and since Punnāṭa was incorporated in the Ganga kingdom between 481 and 497 A. C., as we have just seen, there is hardly any doubt that the solar eclipse mentioned in the Komaralingam plates is the annular eclipse of Sunday the 24th February 491 A. C.,[42] to which date therefore the plates will have to be duly assigned.

Durvinīta, as we have seen, came to the throne in 478 A. C., and ruled for more than 40 years. Accordingly he may be presumed to have been born on this side of 440 A. C., and consequently his maternal grand-father Skandavarma II would seem to have been born not later than 400 A. C., and Bhujaṁga, the father of Skandavarma II, not later than 375 A. C. Now according to the Komaralingam plates Bhujaṁga is known to have married the daughter of a certain Siṁhavarma, but of which dynasty we are not told. The only Siṁhavarmas, whose dates would answer to the period in question, are these four, viz. (1) Kadamba prince Siṁhavarma, son of the Kadamba king Vishnuvarma (349 353 A. C.), (2) Ganga king (Tadamgāla) Mādhava II, also called Siṁhavarma (349–403), (3) Pallava king Siṁhavarma II (364–389) and (4) another Pallava king Siṁhavarma III (437–472) The last of these, however, viz. Pallava Siṁhavarma III, may well be dismissed as it is not likely that he can have heen born much earlier than 400 A. C., and he could hardly therefore be the father-in-law of Bhujamga, who was born not later than 375 A. C., and whose grandson Ravidatta must have commenced to rule earlier than 491 A. C

Kadamba Simhavarma[43] was the son of the Kadamba king Vishṇuvarma (349–53) and father of the Kadamba king Krishnavarma II (422–c. 450 or 455 A. C.). He himself never ruled as king. In a number of Ganga records,[44] the Ganga king Avinīta, son of (Taḍaṁgāla) Mādhava II and father of Durvinīta, is stated to have been the sister's son of Kadamba king Krishnavarma II—

---

42. The authenticity of this record can not be questioned because this eclipse was invisible, inasmuch as the mention of invisible eclipses also is met with in even later inscriptions of doubtless authenticity; e.g. (1) Haidarābād grant of Pulikēśi II (*FKD*, p. 356), (2) Wanī grant of Govinda III (Ibid, p. 398), (3) Rādhanpur grant of Govinda III (Ibid) p. 398) etc.

43. *JIH*, XIII, pp. 158-161.

44. E.g. Bangalore Residency plates (MAR, 1911), Koḍumjeruvu plates (MAR, 1924) and Mallōhaḷḷi (No. 1) plates (*EC*, XI, *DB*, 67) of Avinīta; all the aforenamed plates of Durvinīta; the aforesaid Bedirūr plates of Bhūvikrama, and the Kuḷagāṇa plates of Śivakumāra etc.

श्रीमत्कदम्ब कुलामल गभस्तिमालिनः श्रीमत्कृष्णवर्म महाधिराजस्य प्रिय भागिनेयः ।—

so that he was evidently the daughter's son of Kadamba Siṁhavarma. If then Bhujaṁga had married another daughter of this Siṁhavarma, Bhujaṁga's son Skandavarma II and Avinīta would be sisters' sons i. e. cousin-brothers—

Kadamba
Siṁhavarma

Gaṅga Mādhava II *m*. daughter — daughter *m*. Bhujaṁga of Punnāṭa

Avinīta — Skandavarma II

and the daughter of Skandavarma II would be a niece of Avinīta, whom in that case he could never marry. But we know that Durvinīta was the daughter's son of Skandavarma II, or in other words Avinīta did marry the daughter of Skandavarma II. Clearly therefore it was not Kadamba Siṁhavarma who was the father-in-law of Bhujaṁga.

From the Chūkuṭṭūr plates,[45] the Gaṇga king (Tadaṁgāla) Mādhava II (349-403) appears to have been also known as Siṁhavarma[45]. If Bhujaṅga had married the daughter of this Siṁhavarma—

Ganga Mādhava II
alias
Siṁhavarma

Bhujaṅga *m*. daughter of Punnāta — Ganga Avinīta

Skandavarma II

daughter

Skandavarma II would be the sister's son, and his daughter the grand-niece, of Avinīta who in that case too could never be her husband, so that this Siṁhavarma as well may be dismissed.

We are thus left with only one Siṁhavarma, i. e. the Pallava king Siṁhavarma II (364-389), who would thus seem to have been the father-in-law of Bhujaṁga. Bearing in mind that his great grandson, the Pallava king Siṁhavishṇu (472-520), was a contemporary of

45. *MAR*, 1924, pp. 79-80.
46. *KHR*, II. 1. pp. 5-6.

the Ganga king Durvinīta (478–c, 520),[47] and assigning their respective regnal periods, which we have settled elsewhere, [48] to these Pallava and Ganga relations of the kings of Punnāṭa, their mutual relationship may be represented as follows—

Rāṣṭravarma of Punnāṭa
|
Nāgadatta
|
Bhujaṁga *m.* daughter of Pallava Siṃhavarma II 364–89
|
Skandavarma II
|
Ravidatta

Pallava Siṃhavarma II 364–89
|
Pallava Visṇugōpa II 389–414
|
Pallava Siṁhavarma III 437- 472
|
Pallava Siṁhavishṇu 472–520

Skandavarma II
|
daughter

Ganga Mādhava II 349–403
|
Ganga Avinīta *m.* daughter (of Skandavarma II)
417–468 or 473
|
Ganga Durvinīta 478–c. 520

We have been told in the Basavanapura plates that Prabhāvati the wife of Rāshtravarma, the grand-father of Bhujaṁga, was a princess of the Kadamba family, and we have seen that she sprang from the early Kadambas of Banavāsi. From an inscription on the left jamb of the doorway of the Pranavēśvara temple at Tāḷagunda[49]

उदितोदित कैकेय महाकुलप्रसूता एषा प्रभावती राज्ञी विख्यात कदम्बकुलोद्भूतस्य श्रीमृगेशवर्म्म धर्म्ममहाराज प्रियभार्य्या या श्री रविवर्म्म धर्म्ममहाराज माता—

we know that the name of the queen consort of the Kadamba king Mṛigēśavarma and queen-mother of Ravivarma, was Prabhāvati, and according to the time-honoured custom of naming one's daughter after one's mother, the name of Ravivarma's daughter also would be the same as that of his mother, Prabhāvati, and in all likelihood it is this Prabhāvati, the daughter of the Kadamba king Ravivarma, who was the wife of Rāṣṭravarma of Punnāta. Elsewhere[50] we have found out that Kadamba Mṛgēśavarma ruled from 303 to 323, his son Ravivarma from 353 to 397 and Ravivarma's son Harivarma from 397 to 421 A. C.

47. *Avantisundarī-kathā*, pp. 4–6, and *Avāntisundarī-kathāsāra*, I. vv. 13 and 26 (pp. 2–3).

48. *KHR*, II. 2. p. 25 ; *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, VII, pp. 147–158, VIII, pp. 1–2.

49. *MAR*, 1911, pp 33 and 35.

50. *JIH*, XIII, pp. 145–157 and 165.

Kadamba
Mṛgēśavarma *m*. Prabhāvati
303–323 | (Kaikēya princess)
Ravivarma 353–397

Rāṣṭravarma *m*. Prabhāvati
of Punnāṭa | (Kadamba princess)

Harivarma
397–421

Pṛthivīpati — Skandavarma I — Nāgadatta
Nāgadatta
|
Bhujaṁga

Since thus Rāshṭravarma would be evidently a contemporary of his father-in-law Kadamba Ravivarma, his reign would naturally fall, though perhaps a little later, in the same latter half of the 4th century, and the successive reigns of his three sons, Pṛthvīpati, Skandavarma I and Nāgadatta, would consequently fall in the first half of the next. The reign of Nāgadatta however, if at all he reigned, would be rather very short, in that he succeeded to the throne after the demise of his two elder brothers, both of whom are known to have ruled, as is apparent from their respective records Nor for the same reason would the reign of his son Bhujaṁga be much longer, so that it may well be presumed to have ended by the middle of the 5th century. His son Skandavarma II was the father-in-law of the Gaṅga king Avinīta, and some and several years of their reigns would naturally be synchronous.

Now from the obvious statements in the inscriptions of the Gaṅga king Aviniīta, such as—

(1) जननी देवताङ्क पर्य्यंङ्कतल समधिगत राज्यविभवविलास :[51], (2) जननी देवताङ्क पर्य्यंङ्क एवाधिगत राज्याभिषेक:[52], and (3) शैशवकालावास राज्याभिषेक:[53]:– he seems to have either lost his father while he was yet a baby, or had a pasthumous birth, so that he was crowned, i. e. proclaimed king, while he was still lying in his mother's lap.[54] Besides from his own records we have further found out that he must have begun to rule in 417–18 A. C., when he was not more than 16 or 17 years of age, and from those of his son Durvinīta, who, as we have just seen, deposed his younger step-brother enthroned by their father

51. *EC*, X, Mr. 72; Sṛingerī plates (*MAR*, 1916).
52. Koḍuṁjeruvu plates (*MAR*, 1924).
53. Bangalore Residency plates (*MAR*, 1916).
54. *KHR*, II. 1. p. 23.
55. *Ibid*, pp. 19 and 23.

Avinīta and ascended the Gaṅga throne, we have also inferred[56] that the reign of Avinita must have come to an end between c. 468 and 473 A. C., so that Avinīta would surely seem to have had a rather long reign of more than 50 years from 417–18 A. C. to somewhere between 468 and 473 A. C.

We have seen that the daughter of Skandavarma II i. e. the mother of Durvinīta was the seniormost queen of Avinīta, and though on that account Skandavarma II would necessarily be older than his son-in-law, he cannot perhaps have begun to rule earlier than Avinīta, whose regnal career began at such an unusually early age, but a number of years of their respective reigns would certainly synchronize. Consequently the regnal period of Skandavarma II may approximately be set down as c. 440–470 A. C.

With regard to the date details of the Basavanapusa plates of Skandavarma I, viz. *Kārtikāmāsē Sūryya-grahanē Śukl(r)a-vārē Punarvasu-nakṣatrē* we have said that the week day is clearly Friday, the lunar month is no doubt either the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika, and the lunar day is the newmoon day of that month on which besides these was a solar eclipse, and also that the said new-moon day, whether of *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika, could hardly ever be combined with the constellation Punarvasu, so that in calculating the corresponding English date of this record, this astral detail, which is thus simply incorrect, will have to be left out of account.

Now in the inscriptions of the Western Gangas, who were next-door neighbours of these kings of Punnāta, though a large number are no doubt dated according to the *amānta* system of the lunar months, there are yet a few however, which are dated under the *pūrṇimānta* system. For example, there is the Ganga stone inscription at Paḍagūr,[57] dated on the occasion a solar eclipse in S. S. 907 Batthiva (i. e. Pārthiva) *saṁvatsara* the new-moon day of Māgha, *Sthiravāra* (i. e. Saturday). Calculated for the new-moon day of *amānta* Māgha, these details answer to Thursday the 11th February 986 A. C., on which however there was no solar eclipse, whereas worked out for the new-moon day of *pūrnimānta* Māgha (i.e. *amānta* Paushya), they correspond to Wednesday the 13th January 986 A C. on which there was a total eclipse of the sun, so that it need hardly be said that the lunar month mentioned in this record is *pūrṇimānta*, and not *amānta*, Māgha. If in the 10th century, inscriptions were still dated in the *pūrṇimānta* system, which however is now scarcely

56. *Ibid*, II. 2. pp. 24–25.
57. *MAR*, 1934, pp. 173–174.

met with in Karṇāṭaka, it is not improbable that many more were so dated in the yet earlier 5th century, which we are here dealing with. Accordingly the lunar Kārtika mentioned in the Basavanapura plates might as well be *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika as *amānta*. Punarvasu however would never occur on either of those newmoon days as we have already said, and its erroneous mention in these plates would be readily condoned, if it is remembered that such and similar mistakes in the dating of inscriptions are often met with in ancient epigraphs. For instance, in determining the equivalent date of the Paḍagur inscription, we have just seen that the new-moon day of neither the *amānta* nor the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha fell on a Saturday as has been so definitely recorded in it. When thus even the so familiar week-day is misnamed in an epigraph of the 10th century, what wonder the far less familiar name of the constellation is wrongly put down in an inscription of the much earlier 5th century ?

In the first half of the 5th century, to which the reign of Skandavarma I may well be assigned, there occurred only three solar eclipses on the new-moon days of *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika, which were also Fridays, viz. (1) a visible annular eclipse on Friday the 10th October 413 A. C., which was the newmoon day of *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika (i e. *amānta* Āśvayuja), (2) an invisible annular eclipse on Friday the 11th November 421 A. C., which was the new-moon day of *amānta* Kārtika, and (3) a visible annular eclipse on Friday the 29th September 433 A. C., which was the newmoon day of *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika. Now we have assigned the accession of Skandavarma II to c. 440 A. C., and have also said that the reign of Nāgadatta would be very short, and that of his son Bhujaṁga not much longer. 'Accordingly if the total number of the regnal years of those father and son be supposed to be 20, Nāgadatta's elder brother and immediate predecessor Skandavarma I would seem to have died in c. 420, in which case the eclipse mentioned in his Basavanapura plates would be that of 413 A. C. If on the other hand the regnal periods of those father and son would not exceed 15 years, the death of Skandavarma I and the accession of Nāgadatta would allot themselves to c. 425 A. C., in which case however that eclipse might as well be the eclipse of 413 A. C., as of 421 A. C. In any case the last of the above three eclipses, viz. that of 433 A. C., may easily be dismissed, and of the other two, the earlier i.e. the eclipse of Friday the 10th October 413 A. C., may well be accepted as perhaps the more probable, and the Basavanapura plates may be assigned to that date.

The final genealogy of these kings of Punnāṭa, with their several approximate regnal periods, would then stand as follows—

Mika
|
Tāmrakāśyapa
|
Rājāditya
:
Viṣṇudāsa 340–365
|
Rāṣṭravarma 365–390

- Pṛthivīpati 390–400
- Skandavarma I 400–420
- Nāgadatta 420–425
  - Bhujaṁga 425–440
  - Skandavarma II 440–470
  - Ravidatta 470–495

A Few Hitherto Undetected Haplologies in Old Indo-Aryan

By

MANILAL PATEL, Bombay

When a phoneme or a group of phonemes recurs within a word (or, at times within a sentence), one occurrence together with the intervening sounds, sometimes drops out: this typical phonetic change is known as *Haplology*. Several occurrences of haplology in Old Indo-Aryan have already been detected by various Vedic scholars, e. g. (i) J. WACKERNAGEL: "Ai *avṛk*" in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, vol. XL, pp. 544 ff., wherein he considers *avṛk* in AV. XIII, 2, 9 to be a haplology for *avṛkta*; (ii) K. GELDNER: "Über die Worthaplologie im Rigveda" in *Festschrift Kaegi* (1919), pp. 102 ff., wherein he points out the haplological occurrences in ṚV. I, 26, 9; 61, 7; 143, 3; II, 1, 5; III, 36, 7; IV, 8, 8; V, 1, 8; 75, 7; VI, 23, 9. 24, 9; VII, 6, 1, VIII, 51, 9; and X, 8, 9; (iii) A. MEILLET: "Le datif védique *avī'rate*" in *BSL*. XXI, 21, wherein he suggests *avirate* for **avī'ratāte* (iv) M. BLOOMFIELD: "Contributions to the interpretation of the Veda-VII" in the *AmJPh*., Vol. XVII, pp. 412 ff., wherein he discusses, among other things, *rujā'nāḥ* (ṚV. I, 32, 6) and suggests it to be a haplology for *rujā'na* + *nās*. See also J. WACKERNAGEL: "Vergessene Wortdeutungen" in *IF*., Vol. XLV, pp. 327 ff., and J. ZUBATY': "Haplologie im Satzzusammenhang" in *IF*. Vol. XXIII, pp. 161 ff.

In the following lines I mention a few more haplological occurrences in Old Indo-Aryan, which have remained so far undetected. They came to my notice during the course of my studies in the text of the Ṛgveda.

(i)

ṚV. V, 23, 4 ab reads *sá hí ṣmā viśvácarṣaṇir abhímāti sáho dadhe*. Here the words *abhímāti sáho*, as they are, would make no intelligible sense. I suggest, this is a haplological occurrence: *abhímāti sáho* for *abhimātiṣāhám sáho* and translate "For, he, the beloved of all people, possesses the strength which defies enemies". The word *abhimātiṣāhá-* adj. is found occurring in ṚV. X, 83, 4; 128, 7; besides the more common *abhimātisāh-* adj.

(ii)

The last pāda of ṚV. VI, 19, 5, contains *samudré ná síndhavo yā'damānāḥ*. Now in view of a similar occurrenee *samudréṇa*

síndhavo yā́damānā́ḥ in III, 36, 7a, I suggest that VI, 19, 5d is a haplology for *samudréṇa ná síndhavo yā́damānā́ḥ ;* the drop of *ṇa* may be due to the following comparative particle *ná ;* and *samudré* may have been kept as it is owing to the proceeding *asmin*. Or, the metrical exigency may have claimed the drop of *ṇa*.

(iii)

ṚV. IX, 82, 4 begins : *jāyéva patyāvádhi śéva maṁháse.* The word *śéva,* though vocative, has been accented ! I suspect it is a word-haplology for *śevaḥ śeva*, which may perhaps be the cause of the accentuation of *śéva*. The pāda then may be translated : " In an affectionate manner just like a wife towards her husband, even so, O Affectionate One, thou devotest thyself willingly." For this simile one may compare ṚV. X, 34, 2 and 85, 37 (in both these latter the word *śivá* is used).

(iv)

The last pāda of ṚV. X, 3, 4 : *bhā́māso yā́mann aktávaś cikitre* may be translated "His rays have appeared as dark at the arrival...." Now the question arises, "at the arrival of what?". Therefore I think after *yā́man* we have to supply *aktóḥ* 'of the night'; only then is the nom. *aktávaḥ* in order. This is therefore a case of word-haplology. The idea is, the rays of the day-sun change themselves into shadows by night.

(v)

Lastly a question concerning the word *sádānaḥ* in ṚV. VII, 33, 12ab : *sá praketa ubháyasya pravidvánt sahásradāna utá vā sádānaḥ.* The sense of *sádānaḥ* after *sahásradānaḥ* is not very clear unless we take it to mean " one who always grants presents ". In that case, *sádānaḥ* is not a haplology for *sadā́dānaḥ* ?

A Forgotten Naval Treaty Between the English and Raja Sambhāji's[1] Governor of Mālwan 1739

By

A. G PAWAR, Kolhapur

The first treaty between the English and the rulers of Kolhāpur (the younger branch of Shivāji's descendants) mentioned by AITCHISON in his *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* (3rd ed , Vol. VIII) is that of Jan. 12, 1766. This was not in fact the first treaty between Bombay and Kolhāpur. There was an earlier treaty negotiated and concluded by Shivāji Shankar Pant, Raja Sambhāji's naval commandant and governor of Mālwan, with the President and Governor of Bombay. This was a treaty of "firm peace and friendship" between the two contracting parties, and it chiefly aimed at securing safe passage for the English "war and merchandise vessels" in their movements up and down the western coast. The treaty was made in Bombay on Nov. 25, 1739. A brief account of the causes and the conclusion of this treaty is attempted here.

Mālwan,[2] a sea-fortress belonging to Sambhāji, was quite an important port at the time when the treaty was concluded. The "Malwans", mentioned in the treaty, were the subjects of the Raja and they inhabited the "Island" of Mālwan. Like other seamen of the coast they with their *Grabs* and *Gallavats*—large and small war vessels—made it difficult for foreigners to navigate in their waters without their pass or permit. The English Factory at Bombay was at this time endeavouring to build such a naval force as would enable them to curb, and if possible to destroy, the menacing power of the Angrias. Kānhoji[3] Angria and his succes-

1. Sambhāji, the son of Rājārām and the grandson of Shivāji, was born on June 20, 1698. In 1714 he was seated on the *gādi* of Kolhāpur and ruled till his death on Dec. 18, 1760. It was during Sambhāji's reign that the Maratha Kingdom was divided between him and his cousin, Shāhu, by the famous Treaty of Vārna which was concluded on April 13, 1731.

2. In the treaty Mālwan is described by its other name Sindhudurgh. Mālwan is 210 m. south of Bombay. The town and the fort of Mālwan were for long part of Kolhāpur territory, but the place is now included in Ratnagiri district (Bombay Presidency).

3. Shivāji the founder of the Maratha kingdom was also the founder of the Maratha navy. It was, however, during the life-time of Kānhoji Angria, the

sors were, one and all, enemies of the English. In 1739, when the Bombay-Kolhāpur treaty was made, Sambhāji Angria was the Sarkhel (admiral) of the Maratha fleet. One of the causes which induced the Governor and Council of Bombay to enter into treaty relations with the government of Mālwan was that they believed they "may possibly benefit by cultivating an alliance with them against Sambhaji".[4] It will, however, be shown below that there was no ground for the English to expect that the Raja of Kolhāpur and his governor of Mālwan would do anything detrimental to the interest of the Angria.

The immediate cause for setting on foot the negotiations for the treaty was, however, different. The *Anglesea*, an Europe ship of the Company, met with an accident on July 22, 1738 and was wrecked near the coast of Mālwan. Fifty-eight members of the crew, including the captain, were drowned; sixty-nine were driven ashore and saved These latter were made prisoners by the governor of Mālwan and kept in the fort. Whatever cargo of the ship was saved was seized and appropriated by the governor on the ground that all wreckage along the shore of his country belonged to him.[5]

The imprisonment of the wrecked sailors was perhaps unjustifiable, but there was a cause for it. Lately the English had captured a *Grab* of Sambhāji Angria. We do not know the particulars of this *Grab*, but very likely it was the one whose capture is referred to in the Consultation of Dec. 20, 1736. "The President", runs the Consultation, "acquaints the Board that last night he received advices that our cruisers had met the enemy's i. e. Sambhāji's fleet at a place called Baccanore, a little to the northward of Mangalore, and had had the good fortune to take one *Grab*."[6] It appears that this was a valuable prize and some important persons fell into the hands of the English. For, a later entry (Dec. 4) reads, "Ordered that the two Subadars taken in Angria's Grab be confined without irons and that they have a full

admiral of King Shāhu, that it became the first-class sea power along the western coast. Kānhoji died on June 13, 1729. His eldest son Shekhoji succeeded him, but he did not live long. He died on Aug. 28, 1733. Shekhoji was followed by Sambhāji during whose time family quarrels resulted in the division and weakening of the Maratha navy. Sambhāji died on Dec. 12, 1741. Tulāji, his younger brother, succeeded him. It was during Tulāji's regime that the Peshwā Bālāji Bājirāo helped the English in destroying the power of the Angrias (1755–6).

4. Bom. Pub. Consultations, Range 341, Vol. 10, of Dec. 3, 1739.

5. *Idem* Vol. 9 pp. 371–2.

6. *Idem* Vol. 8, p. 465.

allowance of provisions and that the rest of the prisoners be put in iron and employed on the works with such allowance of provisions as is necessary for their subsistence."[7] Sambhāji was at this time enjoying the favour[8] of the King of Kolhāpur. He, therefore, succeeded in prevailing upon the King. An order was sent to the governor of Mālwan for detaining the shipwrecked sailors of the *Anglese* till Sambhāji's own grab and men were released by the English. It was, furthermore, decided by Raja Sambhāji that, if possible, a permanent peace should be established between him and the English. With these objectives in mind, Shivāji Shankar, the Killedar of Mālwan, wrote the following letter to John Horne, the Governor of Bombay.

Translate of a letter of Sevajee Sunchar (Shivāji Shankar) Governor of the Fort of Sundarook[9] wrote in Gentoo[10] and bearing date the 31st October 1738.

Your Excellency will I hope be pleased to honour me with your correspondence after such a discontinuance of your letters as is not consistent with our friendship. The renewal of our commerce of writing will give me great pleasure. A ship of your Excellency's has been by stress of weather driven on the Bar at the entrance of our Port where she was lost. Part of the men was drowned, part was saved and got ashore in our territories, whom we duly took care of and kept here. On this occasion I wrote a letter of advice to the most excellent our Raja Chatterputtee (Chhatrapati) and received an answer in which he ordered me to write your Excellency that Sambajee (Sambhāji) Angria is a servant of his State (or vassal) and that therefore you should please to restore the grab belonging to Sambhājee with all her men which was taken by your Excellency's fleet and that your Excellency may likewise

7. *Idem* Entry for Friday, the 24th Dec. 1736.

8. The relations between the Angrias and the kings of Kolhapur were not always cordial. Thus, for example, we find that Raja Sambhāji entered into a treaty with the Portuguese on March 12, 1716. Its very first clause was as follows.—"Sambhāji Raja will wage by land and by sea war against the Angria to take from him all the fortresses he holds as a rebel chief on the coast of the North, particularly the fortress of Griem (Gheria or Vijayadurg) which belongs to the said Sambhāji, and for effecting this object the (Portuguese) State will assist him with Men-O'-War".

(Biker, Tratados Vol. VI, pp. 2-4). See also *New India Antiquary* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 120-21.

9. Sinduďurg i.e., Mālwan.

10. Gentoo here stands for Marathi. The letter must have been written in the Modi script which was the common medium of written communications by the Marathas.

maintain a friendly treatment at sea of the vessels belonging to our jurisdiction of Sinapur (?) according to our ancient correspondence. Therefore in obedience to the Rajah's order I write this to your Excellency and hope that on a mature consideration of this proposal, you will please to dispatch me a direct answer for me to depend on with certainty that our friendship shall henceforward meet with due teturn. In respect of which we shall be ready to shew ours in the delivering up your people that are Prisoners here, concerning which Mr. John Parson writes now to your Excellency by whom you may be fuller informed. I likewise write to Mr. John Taylor, Savajee[11] Daram Sett, Biccu Sinay,[12] Soyrah Dalvy,[13] who will apprise your Excellency thereof. Your Excellency will I hope see fitting to preserve a friendship with me; and with this I conclude without enlarging further.[14]

John Parson, to whose letter the Killedar refers, was the Second Mate of the lost ship. He was one of the prisoners at Mālwan, and, being either prevailed upon or out of his own accord, he wrote a letter to the Governor of Bombay on Nov. 4, 1738. He gave a detailed account of the loss of the ship and the mishap that fell on the survivors who, in the beginning, were 69 but who, on the day the letter was written, were only 51.[15] Parson having studied the situation thoroughly suggested to the Governor of Bombay, "I believe if your Hon. was to send a fleet of Ships and Gallivats to come to an anchor off this Island (i. e. Mālwan) and a proper person to speak to the Governor, we should be let go on very easy terms, they seeming very doubtful of the consequences that may attend our being detained here...their force here is of little consequence."[16]

The letters from Mālwan were carried to Bombay by two officers of the late ship, Robert Misenor, the Third Mate and Archibald Gilchrist, the Surgeon. They were released on parole and were picked up by the English ship *Nassau* at Goa. The two letters formed the subject of discussion in the Council meeting held on Dec. 9, 1738. After reading both letters, the President significantly added, " It appears the Mālwans are far from being desirous to detain our people, but that the Killedar is influenced

11. Shivāji Dharm Shet was the Company's broker.
12. Biku Shenavi, a merchant.
13. Suryāji (?) Dalavi. Who was he ?
14. *Bom. Pub. Con.* Vol. 9, pp. 372-3.
15. Some of the others had died, some escaped.
16. *Bom. Pub. Con.* Vol. 9, pp. 371-2.

by Sambhajee Angria."[17] It was decided by the Council that the President should write back to both the Killedar and his master, Raja Sambhāji. Both letters refer to the same subject, but they are equally important. Hence they may be given here.

The President's letter to Sambhāji Raja dated the 14th Dec. 1738, was as follows :—

"Your Governor of Sundarook fort (Savajee Sunchar) has wrote me a letter (as he intimates) by your Excellency's order concerning an English ship driven by stress of weather ashore and lost in your dominions and part of her people which were saved being detained Prisoners against all laws divine and humane. Your Excellency knows they were not taken in war or in any state of hostility with you.

The proposals made on your part for release of these shipwreckt people are that I should deliver up a grab and her people belonging to Sambajee Angria, who is stiled your vassal and that a peace should be settled between our Governments.

This is the first time that I have heard of Sambajee Angria being a servant of your State. He always called himself to us a servant of the Sou[18] Rajah's. Your Excellency will not I hope espouse the party of one who is openly usurping the power and the command of the whole coast to the ruin and destruction of his neighbours whose common interest it plainly is to curb and keep him down.

The case of our people detained in your territories and that of the Grab and her people is widely different. The Grab was taken in open War by our fleet. Our people by the accident of a storm came into your hands and ought to have been immediately released. I demand it then in a friendly manner and on your compliance therewith and sending a person here to settle the terms and conditions of a peace betwixt our two Governments your Excellency may be assured that we are as ready to make returns of friendship as of enmity. I have wrote more fully to Savajee Sunchar and therefore do not enlarge here."[19]

The President's letter to Shivāji Shankar dated the 14th December 1738 :—

"I have received your letter dated the 31st Oct. 1738, the containts (contents) of which have been duly explained to me and after due consideration of them I return you this answer thereto.

17. *Idem* pp. 369–70.
18. Shāhu, King of Sātārā.
19. Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, p. 373.

You beg with expressions of a desire that a good correspondence should be established betwixt this Government and that of your Country. Whenever in effects you will begin to show the reality of this profession I shall on my part give you suitable satisfaction.

You advise me that a ship belonging to our nation was shipwrecked in your country, that you have detained the people that were saved out of her, that you have the Rajah's order to propose to me the delivery and release of these people on the terms of restoring a Grab belonging to Sambajee Angria (who you say is the vassal of the Rajah's) with all her men who were taken in by our fleet, and the settling a peace betwixt our Governments.

To all which I answer that I am surprised that in a matter of this consequence the Rajah himself did not write me. However as I do not know the reasons of this omission I write him on this occasion.

That the persons driven ashore were entitled to all civil and humane treatment as they were not taken in war or a state of hostility with you and the laws of the country forbid the robbing persons of their liberty who fall into your hands by such an accident.

The Grab you demand restitution of, belonging to Sambajee Angria was taken in fair war by our fleet which we keep in these parts not to hurt or injure any one but to protect the trade of this coast against the insults and oppressions of Sambajee Angria whose only aim is plundering the merchants and usurping all the power of the coast.

It is news to me that Sambajee Angria is a vassal of the Rajah's. He always before styled himself a servant of the Sou Rajah, and I am in hopes the Rajah who is so great a prince will not espouse the cause of one who is so constantly bent on the ruin and destruction of his neighbours and whose true interest is therefore to keep within bounds

When he delivered us up the prisoners taken in one of our ships called Derby,[20] their release was a preliminary we insisted before we would hearkén to a treaty of peace. After the delivery of the said prisoners, he himself flew off from any reasonable composition whilst he accused us of breach of faith, he who never kept

20. The Derby, an Europe Ship of the Company, was 470 tons. Sambhāji captured the Ship after a whole day's fight on Dec. 26, 1735, and he made 115 men prisoners. Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 9, pp. 374-5.

any; and it is well known the English never break their words or agreements.

As these people there (now prisoners with you) are detained as such against all laws divine and humane I must require their immediate release. When on your sending a proper person here to settle a firm peace I shall come into any proposals that are just and for the advantage of both our Governments, and as I hope you will not fail giving me just satisfaction in the restitution of these people, you may securely depend on our good faith with respect to a grateful return.

I send one Mancojee (Mānakoji ?) as interpreter on this occasion with whom you may explain yourself fuller."[21]

John Horne.

One point made much of in both letters by the President needs some explanation. The President was surprised at the fact that the Chhatrapati owned Sambhāji Angria as his own servant. "It is news to me", writes the President, "that Sambhajee Angria is a vassal of the Rajah. He always before stiled himself a servant of the Sou Rajah." Sambhaji,[22] indeed, was the servant of Shāhu. Yet, the Treaty of Vārnā,[23] made in 1731, created an identity of interest between the two princes, Shāhu and Sambhāji, as against their common enemies. It may be, therefore, that in their effort to protect each other's interest, each was calling the other's servant as his own, though it must be admitted that the treaty did not create any such binding obligation. It was in this sense, perhaps, that Sambhaji Angria was described as the servant of the Raja of Kolhāpur.

One more thing about the correspondence between the President and the Chhatrapati may be noticed. "Your Excellency will not, I hope," wrote the President, "espouse the party of one (i. e. Sambhaji Angria) who is openly usurping the power of command of the whole coast to the ruin and destruction of his neighbours whose common interest it plainly is to curb and keep him down." It does not appear from the sequel that the President's efforts to set the Raja against Sambhāji Angria bore any material fruit.

21. *Bom. Pub. Con.* Vol. 9, pp. 374-5.

22. See his seal in RAJAWADE, Vol. 8. 151. Yet another seal is given in Idem No. 152. In the first seal Sambhāji acknowledges his master Shāhu, but in neither of them there is any reference to his being a servant of the Raja of Kolhāpur.

23. See especially Art. 8 of the treaty. An English translation of this treaty is given in Aitchison 3rd Ed., Vol. VII, pp. 181-2 (f. n.). There the treaty is dated April 26, (1731). It should be April 13.

After some preliminary talks between the Governor of Bombay and the agent of the Killedar of Mālwan, the English prisoners were released early in 1739 and brought to Bombay (Feb. 8). In this connection, the help given by the chief of Savantwādi being really valuable merited reward. " The Board taking into consideration " reads the Consultation of Feb. 20, " Kempsavant's hearty interposition for the release of prisoners, his good offices to them after their release, and his friendly treatment of our nation in general, agrees that some present ought to be made him as a mark of a friendly acknowledgment ; that accordingly a curious Jusil (? Tusil ?), a pair of pistols, a Persian sword mounted with silver and twelve yards of crimson velvett[24] be sent him by his deputy now with us, with a handsome compliment from the President."[25]

Together with the prisoners came an envoy from Mālvan to discuss the terms of the treaty. The President had long talks with the envoy the substance of which he gave to the Council in their meeting of Feb. 20 (1739). The Consultation reads, " The President acquaints the Board with the result of several conferences he has had with the Malvan Deputy by whom he understands the Malvan Government is entirely inclined to make peace with us with assurance not to molest or impede any vessel that carries our pass and colours engaging with all (sic) in future to give all the assistance in their power to any English vessel in distress. But that on his (i. e. the President's) insisting for restitution of some part of the cargo recovered by them from the Anglesea's wreck he gave but faint answers alleging he had no power to treat on that subject, but acknowledged our demands were reasonable and promised his good offices towards promising us some satisfaction in that matter."[26]

It was decided in the Council meeting that one Māncojee should be sent with the envoy to Malwan in order to find if any restitution was possible and to discuss in greater detail the terms of the proposed treaty. Māncojee's journey, it appears, was undertaken for nothing, for when the Mālwan " deputy " arrived again in Bombay towards the end of April (1739) it was found out that it was impossible to get anything out of the Mālvan government. "We can plainly get", observed the President in the Council meeting of May 3, " no redress for our damages, but may possibly benefit by cultivating an alliance with them[27] against Sambhājee (Angria). We ought therefore likewise in conformity to our Hon. Masters' prescription with regard

24. The cost of the present in all was about Rs. 133.
25. Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10, p. 84.
26. Ibid.
27. i.e. the people of Mālwan.

to our conduct with country governments to close with his[28] offer of their friendship.''[29]

So it appears that the Governor and Council of Bombay were inclined to conclude the treaty not so much because it was of great immediate benefit to them but mainly because its conclusion would be " in conformity to our Hon. Masters' prescription with regard to our conduct with the country governments". What particular instructions were issued in this respect by the Company to their servants in Bombay is not mentioned. But by going through the Company's " generals " to Bombay written sometime before the treaty, we come across a striking letter which must be the one referred to in the Consultation mentioned above. The Company's letter to Bombay written on April 7, 1738 contains the following injunction : " We have with the greatest attention considered the situation you are in, and do positively order you to cultivate friendship and pacific measures with all your neighbours of every sort, avoiding all offensive engagements and wars, which must ever be destructive to us whether we win or lose......Remember we are merchants, and as such whatever measures obstruct our trade or enlargeth others must be a very false policy in us to pursue, as many our servants have hitherto done to our infinite cost and damage." [30]

The treaty between the governor of Mālwan and the Governor of Bombay was concluded on Nov. 25, 1739. It was a brief treaty with only five clauses. It was as follows :—

Articles of Peace and Friendship agreed on and concluded by the Hon. Stephen Law Esq. President and Governor of Bombay for in behalf of the Hon. English East India Company and Samerasjee[31] Purvoe and Rayajee[32] Naique for Sevajee[33] Sunker Punt Killedar or Generall of the Surdarook and commander-in-chief of the Malwans.

First, that there shall be from henceforward forever a firm peace and friendship between the said Hon. English East India Company, their subjects and Servants and the said Sevajee Punt, his subjects, Vassals by sea and land under the following conditions.

28. i.e. the Mālwan Deputy's.
29. Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10, p. 499.
30. Letter Book Vol. 24, pp. 8-12.
31. Shankarāji Parabhu (?)
32. Rāyāji Nāik.
33. Shivāji Shankar Pant.
34. Bom. Pub. Con. Vol. 10, pp. 500-501.

Second, that in case the fleet of the said Sevajee Punt shall at any time meet at Sea any ships or vessels under English colours whether of war or merchandise they shall not molest them but on discovery that they belong to the English, their subjects and (or ?) servants either as owners or freighters, give them all assistance they can and in case of meeting a single vessel they shall not after showing the colours chase her with more than one Gallivat to be assured she belongs to the English as above specified which an English pass shall indubitably prove. In like manner when the vessels of war of the said company shall meet with at sea the fleet or vessels of the said Sevajee Punt, they shall permit them to pass unmolested on showing their colours and sending a Gallivat or boat to 'Certifie' who they are.

Third, if at any time through stress of weather or any other accident any vessels belonging to the English Company, their subjects or servants should be drove ashore and shipwrecked in the ports or territories of the said Sevajee Punt they shall not be forfeited, on the contrary all aid and assistance shall be given the people belonging to them in saving and preserving the said vessels and their cargoes and free liberty given to transport or dispose of what is so saved as they shall think proper without paying any salvage custom or duty whatever for the same and the like shall be observed with all vessels belonging to the said Sevajee Punt his subjects or vassals that shall meet with the like misfortune in the ports or territories of the said Hon. Company.

Fourth, that the ports and the Settlements of the said Hon. Company and the said Sevajee Punt shall be free and open to the subjects and servants of both to trade and negotiate in, on paying the respective duties that are usually paid at the said ports and places or that shall be hereafter stipulated and agreed on.

Fifth, that these articles agreed on and concluded shall be exchanged and ratified by the said President and Governor under the seal of the said Hon. Company and the said Sevajee Punt under his proper seal within six months from the date hereof or sooner if opportunity offers.

Done in Bombay Castle this 25th day of November One thousand seven hundred thirty nine.[34]

Nothing is known about the ratification of the treaty in accordance with the fifth Article.

The Problem of the Bālacarita

By

A. D. PUSALKER, Bombay

While dealing with the date of Bhāsa, I have incidentally tried to show that the reference in Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI. 85) is to the *Bālacarita* as published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and that there is only one *Bālacarita Naṭaka* which is represented by the printed edition.[1] *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin edited by M. DILLON[2] was not readily accessible to me when I wrote my book; and hence I consider it necessary to re-examine the whole problem in detail in the light of the information supplied by Sāgaranandin and other sources, though it may be mentioned here that my conclusions are not materially affected thereby.

Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI. 85) quotes a stanza, viz :

उत्साहातिशयं वत्स तव बाल्यं च पश्यतः ।
मम हर्षविषादाभ्यामाक्रान्तं युगपन्मनः ॥

as from a *Bālacarita*, and the stanza is cited as an illustration of '*Vidhāna*.'[3]

Sāgaranandin in his *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (p. 26) has the same passage and quotation almost identically worded, the only change being सुखदु:खान्वितो for सुखदु:खकृतो. There is some uncertainty as to the date of Sāgaranandin; but it appears that he preceded Viśvanātha (c. 14th Cent. A. D.), as the original MS of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* "appeared to LE'VI to date from the 13th or 14th centuries".[4] According to M. DILLON, the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* may be as early as the 13th Century,[5] and Prof. GODE has shown that 'the later limit of Sāgara's date is A. D. 1431 definitely'.[6] Prof GODE, however, further states that if the identity of the *Rāmābhyudaya Kāvya* in the Pujāripāli inscription and the *Rāmābhyudaya* quoted by Sāgaranandin be established, the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* may be posted to the period between A. D. 1250 and 1350.[7]

1. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1940, pp. 73-75.
2. London, 1937.
3. *Sāhityadarpana*, KANE's Edn., Bombay, 1923, App. E. p. 73 :
   सुखदु:खकृतो योऽर्थस्तद्विधानमिति स्मृतम् ॥ ८५ ॥
   यथा बालचरिते । 'उत्साहातिशयं etc.
4. *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, Preface, p. vii.
5. *Nāṭakalakṣanaratnakośa*, Preface, p. viii.
6. *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute*, Vol. XIX, p. 286.
7. *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 288, n 2.

Prof. M. Ramkrishna KAVI finds a still earlier date for the *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇaratnakośa*, placing it between 950–1080 A. D.[8] In any case, it is incontrovertible that the inferior date for Sāgarinandin is prior to that of Viśvanātha who is placed in the 14th Century.[9] M. DILLON rightly opines that the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* appears to be one of the sources drawn upon by the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,[10] and the present quotation also serves as a glaring instance of Viśvanātha's indebtedness to the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*. So, the occurrence of the stanza in the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* only shows the source of Viśvanātha's quotation.

Rāmacarana Tarkavāgīśa, a commentator on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, states the verse to be रामं प्रति भार्गवस्योक्तिरियम्![11] and MM Dr. T. Ganapati SASTRI and some of the Bhāsites support the same interpretation on the authority of different commentators and take the *Bāla-carita Nāṭaka* as dealing with Rāma's exploits in childhood;[12] Pandit Khuperkar SASTRI, however, relying on another commentary takes the verse as रामं प्रति दशरथस्योक्तिरियम.[13] This difference of interpretation between the commentators is in itself sufficient to cast some doubt as to the correctness of their statements.

Now, there is one *Bālacarita Naṭaka* ascribed to Bhāsa which has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and it deals with the early life of Kṛsna.[14] I have elsewhere exhaustively dealt with the Bhāsa problem, and have proved the authenticity of the so-called Trivandrum plays, and also Bhāsa's authorship of the whole group, placing Bhāsa in the Mauryan period.[15] Dr. Ganapati SASTRI on the strength of a commentary on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* which he has not named, postulates the existence of another *Bālacarita* by Bhāsa dealing with the early life of Rāma.[16] There is possibly no instance in Sanskrit Literature of the same writer docketting his distinct works under identical titles. In all probability the verse quoted in the *Nṭāakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa* forms part of the same *Bālacarita* as published in the Trivandrum

8. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol II, pp. 412–419.

9. For the date of Viśvanātha, cf. DE, *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 233; KANE, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 1923, Intr. pp. cxxiii–cxxvii; KEITH, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 294.

10. *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, Preface, p. vii, also n. 1.

11. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Bombay, 1922, p. 304.

12. Ganapati SASTRI, *Bhāsa's Works: A Critical Study*, Trivandrum, 1925, p. 21.

13. *Lokaśikṣana* (Marāthī Monthly Magazine) Vol. V, p. 326.

14. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 21, Trivandrum, 1912.

15. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1940; especially Chapters 1–3.

16. *Critical Study*, p. 21.

Sanskrit Series, and the reference in the prefactory remarks of the commentaries of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* ought to have read दामोदरं प्रति सङ्कर्षणस्योक्तिरियम् instead of bringing in दशरथ (or परशुराम) and राम.

I locate the stanza उत्साहातिशयं etc., in the printed *Bālacarita* at p. 42 after the last speech of Dāmodara (viz. एवं, प्राप्तोऽरिष्टर्षभः ।...... अहमस्य दर्पप्रशमनं करोमि) and before the stage direction सङ्कर्षणस्तैः सह निष्क्रान्तः । The scene, as it stands, seems to end abruptly, and the insertion of this verse in the mouth of Saṅkarṣaṇa would make it appear somewhat natural, though one is not quite sure about the dislocated elements from the scene. There is an occasion for the concern shown by Saṅkarṣaṇa in the verse for the safety of Dāmodara, as the latter was thinking of proceeding against a strong adversary in Ariṣṭarṣabha. Dāmodara has been addressed as 'वत्स' by Saṅkarṣaṇa and further on, we find repetition of the words हर्षविषादाभ्याम्। These considerations, I submit, point to the verse having once formed part of the *Bālacarita*. The verse, further, admirably serves as the illustration of '*Vidhāna*' as intended both by Sāgaranandin and Viśvanātha,[18] as it shows the simultaneous rising of joy and sorrow in the mind of Saṅkarṣaṇa. Hence I think the verse fits in well with the context shown, and so the commentators on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* are unhappily wrong. The inference as to the existence of another *Bālacarita* dealing with the early life of Rāma rests entirely on the slender evidence of a commentator on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, and the later commentators simply followed the first without verifying the reference or without making sure of the statements. There are numerous instances of mistakes and misquotations by commentators who generally had to rely on their memory.[19]

At this place, it may be stated that we are now in a position to show the possible source which provided material for starting the idea that the *Bālacarita* dealt with the exploits of Rāma. Sāgaranandin in his *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* refers to the *Bālacarita* at three places,[20] the first quotation of which appends the word "*Rāmāyaṇa*" to *Bālacarita* (बालचरिते रामायणे, p. 23), which, however, cannot be taken to mean that *Bālacarita Nāṭaka* dealt with the early life of Rāma. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* is available

17. *Bālacarita*, p. 49.

18. Cf. सुखदुःखान्वितो योऽर्थस्तद्विधानमिति स्मृतम् ; *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, p. 26, line 610 ; *Sāhityadarpana*, App. E., p. 73.

19. Cf. *Pratimānāṭaka*, Ed. S. M. Paranjape, Poona, 1927, Intr. pp. xx–xxiii.

20. P. 23, lines 540–541 ; p, 26, lines 610–611 ; p. 32, line 751.

to us only in a single MS.; in the absence of futher MSS of the work, it is not possible to venture any definite opinion.

MM Dr. Ganpati SASTRI's assumption of the existence of another *Bālacarita* by Bhāsa has been followed by many supporters of the Bhāsa theory. As to the diversity of the *Bālacarita*, we find that in dramatic literature at least there are no two works in Sanskrit even by different writers bearing identical titles.[21] Much less would one author select the same title for his distinct works; his natural choice would be to ascribe different titles for different works. Besides this *Bālacarita Nāṭaka* by Bhāsa, we find reference to another *Bālacarita* in Sanskrit literature,—*Bālacarita* by one Śaṅkara Lala who flourished during the last century; but the work is a poem (*Kāvya*) not a *Nāṭaka.*[22] If therefore the proposed context of the verse be correct, there is no necessity to postulate the existence of another *Bālacarita*—by Bhāsa or any other dramatist. This context saves the Bhāsites from the awkward position of inferring the existence of two works bearing identical titles, which these very scholars were at pains to dislodge while dealing with the problem of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, where they have rightly stated the proposition of the non-existence of two dramatic works bearing identical titles.[23]

The MSS of Bhāsa are very badly preserved with many omissions, and the non-occurrence of this single stanza is easily explicable. It may further be noted that both Sāgaranandin and Viśvanātha hail from the North, whereas we have the Bhāsa MSS from the South. It seems that somehow or other Bhāsa's works went out of vogue,[24] some floating verses and the titles of some of his works only being known to the Pandits. Hence Sāgaranandin and Viśvanātha were silent as to the author of the *Bālacarita*; and Viśvanātha's commentators with a view to show their learning or to shield their ignorance appended some preliminary remarks to the stanza in question, and the subsequent commentators took the earlier commentaries as gospel truths. At present at least there is nowhere in existence any other *Bālacarita Nāṭaka*, and if the convention is to be trusted, no other dramatic work in Sanskrit can bear that title.

It may be contended that our *Bālacarita* is quite a late work coming from the Cākyār repertoire, and hence Sāgaranandin and

21. Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, p. 24.
22. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 670.
23. Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp. 23-34.
24. For possible causes of neglect, cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp. 307-310.

Viśvanātha may not be presumed to have come accross the work. But we can show that the *Cilappadikāram* of Ilankovadigal, who is assigned 2nd-3rd Century A. D., definitely refers to one *Bālacarita* dealing with the early life of Kṛṣṇa. The quotation as given by Mr. V. Venkatarama SASTRI in the introduction to his edition of the *Abhiṣeka Nāṭaka* reads : " mayavanudan rammu nadiya *vala-caretai natakangalil* venedunkat pinnai yodadiya kuravai yadutum".[25] I am indebted to Mr. K. G. SANKAR of the Imperial Library for supplying me with a transliteration and translation of the passage.[26] For facilitating reference, I herewith append his transliteration and translation : " Āyarpāḍiyil erumanrattu Māyavan uḍan tan mun āḍiya *bālacaritai-nāṭakaṅgalil* vel neḍum kaṭ Piññaiyoḍu āḍiya kuravai āḍutum yām enrāl." Here follows the translation : " She said, ' Let us dance the Kuravai dance, which Kṛṣṇa of old in Gokula on the refuge-heap, danced with Pinnai of lance-long eyes, among the many dances played with him and before him in the frolic of childhood.' " Mr. SANKAR further writes that there is no reference to *Bālacarita* in the quotation, and that two commentators of *Cilappadikāram* support him in his interpretation. My friend Prof. V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR of the Madras University also thinks likewise.[27] The passage evidently tells of the Kuravai dance which Krsṇa of old danced in Gokula. Being quite ignorant of Southern vernaculars, I am not competent to hazard any guess ; but supported as I am by a South Indian scholar, I think that the word ' *Bālacarita* ' in the passage is purposely used suggesting the drama of that name.

It cannot, however, be said that the allusion is to another *Bālacarita* ; for apart from the improbability of there being two works dealing with the same subject bearing identical titles, the *Bālacarita* as published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has been shown to be the earliest version of the Kṛsṇa story on account of the absence of erotic element, which is a characteristic of the later description of Rādhā and Gopīs.[28] Dr. Sten KONOW would "safely ascribe the *Bālacarita* to an early date."[29] In view of these statements, therefore, as also on account of the absence of another *Bālacarita Nāṭaka* among MSS, I think we are not far from right in taking the Tamil work as referring to our *Bālacarita* and also in

25. *Abhiṣeka Nāṭaka*, Lahore, 1930, Intr. p. v, also n.
26. In his letter dated 7-8-1932.
27. In his letter dated 25-10-1934.
28. H. WELLER, *Die Abenteuer des Knaben Krischna*, Intr. p. 13.
29. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIX, p. 234.

taking the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa* quotation to be from our work.

Catalogues of MSS consulted by me do not mention any work of the name of *Bālacarita*. AUFRECHT's entry in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*[30] is based on the reference from the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, and no further particulars are given as to the authorship, etc. of the *Bālacarita*, Reference has already been made to the poem *Bālacarita* by Sankara Lala.

Thus, there is only one *Bālacarita Nāṭaka* identical with that published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

---

30. Vol. I, p. 371.

Two Amṛtānandas—both Vedāntins

By

E. P. Radhakrishnan, Madras

In the very beginning of the *Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa*,[1] a commentary on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya, the author refers to two *vedānta* teachers, Amṛtānanda and Brahmaprakāśikākāra. They are introduced as objecting to Śaṅkara's definition of *adhyāsa*, superimposition, thus :—

श्रीमच्छारीरकं व्याचिख्यासुः भगवान् भाष्यकारो विषयाद्यसंभवेन अव्याख्येयत्वमाशङ्क्य बन्धमिथ्यात्वाङ्गीकारेण विषयादिकं संभावयन् व्याख्येयत्वं प्रतिजज्ञे 'युष्मदस्मत्' इत्यादिना । तत प्रत्याचिख्यासू च अमृतानन्दब्रह्मप्रकाशिकाकारौ भाचख्यतुः ।

Their objection is chiefly based on the view taken by Śaṅkara of *adhyāsa* or the superimposition of the cosmos over Brahman. One of the most important problems of Advaita philosophy, as everybody knows, is *adhyāsa*. Only if this phenomenal *prapañca* is explained as something superimposed on Brahman, can it be maintained successfully that Brahman is one and secondless (*ekam eva advitīyam*). Also that without this super-imposition, if according to the upaniṣadic teaching everything is taken to be Brahman, there is no second object to Brahman. This secondlessness negates the possibility of a teacher and a pupil resulting in the uselessness and want of purport or object of the whole of the vedāntic teaching. To establish successfully the necessity of the teaching of Vedānta, *adhyāsa* has to be necessarily posited. That is why Śaṅkara begins his masterly thesis with the exposition of *adhyāsa*.

In order to impress upon the reader the value of Vedānta, it has to be explained that bliss or *sukha* is cessation of all miseries. Simple cessation of miseries is bliss only according to the Naiyāyikas. To the vedāntins it means also the setting in of *sukha* or Ātman realisation, realisation of one's own self. Thus cessation of miseries does not necessarily mean bliss. For by absence of misery, one can be in an indifferent state, without either misery or bliss.

How can this misery come to an end? Performance of good and virtuous deeds cannot extricate one absolutely from misery. Performance of good deeds results only in the enjoyment of some

1. Edn. Madras University Skt. Series.

vaiṣayika sukha. And enjoyment is followed again by misery. Thus it has to be accepted that misery is only illusory and is supposed to exist by man. It is the mind that makes a hell of heaven and a heaven of hell.

मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः ।

Really there is no misery at all.

न निरोधो न चोत्पत्तिः
न बन्धो न च साधकः ।
न मुमुक्षुः न वै मुक्तः
इत्येषा परमार्थता ॥ (*Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, v. 575.)

Thus in order to convince man of the phenomenal character of misery and to point out to the individuals that Ātman is free and cannot be bondaged, *Adhyāsa* has to be expounded. That is done by Śaṅkara in the opening portion of his bhāṣya.

The point of Amṛtānanda's criticism of Śankara's position is stated thus:

व्यर्थमिदं अनर्थानृतत्ववर्णनम्, शास्त्रप्रामाण्यात् ज्ञानेन सत्यबन्धध्वंससंभवात् । अथ लोके ज्ञानात् सत्यस्य ध्वंसो न दृष्टः । तत् किमिदानीं आमुष्मिकफलं कर्मशास्त्रं नोपेयते ? किं च लोकेऽपि तार्क्ष्यस्मरणात् विषं शंशमीति, सेतुदर्शनाच्च अशुभं सनीनश्यते, विषयदोषदर्शनाच्च रागो दनीध्वस्यते । तथा च ज्ञानं स्वप्रागभावं दन्दहीति, तथा अनर्थहेतुमपि धक्ष्यति । तस्मात् सत्यत्वेऽपि बन्धस्य ध्वंससंभवात् न तदर्थंअनर्थवैतथ्यमास्थेयम् । वाक्यार्थान्वयसिद्धये जीवनिर्णयोऽपि जीववादे प्रवृत्ते । अतो न तदर्थमपि तद्वर्णनम् । (*Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa* p. 1.)

In criticising the view of Śaṅkara, Amrtānanda and the author of the *Brahmaprakāśikā* say that there is no necessity for assuming *anartha*, misery in general, to be *mithyā*, unreal. They think as follows: Because *bandha* and *mokṣa* are both dealt with in the Śāstras, both have to be taken as real. And it is possible also to set aside the real misery of bondage by *jñāna*. If it be objected to this that in this world there is no experience of *jñāna* setting aside the real *bandha*, why not one take to *Karmakāṇḍa*? That is to say, if it be held that *jñāna* cannot sublate a real entity there seems to be no difficulty in accepting the truth of the *karmakāṇḍa*. By the performance of righteous deeds like sacrifices etc. some *phala* is bound to be enjoyed by the agent. This *phala* is real. And if *jñāna* cannot sublate a reality, the *phala*, in so far as it has been accepted as real, has to be enjoyed. And a *mukta* will also be a *phala-bhoktā*, enjoyer of fruits. This means there is no salvation for even a *mukta*. Hence the uselessness of the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*.

Further it is found in common experience, that poison is cured by meditating on *Garuḍa*, evil is destroyed by going and plunging in the *Rāmasetu*, and the eagerness to possess an object is extinguished when the bad qualities of the object are realised. These examples show that even a real entity can be set aside. In a similar way *jñāna* can remove its antecedent non-existence (*svaprāgabhāva*) and also the cause for misery (*anartha*). Hence even if bondage be accepted as real, *jñāna* can remove it. There is no necessity for accepting *bandha* as unreal or *mithyā*. Thus Amṛtānanda thinks that granting the reality of bandha, cessation of miseries is possible as also the enjoyment of supreme bliss, when one realises one's own self.

To a keen student of philosophy, this *prima facie* view about *adhyāsa* is not very serious. It does not need much logical insight to see the untenability of the above view of one reality negating another of the same grade. It does not sound well to hold bondage and misery real, when even after Ātman-realisation, bondage will continue to exist, when there is no difference between a *mukta* and a *baddha*. If at all the doctrine of emancipation is acceded to, if at all ātman-realisation is accepted as the *summum bonum* of life, if at all *bandha* and *mukti* are consented, necessarily *bandha* has to be described as *anirvacanīya* and unreal. Thus for a satisfactory explanation of the doctrine of emancipation, *adhyāsa* has to be accepted. Both Amṛtānanda and the author of the *Brahmaprakāśikā* failed to see the *anirvacanīya* nature of bondage and that is why they objected to Śaṅkara's doctrine of *adhyāsa*.

Without going much in detail into the problem of *adhyāsa* let us confine our attention about the identity and probable date of this Amṛtānanda. Unfortunately this process of investigation is a laborious one. There are many Amrtānandas. AUFRECHT in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions one Amrtānandanātha and attributes to him,

1. A commentary on Śaṅkara's *Ajñānabodhinī*,
2. A vedāntic work by name *Tattvadīpana*,
3. *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, a commentary on a tāntric work entitled *Yoginīhrdaya*, and
4. *Āmṛtānandanāthīya*, vedānta.

Besides these, he says that Amṛtānanda corrected the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda.

AUFRECHT also notices one Amṛtānanda Tīrtha and ascribes to him the following works :—

(1) *Tātparyadīpikā*, vedānta,
(2) *Tārakopadeśavyavasthā*,
(3) *Paramapadanirṇāyaka*,
(4) *Bhargāṅghribhūṣaṇa*,
(5) *Śivatattvaviveka*,
(6) *Śivaratnāvalīvyākhyā*,
(7) *Hariharopādhivivecana*, and
(8) A vedāntic work, *Amṛtānandīya* named after its author.

From the above it is evident that a good deal of confusion was made between Amrtānanda, the vedāntin and Amrtānanda the tāntric writer. In the comparatively recently issued catalogues of the Mysore Oriental Library also, in addition to the above works. *Tripurāsiddhānta*, *Saubhāgyatantra* and *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* are ascribed to one Amṛtānanda, probably the tāntric writer. Strangely enough, the well-known *Brahmavidyābharaṇa* of Advaitānanda is fathered on Amrtānanda (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in Mysore Oriental Library* Vol. I. p. 439).

Thus it seems highly probable that at least there were two Amṛtānandas, one a *Vedāntin*[2] and another, a *tāntric* writer. The Amṛtānanda Yogin, author of the *Alaṁkārasangraha*, is a different author.

About the *tāntric* Amrtānanda very little is known. Probably he is the author of all the above *tāntra* works, viz., *Yoginīhṛdaya-dīpikā*, *Tārakopadeśavyavasthā*, *Paramapadanirṇāyaka*, *Bhargānghri-bhūṣaṇa*, *Śivatattvaviveka*, *Śivaratnāvalīvyākhyā*, *Hariharopādhivi-vecana*, *Trīpurāsiddhānta*, and the *Saubhāgyasudhodaya*. It seems that this is the Amṛtānanda who also corrected the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda. The tāntric Amrtānanda was a disciple of one Puṇyānandanātha, author of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa*.

इतिश्रीमत्परमयोगीन्द्रपुण्यानन्द[3] शिष्यामृतानन्दनाथयोगिप्रवरविरचितायांयोगिनी हृदयदीपिकायां etc.

(Extracts from the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, PETERSEN'S *Alwar Catalogue*.)

Let us now come to the Vedāntin Amṛtānanda. Here, too, we are not sure whether there was only one Amṛtānanda or more. Historical evaluation of the evidences necessarily leads to the supposition of more than one Amṛtānanda as a *vedāntin*. As has been said before, the author of the *Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa* criticises one Amṛtānanda. Vidyāraṇya in his *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha* in

2. Later on it will be shown that there were more than one Amṛtānanda, as Vedāntins.

3. The reading पुरीशानन्द as found in the Calcutta *Skt. College Catalogue* V, No. 72 is a mistake.

the beginning of the eighth *varṇaka*, also refers to one Amṛtānanda thus :—

एतेनैतदप्यपास्तम् यदमृतानन्देनोच्यते—न युगपत् जीवब्रह्मणोः भेदाभेदौ, विरोधात्; किं तु पदार्थत्वदशायामतिरेकः, वाक्यार्थत्वदशायां च अखण्डत्वम्—इति ।

Similarly in another vedāntic work, named *Pañcapādikāvyākhyā* (Madras Ms. R. 5387) Vijñānavāsayati criticises one Amṛtānanda on his objection regarding *Adhyāsa*. Vijñānavāsayatı does not directly quote Amṛtānanda but refers to the views held by those guided or instructed by Amrtānanda.

अत्र अमृतानन्देन शिक्षितः कश्चित् जल्पति ।

(p. 23 of Madras Ms. R. 5387.)

There are found two verses summarising the objection :—

अध्यासवर्णने नात्र किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोजनम् ।
प्रत्युतास्य प्रयत्नेन निराकरणमर्थवत् ॥
अन्यथा तत्समानत्वं सर्वस्यैव वदिष्यति (भविष्यति ?) ।
विशेषो न तदा वेदबौद्धशास्त्रधियामपि ।

This objection is criticised by Vijñānavāsa. But as Vijñānavasa's date is unknown, this is not of much use in determining the date of Amrtānanda. Probably the Amrtānandas mentioned in the *Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa*, *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha* and by Vijñānavāsa are all identical, since they upheld the *bhedābheda* view.

One Amṛtānanda has written a commentary on Ānandabodha's *Nyāyadīpāvalī*. The commentary is called *Nyāyaviveka* and an incomplete manuscript from the beginning to the end of the second anumāna is found in the Library of the Curator's offic, Trivandrum. In the Travancore Administration Reports for the kollam era 1103, another manuscript of the same work is noticed as No. 31 in Appendix B. The Tanjore Palace Library contains two manuscripts,[4] both running only upto the end of the first anumāna.

This Amṛtānanda is a disciple of one Jyotirānanda as is evident from the colophon:

इति श्री परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य ज्योतिरानन्दपूज्यपादशिष्य-भगवदमृतानन्दमुनि विरचितायां न्यायदीपावलीन्यायविवेकाख्यव्याख्यायां प्रथमानुमानं समाप्तम् ।

In the beginning he respects Ānandagiri in very clear terms:

यत्पादरेणुसंपर्कात् विशुद्धिं याति मे मनः ।
अपरं दक्षिणामूर्तिं तमानन्दगिरिं भजे ॥
आनन्दशैलाङ्घ्रिसरोजभृङ्गं
आनन्दसाम्राज्यामृतपूर्णरूपम् ।

4. Nos. 7461 and 7462 of the *Tanjore Descriptive Catalogues*.

आसेतुमेरूपचितप्रकाशं
आराद् भजे यादवशाक्रशैलम् ॥

From the second verse we may cautiously infer that Amṛtānanda's guru was a disciple of Ānandagiri (आनन्दशैलाङ्घ्रिसरोजभृङ्ग आराद् भजे) i. e. his guru was like a bee on the lotus-feet of Ānandaśaila or Ānandagiri. Thus Ānandagiri was his paramaguru. This raises some issues which will be dealt with now.

Ānandabodha, on the evidence that he wrote a commentary on Prakāśātman's *Śābdanirṇaya* and on the fact that he has been referred to by Citsukha, can be placed between 1000–1200 A.D. These limits can be narrowed down further. Citsukha according to Pratyaksvarūpa, refers to one *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalīkṛt.* The author of this *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* is one Ānandānubhava, about whom I shall be writing in a separate paper. Ānandānubhava in his *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* (Madras MS. R. 2981) refers to Ānandabodha's syllogisms, according to the commentators Ānandagiri and Ātmasvarūpa. Thus the chronological sequence will be :—

Prakāśātman (1000 A. D.)
|
Ānandabodha
|
Ānandānubhava
|
Citsukha (1200 A. D.)

The above dates for Prakāśātman and Citsukha are fairly acceptable. Thus Ānandabodha can roughly be placed about 1100 A. D.

Thus the Amṛtānanda who commented on the *Nyāyadīpāvalī* of Ānandabodha can on no account be placed before 1100 A. D. As he refers to Ānandagiri as his paramaguru, he should be nearer to Ānandagiri than 1100 A. D. Ānandagiri flourished in the early part of the 14th century and thus this Amṛtānanda can be placed about the same period or in the first half of the 14th century.

The Amṛtānanda referred to in the *Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa* is distinctly earlier. The author of the *Prakaṭārtha* flourished about 1200 A. D. This is one limit to the date of this Amṛtānanda.

The other limit it is not possible to fix within reasonable limits. All that we know is that he flourished after Śaṅkara, since Śaṅkara's views are criticised by him.

Thus we meet with two different Amṛtānandas in the advaitic literature.

Notes on some Mahābhārata Commentaries

By

V. RAGHAVAN, Madras

In his article on Mahābhārata Commentators in the *Annals* of the *Bori* (XVII, p. 185), Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR mentions a commentator named Varada, of whom nothing more is known. Mr. P.K. GODE wrote to me that so far no MS of Varada's commentary on the *Mahābhārata* had been discovered. When I was engaged in writing a paper on Ānandapūrṇa, His Date and Works[1], I had occasion to examine a MS of a commentary on the *Mahābhārata* in the Adyar Library, entered both on the ticket tied to the MS and in Catalogue as that of Yajñanārāyana. The examination disclosed that we had in this Adyar MS the only fragment, valuable indeed though very small, of the commentary of Varada on the *Mahābhārata*. There is just the beginning of Varada's commentary available here :—

Adyar XXX-A 29 महाभारत व्याख्या—

चतुर्णां पुरुषार्थानां करे(र)णौ चरणौ हरेः ।
वन्दे देवमुनीन्द्राणां शिरस्संमान्यशेखरौ ॥
भारताख्यानयशसौ गोस............ ।
वन्दे.......................मुनीश्वरौ ॥
उपास्ते शब्दसस्यानां रसे वाल्मीकिभानुना ।
तं पुनस्तेषु सजन्तं व्यासचन्द्रमसं भजे ॥
महते भारतायास्तु वेदसारात्मने नमः ।
यस्य स्तुतौ...यां भवेदन्यच्च भारतम् ॥
क महाभारतं काहं व्याख्यानं तस्य मे कथम् ॥
पङ्गोर्गरुडवेगेच्छा ममेच्छेयं च सोदरे ॥
ऋषेरतीव पूर्णस्य निर्गमे मार्गमिच्छतः ।
बोध(म्बु)धेः परीवाहं को वा गाहेत भारतम् ॥
ओष्ठेन दन्तान् (संवृत्य) तथास्यानि च पाणिभिः ।
हास्य... सन्तो यद्व्याख्या(मीह) भारतम् ॥
तथापि महतोऽभ्यासात् प्रसादाच्च (महात्म)नाम् ।
व्याख्यानसाहसित्वं मे भारतस्याभिरोचते ॥
वैचित्रीरुचिसंक्षेपविस्तरोत्पादनेच्छया ।

1. Published since in the *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, Vol. IV, Pt. I, 1939–40.

मुनिर्भ्योचष्ट शिष्येभ्यो यास्ता भारतसंहिताः ॥
......भेदसांकर्योल्लेखकानां च दोषतः ।
श्लोकाः कोशेषु भिद्यन्ते तथाध्यायाश्च संख्यया ॥
बहून्यनेकरूपाणि कोशानि प्रेक्ष्य सर्वशः ।
व्याख्यायते वि......श्यमानात्र संहिता ॥
भेदस्थानानि यान्यासां वक्ष्यामस्तत्र तत्र च ।
समीचीनश्च पाठोऽस्यानेतृतात्र प्रवक्ष्यते ॥
वरदाख्येन विदुषा व्यासभक्तेन भाषित(म्) ।
.........रमित्येत् व्याख्यानं वीक्ष्यतां बुधैः ॥
मयापि भारते कश्चिदविज्ञातो...... ।
.........जिज्ञासा वर्तते मम सांप्रतम् ॥
अत्र स्वबोध........................ ।
.........कान् विवरिष्यामि कांश्चन ॥

Beyond this portion forming the preface of Varada to his commentary, the entire MS represents the commentary of Yajñanārāyana. We do not know whether the prefatory verses of Varada's gloss stop with the verse mentioning his name and the last two verses belong to his work or to that of Yajñanārāyana.

The Beginning of Yajñanārāyaṇa's Commentary

MSS of Yajñanārāyana's commentary are available in some libraries. We can take MS No. R. 269 (*a*) of the Madras Triennial Catalogues which represents a MS of Yajñanārāyana's Commentary from the Ādi to Āśramavāsika. On comparing this MS with the above noticed Adyar MS, we find that, at the beginning, the Madras Government Library MS (R. 269 (*a*)) gives us a briefer version of Yajñanārāyana's commentary. The following is the opening of Yajñanārāyana's commentary from the Adyar Library; it mentions his father as Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa.

[Immediately following the Anustubh verses reproduced above]

अथ श्रुतिगतपथबहुविधात्मनाम् इतरेतरविरुद्धावभासानाम् अत्यन्ताविस्पष्टतया गुरुवरसंप्रदाय ...... अधिगतयाथात्म्यविशदतरधिषणस्य शङ्क(रनाराय ?)णस्य तनुजो यज्ञनारायणाभिधोऽहं तदुपदेशविस्तरैकमात्राधिगतशक्तिरपि स्वाशयबोधयाथार्थ्यं(म्) सज्जन[न]निकषोपलेषु निष्कृष्यैव परिगृहीतुकामो... भक्त्या च कांश्चिदत्रोपदेशमन्तरेणोपगन्तुमशक्यान् श्लोकान् यथाशक्ति विवरिष्यामि । प्रथमं तावदस्य संबन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि श्रोतृजनप्ररोचनार्थं भगव...... (पारा)शर्येणाभिप्रेतं कथमनेनैव वेदार्थविवरणभूतेनाभिधीयत इति प्रतिपाद्यप्रतिपादकभावलक्षणस्संबन्धः । प्रयोजनं त्विह परस्मिन् ब्रह्मणि वासुदेवे वस्थान...त् गीतासनत्सुजातमोक्षधर्मभक्तिगीतादिषु प्रदेशेषु भगवतः कृष्णद्वैपायनस्यायमेवाभिप्राय इति विज्ञायते । अथान्यत्र भारता...कुरु-

पाण्डवादिदेव...जनमरणाभ्युदयव्यसनवर्णनमिह संसारे वैराग्यप्रतिपादनार्थमेव भगवता कृतमिति विद्वद्भिर्मन्तव्य (म्।) इतिवृत्तमित्यर्थभूतं विशिष्टवृत्तमिति यावत् । पुराण... सर्गादिभिः पुराणलक्षणैः पञ्चभिः युक्तत्वात् महाभारतमपि पुराणमितिहासश्च । अयमर्थ इति नरेन्द्रादीनां वृत्तेषु प्रकारान्तर...कासयति एवं वृत्त...स थतीति इतिहासः। ब्राह्मीं वेदप्रभवां वेदमूलामिति यावत् । आद्यमित्यादिभिः त्रिभिः श्लोकैः ग्रन्थारम्भे कर्तव्येष्टदेवतानमस्कारः क्रियते । एवंविधं हरिं नमस्कृत्य व्यासमतं प्रवक्ष्यामीत्यन्वयः । आद्यं प्रधानम् । पुरुषं पुरि शरीरे शयानं, सर्वं पूरयन्तं वा । ईशानमीशितव्येषु ऐश्वर्यं प्रयुञ्जानमिति यावत् । पुरुहूतं पुरुभिर्महद्भिः यज्ञादावाहूतम् । पुरुष्टुतं...ऋषिभिः स्तुतम् । एकाक्षरं, एकं च अक्षरम् । व्यक्ताऽव्यक्तश्चेति । प्रकाशभूतो योगिनामव्यक्तोऽयोगिनाम् । अथवा इन्द्रियादिगोचरं वस्तु व्यक्तं, इन्द्रियागोचरमव्यक्तम्, इन्द्रियमेवमुभयात्मकम् । सनातनं चिरन्तनमिति यावत् । असच्च सच्चैव च यत् । असच्च कार्यजातं विनाशित्वात्, तस्य सत् परमकारणं देशकालाद्यन...त्त्वात् तस्य विश्व............... उपासकस्य दुःखं हरतीति हरिः । एवंभूतं नारायणं नमस्कृत्य व्यासस्य मतं वक्ष्यामीति [वक्ष्यामीति] वाक्यार्थः ।

See Madras Govt. MS. R. 269 (a) which begins only here. No. R. 1792 is another MS of Yajñanārāyana's commentary from Ādi to Śānti, in the same Madras Govt. Library, but that also, like R. 269 (a), presents a briefer version.

The next section of the commentary in the Adyar MS is also more elaborate than it is in R. 269 (a) and 1792.

सूतस्य इष्टदेवतानमस्कारेणाभिज्ञः स च ग्रन्थस्य...स्य प्र... श्वतो न प्रयुज्यते प्रवेशप्रायेण तदुभयं न संभवेत् । ततस्तन्त्रेण कर्तव्यमिति...त...नमस्करोति भगवान् व्यासः । एवंकरणे प्रयोजनं च अलङ्कृतमित्यादि श्लोकस्य पूर्वेणान्वयः

'पूर्णे हिमवतः पादे' इत्यादिरूपः समीचीनः पाठः । अनेन च महाभारतनिर्माणस्य कालो देशश्च कथ्यते ।............

वेदव्यासं नमस्कृत्य कृष्णं रामं जनार्दनम् ।
नारसिंहं च संस्मृत्य प्रवक्ष्यामि यथामति ॥

व्यासस्य मतानुसारेण महाभारतटीकामिति । यथा निष्प्रभेऽस्मिन् निरालोके etc. See Madras R. 269 (a)

The end of the Ādi in the Adyar MS (1. 29 a), corresponds to that in Madras R. 291 (a); the beginning and end of Sabhā in the Adyar MS (ll. 29 a and 34 a) correspond to those in the Tanjore MS 8658 (New Des. Cat.), a MS of Yajñanārāyana's commentary on the Sabhā.

The Beginning of Ānandapūrṇa's Commentary

In the Tanjore New Descriptive Catalogues, we find under No. 8657 (in Vol. XV), the description of a MS of a commentary on

the M. Bhā. mentioned as *Yajñanārāyaṇa's*. The colophon shows that the MS extends up to the end of the Āraṇyaparvan, and it gives Yajñanārāyaṇa as the author of the commentary. A comparison here with the Adyar MS of Yajñanārāyaṇa's commentary shows that the two MSS agree so far as the Āraṇya's end is concerned. But, it can be seen from comparing the beginning portion of the texts in the Adyar and the Tanjore MSS, that while the latter part of the Tanjore MS does represent Yajñanārāyaṇa's commentary, the former part does not. The former portion of the Tanjore MS represents the commentary of another writer whom we shall identify now.

Tanjore 8657 opens with six prefatory verses: 1. a Mālinī invoking Kṛṣṇa; 2. a Śārdūlavikrīḍita on Sarasvatī; 3. another verse in the same metre on the author; 4–5. two Anuṣṭubhs on the M. Bhā. and Vyāsa and 6. a Sragdharā mentioning a king in whose time the author wrote this commentary on the M. Bhā. This last important verse runs in the last line:

तस्मिन् श्रीकामदेवे...विजयते भारतार्थप्रकाशः ।

I would now invite attention to my article on the Date and Works of Ānandapūrna, in which, I have shown, on p. 2, that Ānandapūrna wrote under king Kāmadeva, the Kadamba king, the father-in-law of king Harihara II of Vijayanagar and whom, on epigraphical evidence, I placed at about A. D. 1350. That the Kāmadeva mentioned in the Tanjore MS of a M. Bhā. Vyākhyā is identical with the Kāmadeva mentioned by Ānandapūrṇa at the end of his *Prakriyā mañjarī* can be verified by another circumstance. The second verse in the Tanjore MS 8657, जिह्वारंगतले मृगाङ्ककलया etc. on Sarasvatī is the same as the third introductory verse in Ānandapūrṇa's commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi*. See Madras Trien. Cat. No. R. 3967. Thus we have in the former part of the Tanjore MS. 8657, the beginning portion of Ānandapūrna's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.

Some other works of Ānandapūrṇa

The third verse in the Tanjore MS 8657 is important for its information on the other works of the author; it runs:

येनाखण्डि कुतर्कपद्धतिरहो श्रीतर्कभाषासिना
येनाकारि विलोक्य युक्तिबहुलं टीकाद्वयी दर्पणम् ।
यस्य प्राङ्गणरङ्गरञ्जिततले शास्त्राणि नृत्यन्त्यलं
सोऽहं भारतसागरार्थनिचयं लोकस्य वक्तुं यते ॥

In the first two lines here, Ānandapūrṇa mentions a work of dialectic and two commentaries on a single treatise called *Darpaṇa*.

While we are not able to say anything definitely about the work mentioned in the first line, we can say that the two glosses on a *Darpaṇa* mentioned in the second line are additions to our knowledge of this writer's works most of which have been noticed by me in the article on Ānandapūrṇa previously referred to.

In the *Des. Catalogues of the Palace and Curator's Libraries at Trivandrum*, there are two MSS of a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, called *Bodhasudhā*, by a Vidyāsāgara Munīndra who is, in all likelihood, Ānandapūrṇa: Palace Library Des. Cat. Vol. I. No. 196, Skandhas 10 and 11 and Curator's Library Des. Cat. Vol. I. No. 181, Sk. 10 and 11.

Under No. R. 3323, the *Madras Trien. Catalogues* describe a commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, the last colophon in which gives the author as Mahānandapūrṇa and the name of the commentary as *Vyākhyāratnāvalī*[2] which is also the name of Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara's commentary on the M. Bhā. Confusion is likely here, but I find on comparing the text of Mahānandapūrṇa's commentary with that of Ānandapūrṇa's that the two are different, though the former text seems to follow the latter.

---

2. The commentary on the Pauloma is called here *Kṛṣṇagītā* and that on the Āstīka, *Viṣamapadadīpikā*. For another ms. of the Pauloma portion, called *Kṛṣṇagītā*, see *Des. Cat. Trivandum Curator's Library*, Vol. I, No. 150. For another perplexing reference to *Kṛṣṇagītā*, see *Tanjore New Des. Cat.* No. 9098, a commentary on the M. Bhā.

Śrī Rāma and the Raghuvaṁśa

By

C. Kunhan Raja, Madras

Nearly every scholar who has written on the *Raghuvaṁśa* has expressed the view that Kālidāsa's main object in writing the great epic was to portray the great Hindu Hero Rāma. In the first nine Cantos of the poem Kālidāsa described the four immediate predecessors of Rāma; in six Cantos, namely IX to XV he described Rāma himself and in the remaining four Cantos he portrayed the successors of Rāma. If we take the individual kings portrayed, it would be noticed that he devoted more Cantos for Rāma than for any other king. It is true that Raghu also appears in six Cantos. He was born in the third Canto and he retires and meets his death only in the eighth Canto. But in Canto V Aja, his son, comes in and from that time the interest is in Aja. Thus there is a case for assuming that in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa considered Rāma as the most important character; he received his inspiration from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, and so far as the *Rāmāyaṇa* portion in the Epic is concerned, he closely follows Vālmīki, even in wording, to say nothing of the main story.

But there are certain matters that need careful consideration in this connection. The work is known as *Raghuvaṁśa* and as such it can only be a chronicle of the Solar dynasty. In the second verse from the very beginning, the author speaks about the dynasty in the line :—

kva sūryaprabhavo vaṁśaḥ...

In the verse that follows the nexts one too, he mentions the dynasty in the passage ;

athavā kṛtavāgdvāre vaṁśe 'smin pūrvasūribhiḥ

After four verses in which the author enumerates the various great qualities of the kings of the dynasty, the author says :

raghūṇām anvayam vakṣye

From these passages it is certain that Kālidāsa was thinking only of the kings of the solar dynasty and that he had no special partiality for Rāma. If he had any idea of bringing Rāma as the real hero of the epic, it is incredible that he has not a mention of him anywhere, either in the introductory portion or in the body of the poem prior to the starting of the Rāma episode. Only once is there, in the course of the first eight Cantos, a mention of Rāma and that in a verse of questionable authenticity. There is the

mention in the eighth Canto of Aja having a son and then it is said that he is the father of him who killed Rāvaṇa. The verse is as follows :

daśaraśmiśatopamadyutım yaśasā dikṣu daśasv api śrutam
daśapūrvaratham yam ākhyayā daśakaṇṭhārıripum vidur budhāḥ

If Rāma were to Kalidāsa the great hero which modern scholars want us to believe, how is it that not even once is there a mention of such a hero? Except a very few allusions to Rāma in the *Meghadūta* we do not find Kālidāsa making mention of Rāma.

With this may be compared the way Kālidāsa treats of Kumāra. Kumāra is the hero ın his other great epic, the *Kumārasambhava*. At every step one comes across an allusion in the *Raghuvaṁśa* to Kumāra and in many places he uses the word Kumāra especially in referring to Aja. It is certain that to Kālidāsa Rāma was not a hero in the sense in which Kumāra was a hero to him.

Not only do I find difficulty in accepting that Rāma was a great hero to Kālidāsa, I have also very great difficulty in believing that Kālidāsa had known the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. It is true that in the following verse Kālidāsa means Vālmīki the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But I have my own doubts regarding the authenticity of this portion of the *Raghuvaṁśa* as a work of Kālidāsa. The verse is :

sa pṛṣṭaḥ sarvato vārtam ākhyad rājñe na santatım
pratyarpayıṣyatah kāle kaver ādyasya śāsanāt (XV. 41)

Here Vālmīki ıs mentioned as the ādikavi. There are other places also where Vālmiki ıs mentioned and sometimes as author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. I will return to the point of the authenticity of this portion. In the fourth verse in the Epic, the term *pūrvasūribhıh* is usually ınterpreted as referring to Vālmīki. This is the tradıtional interpretation. But does the work of Vālmīki, namely the *Rāmāyaṇa*, deserve to be called merely as a *maṇi* which is *kṛtavāgdvāra*, but which is not yet strung on a thread. The idea behind the verse is that previous attempts at describing the kings of the Solar dynasty are like drilling holes ın a gem and what the author is doing is to collect them and present them in the form of a strıng. His contribution is the art. I do not think that this would be the statement if he had the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki before him. He must be having in his mind the various Purāṇic references to the kings and not an artistic composition like the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

For the first eight Cantos he has no model. He has only some stray references to these kings in Purāṇas and other works. He has collected them and presented them as an artistic whole. He is

quite original. But everythig changes when we come to the *Rāmāyaṇa* portion.

Each of the three kings whom he describes in the first eight Cantos has an individuality. First there is Dilīpa who represents Dharma. Then comes Raghu who symbolises Artha and lastly there is Aja who typifies Kāma. Thus the three Puruṣārthas are dealt with in the story of the three Kings. But has Rāma an individuality? The Dilīpa, the Raghu and the Aja whom we find in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, we do not see elsewhere. But Daśaratha and Rāma of the *Raghuvaṁśa* are only the Daśaratha and the Rāma we know in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We find no contribution of Kālidāsa. In the first eight Cantos we see a poet who knows how to choose. From the ninth Canto, we find a poet who tries to summarise. There are various other considerations which tend to show that from the ninth Canto onwards there is the hand of some one different from the hand that wrote the first eight Sargas. In enumerating the qualities of the kings of the Solar dynasty, Kālidāsa says,

Vārdhake munivṛttīnām yogenānte tanutyajām

At the end of the third Canto, Kālidāsa speaks of Dilīpa thus:

atha sa viṣayavyāvṛttātmā yathāvidhi sūnave
nṛpatikakudam datvā yūne sitātapavāraṇam
munivanatarucchāyām devyā tayā saha śiśriye
galitavayasām ikṣvākūṇām idam hi kulavratam

About Raghu also there is the following statement at the end of the seventh Canto:

prathamaparigatārthas tam raghuḥ sannivṛttam
vijayinam abhinandya ślāghyajāyāsametam
tadupahitakuṭumbaḥ śāntimārgotsuko'bhūn
na hi sati kuladhurye sūryavaṁśyā gṛhāya

Then from the tenth verse in the eighth Canto, there is the description of Raghu retiring to the forest and in the twentyfourth verse there is the statement of how he left off the body by the power of Yoga. The same *vairāgya* and release from the body through the power of *Yoga* are mentioned in the case of Aja also at the end of the eighth Canto, in the verses:

samyag vinītam atha varmaharam kumāram
ādiśya rakṣaṇavidhau vidhivat prajānām
rogopasṛṣṭatanudurvasatim mumukṣuḥ
prāyopaveśanamatir nṛpatir babhūva

and

tīrthe toyavyatikarabhave jahnukanyāsarayvor
dehatyāgād amaragaṇanālekhyam āsādya sadyaḥ
pūrvākārādhikatararucā saṅgataḥ kāntayāsau
līlāgāreṣv aramata punar nandanābhyantareṣu

3

We do not see this kept on in the case of the later kings. True that in the later Cantos we see only the faithful reproduction of a well-known story.

There is another point which relates to the way in which the material is handled. In the first eight Cantos we never see the poet straying away from the main theme of the kāvya. There is no description merely for the sake of a description, to show off the erudition of the poet. The descriptions are all beautiful ornamentations around the main theme and these descriptions never retard the progress of the narration. When the poet speaks of the fragrant gentle breeze, the peacocks, the antelopes, the sārasa birds, and the simple peasants bringing humble presents to the king in the forest when Dilīpa proceeds to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha, when the poet describes Dilīpa tending the cow in the forest where creepers dropped flowers on him like city girls dropping lāja on him during his ceremonial processions, where the cool breeze served him when he was exposed to the hot sun, where the bamboo trees through their whistling sound served as accompaniment to the music of the forest nymphs, when the poet describes in the fourth Canto the advent of the hot season, when the rain clouds have abandoned the sky and when the heat of the sun become insufferable, when the moon is clear and shines brightly, when there are swans and undimmed stars and clear water, on none of these occasions does the author leave off the main theme; the hero is always in our presence and every description is joined on to him. This may be compared with the description of the seasons in the ninth Canto, when Daśaratha is nowhere to be seen. We meet Daśaratha in the statement :

atha samāvavṛte kusumair navais
tam iva sevitum ekanarādhipam
yamakuberajaleśvaravajriṇām
samadhuram madhur añcitavikramam.

There is no more mention of the hero, unlike in the descriptions in the previous Cantos. The same is the case with the description of *grīṣma* in the sixteenth Canto. While in the earlier Cantos we find a kind of close relation between the narration and the descriptions, the descriptions being a kind of decoration to the main theme of narration, in the later Cantos we find a sort of divorce between the two, the descriptions having nothing very intimate with the main theme except that it is the narration that has occasioned the description.

There is yet another great difference between the earlier portion of the *Raghhuvaṁśa* and the later portion in so far as the handling of the material is concerned.

Raghu is born in the third Canto and his adventures are also described in that Canto. At that time, his father Dilīpa is the king. When Dilīpa retires, we have been introduced to Raghu and we have begun to take an interest in him. If Kālidāsa had left off the poem at the end of the third Canto when Dilīpa retired from active life, we would have felt dissatisfied ; we are left with a strong desire to know something about his son, who has been before our eyes for some time and in whom we have begun to take a keen interest. Similarly Aja is introduced to us in the fifth Canto, though his father continues to be king till the end of the seventh Canto. In the latter part of the fifth Canto and in Cantos six and seven it is Aja who is before us and long before Raghu retires, as mentioned at the end of the seventh Canto, Aja has been before us very long and we have taken a deep interest in him. Thus even at the end of the seventh Canto, the author cannot leave off the story. He has to satisfy our eagerness to know the whole story of Aja. But in the eighth Canto we come to a different technique. It is mentioned that Aja had a son. His name even is not mentioned, unless we accept the verse quoted already as authentic, which I am very diffident about on account of the clumsy way in which the word *daśa* is introduced in the four lines of the verse. In the last verse but one, it is stated that his son is installed on the throne and in the last verse it is stated that Aja has departed from this world and taken up his abode in heaven. Nothing is mentioned in the whole Canto to arouse in us any interest in Aja's son and as such if the poet had closed the poem at that point, there is nothing to cause any dissatisfaction in us. No one will deny that the way in which the eighth Canto is closed is a very beautiful one and a very auspicious one. It does not close with the death of a king, but with the blessing of an eternal life of happiness for the king.

After the eighth Canto, we do not see anything in the poem that deserves the name of characterisation; and if Kālidāsa is anything it is as a master in characterisation. The similes lose their beauty and propriety. There is a distinct change even in the vocabulary and also in the sense in which the words are used. It is incredible that a poet who closely followed the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki did not accept the genealogy given by Vālmīki for the forefathers of Rāma. I have a feeling that it is not merely that Kālidāsa had not the portrayal of Rāma as the chief aim in writing the *Raghuvaṁśa* but that he did not write the Rāma portion in the work at all ; he may have closed

the poem with eight Cantos in which Raghu is the chief and central figure and in which his father and son are also described. In Dilīpa there is Dharma dominating without prejudice to Artha and Kāma; in Raghu there is Artha dominating without prejudice to Dharma and Kāma; and in Aja there is the predominance of Kāma without prejudice to Dharma and Artha. All the three working in harmony lead to final peace and Moksa in due course. This Hindu philosophy of life is fully explained in the first eight Cantos.

Many of the difficult problems that we have now to confront in respect of the *Raghuvaṁśa* will not arise if we have only the first eight Cantos of the work. The absence of a unity in the work, the unexpected end of the work in the nineteenth Canto, the discrepency between the fidelity with which the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is followed after the ninth Canto and the departure from the *Rāmāyaṇa* in respect of the genealogy of the forefathers of Rāma in the first eight Cantos, all these problems find a solution if we take the work as ending with the first eight Cantos.

There is another point that deserves consideration. In the beginning of the *Raghuvaṁśa* there are four verses (5th to 8th) where Kālidāsa enumerates various great qualities of the kings of the solar race. This is not a mere enumeration; it is more or less a preparation for the readers for the main Kāvya. The Kāvya illustrates these great qualities. And we find that the story of Raghu is handled in such a way that all these great qualities are exemplified therein. So it was Raghu whom Kālidāsa kept in his mind when he enumerated these qualities. How is it that not a single chief incident in the life of Rāma has been even hinted in these enumerations? Kālidāsa does not seem to have been thinking of Rāma at all.

Further, if on the basis of the Bharatavākya of *Mālavikāgnimitra* we assume Kālidāsa to be a contemporary of Agnimitra, it is certain that Agnimitra cannot be much later than Patañjali and as such Kālidāsa too is not much later than the great grammarian. Patañjali gives no hint of having known the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He quotes from a large number of literary works that preceded him and it is surprising that if the *Rāmāyaṇa* existed during his time, he should not have tried to explain a single un-Pāninian usage found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus, *Rāmāyaṇa* is not really the first Kāvya. That is only a vain title given to the work by the poet, whoever he is. Thus there is a likelihood that Kālidāsa too did not know the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

I have only raised or rather suggested a problem. It is not proved; some may say that even a case has not been made out to justify a consideration of the point. That is a matter of opinion. I leave it there.

Morality and Self-Realisation

By

P. T. RAJU, Waltair

It has been a common criticism by European scholars that Indian philosophy is unethical and amoral. And the criticism irritates every Hindu who sees that in spite of the self-restraint which his philosophy so strongly preaches it is called unethical. There is more asceticism in India than anywhere else; and all the virtues, both Greek and Christian, are so strongly emphasized by the Purāṇas, Kāvyas, ethical codes and philosophical treatises that one wonders what the grounds can be for calling Indian philosophy unethical. It is not necessary to quote these criticisms when they are so common.[1] But the curious feature to note of them is that they are made for opposite reasons. Sometimes Indian thought is said to be unethical for the reason that the basis of morality is said to be the *dharma* or the law of nature, which is an Is and not an Ought. At other times it is said that Indian thought furnishes no basis for moral laws, that it gives a number of injunctions, which means a set of values, which are uncoordinated and unexplained. The answer to each criticism lies in the other. And probably each critic, when he made his own criticism, does not have in mind that of the other. Yet it has to be said in favour of the critics that the relation between the moral laws and their ground is not systematically worked out by our ancient philosophers and moralists; so that the first group of critics do not see the laws based upon a ground, and the second miss the ground of the laws.

The conception that *Ṛta*, which means both natural and moral law, controls even the actions of gods, belongs to the Vedas. But this fruitful conception does not seem to be worked out by our ancient thinkers. The Buddhistic conception of *Dharma*, which means the innermost essence of the universe, the law of things and the things as well, could have offered the best metaphysics of ethics if the implications of the concept had been elaborated; but nothing of the kind seems to have been done. The need for an ethical philosophy does not seem to have been felt. Indian thought seems to have been preoccupied with, and exhausted itself in the exposition of the nature and method of self-realisation. But this self-realisation took 'little notice of man's relations to man. Curiously enough the

1. One may read MCKENZIE's *Indian Ethics* and HEIMANN's *Comparative Philosophy*. HOPKINS in his *Ethics of India* takes the opposite view.

ethical and political philosophy of the Western idealists is based on the idea of self-realisation. And though their political philosophy is not much in favour with many contemporary political thinkers, their ethical philosophy has not yet been superseded. And if consistency and system are the true tests of philosophy, then not only their ethical but also their political philosophy must be said to contain much that is of value. However, in spite of numerous and elaborate treatises on self and self-realisation, Indian philosophy paid little attention to ethical thought as such. And in spite of India's contact with Greece the works of Plato and Aristotle, in which ethics, politics, metaphysics and psychology were significantly interrelated, exercised no influence on the works of our ancient philosophers.

Hence the European criticism, above referred to, of Indian thought is not without some basis, though this basis throws no derogatory reflection on the nature of Indian thought. It does not suggest that Indian thought connived at immorality by not having an ethical philosophy. No chaster morals could have been preached than those taught by Buddha. And though he gave a system of morals, he did not expound an ethical philosophy. Yet every follower of Budda felt the eight-fold noble path, the path of eight-fold virtue,[2] to be as binding as the Categorical Imperative. A significant fact to note here is that in later Buddhism the realisation of the highest *Dharma*, the *Dharmadhātu* or the *Dharmakāya* of Buddha, was identified with the realisation of one's self.[3] And one was not to swerve from the noble path even by a hair's breadth if one were seriously after self-realisation. This is so not only in Buddhism but also in all systems of Hinduism. Even before one is an *adhikārin*, one is expected to have well practised *śama*, *dama*, *titikṣā* etc. Perfection in the practice of these virtues is indispensable to self-realisation. One directly felt the necessity of practising them. If their philosophical justification were needed, it could have been given. But then it would have been different from the ethical philosophy of the West.

The ethical philosophy of the West has in view the harmonious adjustment of the relations between man and man, while the moral preachings of the Indian philosophers have as their aim the harmonious adjustment of the relations between man and God or the highest Truth. It is for this reason that Indian thought appears individualistic. Indian morality, whether Hindu or Buddhist, whether

2. Right view, right intention, right speech, right notion, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration.

3. Cp. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*, p. 37.

it accepts a personal God or an impersonal Reality, is religious. And all religion in its dynamic or innermost nature is individualistic. We are already familiar with Whitehead's definition of religion as what one does with his solitude,[4] and with Bergson's distinction between static or institutionalised religion and dynamic religion in which man comes into direct contact with the ultimate source of life, and which, he says, is mystic.[5] Indian religions in spite of their being institutionalised never lost sight of their dynamic aspect. And their morality therefore always preserved its religious and individualistic nature. It always kept in sight God or the ultimate Reality, but not man. Yet the requirements of its morality never let a man commit what may be considered immoral by the other morality. They do not permit man any of those indulgences that lead him into conflict with his fellow-creatures. They purify the heart to the core, and this weeding of the source of impulses renders man incapable of immorality.

But the moral philosophy of the West has in sight mainly the problem of the relation between man and man. It tries to treat morality as an absolute and wants to find a metaphysical justification for it. We know how strongly Kant was moved by the starry heavens above and the moral law within. And the moral law was a categorical imperative, an absolute that needed no justification other than itself. We are to do our duty not because God approves it, not because of some similar reason, but only because it is our duty. Fichte felt that natural law may come into conflict with such absolute moral law, that nature may not respect the absoluteness of morality, and so constructed a metaphysical system to demonstrate the possibility of such morality. He is not really the first to supply a metaphysical ground for moral laws. Plato and Aristotle, long before him, attempted the same. Green, Muirhead, Mackenzie and others among contemporary philosophers do it. And generally in the West, whether the philosopher is an idealist or realist, whether he explains morality in terms of Self, evolution, utility or any other principle, his morality is a property that belongs to the relations between man and man.

II

Now, are the two types of morality different and disparate? Is there no relation between the two? What are the merits and defects of each? The answer to this enquiry depends upon our conception of the relation between morality and religion.

---

4. See his *Religion in the Making*.
5. See his *Morality and Religion*.

Following Bergson we may distinguish between dynamic and static or institutionalised religion. In dynamic religion man is in immediate contact with the ultimate source of life, whether we call it God, the Absolute or the *Elan Vital*. The nature of this contact is inexplicable and is therefore mystic. Such experience is given only to a few ; and in order to train people for it institutions are established. And religion as expressed in those institutions is institutionalised or static religion. This religion has to take into consideration the welfare and preservation of society, and the laws of its institutions therefore pertain to the social conduct of the individuals. Thus institutionalised religion works itself into social or moral laws and no hard and fast distinction remains between morality and religion.

On the other hand, morality too in the sense of the relation between man and man may work itself up into the laws of institutionalised religion. Moral laws may at first begin as tribal laws handed down from generation to generation by tradition. But later the demand for absolute authority may be felt and their source attributed to God. During this process the conception of God too as that of a jealous protector of the tribe may be refined into that of a supreme moral being, the source of all moral laws with power to punish and reward.

Viewing the development either way it is difficult for us to say whether our duties to man are not also our duties to God, though it is possible to say that some of our duties to God are not duties to man. We are led to this conclusion not only when we look at the problem in its historical aspect but also in its metaphysical. For the content of morality is not fixed and definite. It is difficult to decide whether in morality we are to lay sole emphasis on the Right after Kant or on the Good after Aristotle. We feel that the Right which is not Good is less moral than that which is Good also. We feel that a world in which virtue is always followed by happiness is morally better than the world in which virtue is always followed by misery. But if somehow the conception of the Right and the Good are identified even ultimately, then the basis of morality should be sought not in some intuition of the Right or the Categorical Imperative but in the innermost nature of the universe. But the moment we change our allegiance to the latter, we bring in religion and mysticism. The innermost core of the universe cannot be made a definite object of thought, which is discursive.

We may view this point in a different way. The moral ideal, according to almost all Western idealists, is the realisation of our

true Self. But Indian philosophy regards that realisation as our religious ideal. Green, for instance, writes that the moral ideal is increasingly realised, but a full realisation of it is beyond the powers of the finite human beings. But then if the ideal is to be realised, and if it cannot be realised in what we usually call our moral life, then it must be realised only in religion, not of course the institutionalised religion which belongs to the discursive level, but the dynamic or the mystic.

Even Kant could not say that the moral ideal could be fully realised by us at any time. He could only hold the hope that it could be asymptotically realised,—which means that it can never be realised fully so long as we keep to the moral sphere. But then what is the use of exhorting us to realise something that can never be realised? In Kant we do not find an answer to this question, which lies only in mystic or dynamic religion.

Similar difficulties felt by Western philosophers about morality can be multiplied. But all of them go to prove that morality is not a self-sufficient experience but finds its fulfilment in an experience beyond itself. Bergson speaks of dynamic morality, the basis of which is neither custom nor the well-being of society but some inner voice like the Daemon of Socrates. But in truth the experience of this inner voice is mystic; and the mysticism of morality can have no differentia to mark it off from the mysticism of religion. When some mystic experience works itself out into some institution, the institution puts on not only a religious but also a moral appearance. And what even dynamic morality does is to find out the missing notes in order to make the prevalent morality harmonious by diving into the depths of life. Hence dynamic morality cannot be separated from dynamic religion.

When it is said that morality passes beyond itself for self-completion it is not meant that morality thereby becomes immorality. What is higher than morality cannot be immoral, cannot come into conflict with the moral, though it may be called supra-moral or amoral. But there are some writers like Rashdall who maintain that religion cannot transcend moral distinctions. Rashdall writes that a religion that transcends them has no value.[6] He believes that metaphysical or theological beliefs are required in order to rationalise morality.[7] Apart from the question whether religion is only to be a hand-maid to morality there is the difficulty, we already noticed, that morality finds its completion or realisation in

6. *Theory of Good and Evil*, Vol. II, p. 294.
7. *Ibid*, p. 257.

some experience beyond itself. If it is necessary therefore that in order to realise the moral ideal we have to transcend morality and enter religion, then religion as beyond morality must naturally transcend the moral distinctions. In fact Rashdall is thinking of Christianity in its institutionalised form. And we have already said that religion when institutionalised can hardly be differentiated from morality. Institutionalised religion never transcends moral distinctions. But dynamic religion does. And morality finds its completion not in the institutionalised but in the dynamic religion.

Moreover, if transcending moral distinctions are vicious, then every reformer must be an immoral person; for he has to break the current moral laws. And as Bradley says,[8] even the exhortation to rely on individual conscience is to preach immorality. Individual conscience is really the inner voice and we are falling back upon mysticism. The injunction to better the current morality raises the problem of the ultimate moral ideal, the realisation of which, we have already seen, takes us beyond morality.

Now, what can the charge that Indian philosophy is unethical or amoral, imply? Certainly, it does not mean that Indian philosophy condones immorality. We need not discuss the complex question whether Indian philosophy is pantheistic, panentheistic or theistic. Such a question involves problems of interpretation and subtle differentiations, which it is impossible in the present paper to consider. But we can say with justification that Indian philosophy points out the way to the full realisation of the moral ideal. It is of no use to ask people to strive after ideals which are in principle unrealisable. And if they are to be realised the easier way is the better. If so long as we keep within morality we cannot realise the moral ideal, and if that ideal has to be realised, we have to transcend morality. Of course, so long as we are within the bounds of institutionalised religion, whether our acts are moral or religious is a question of attitudes. However, if the moral ideal is realised through religion, man thereby becomes fully moral. He can never commit an act which can be treated as immoral or opposed to morality.

III

Morality which issues from religion and which is concerned mainly with the relations between man and God or the Truth of the universe is not opposed to ordinary morality which is concerned mainly with the relation between man and man. The former is

8. *Ethical Studies*, p. 199.

6

the completion of the latter, it is its perfection. Morality so far as dynamic religion is concerned is meant not only for the preservation of society but also to create in it conditions favourable for the promotion of dynamic religion. And morality practised with this aim must certainly be higher than the other, for it is nearer the realisation of the moral ideal. The lower morality is generally literal, based on written code or custom, in which man does not rationalise and does not discover for himself the inner meaning and aim of the laws he obeys. The moment he begins to think of their significance he realises that his morality is not merely concerned with his relations to other men but also with his relations with the whole cosmos, which means that he has to adjust his conduct in accordance with the meaning and purpose of human life on earth. But by the time he discovers all this he must have passed beyond the bounds of ordinary morality. He will not cease to be moral; but his morality acquires a new importance.

But it is this importance that the Western scholars criticise. They fail to see that the lower morality is incomplete, and that the person who aims merely at it fails to realise it; on the other hand, one whose aim is higher must have been perfect in the practice of the lower morality.

It is objected often that what we call higher morality preaches at the most only negative virtue. The person who practises it may not injure others, but he does not care to render them positive help. And what morality ought to emphasize is positive and not negative virtue. It does not seem to be fair to attribute to Indian philosophy the preaching of such negative duties only. Certainly, it preaches that the highest aim of life is not limited to what we call morality; and only because what we call higher morality does not come into conflict with the lower may its injunctions appear negative. For the man of higher morality the practice of the lower becomes so natural that he does not feel that the moral laws act as checks upon his activity. On the contrary, he only feels that his own spontaneous activity does not clash with the laws of morality. That is why moral laws at the higher level appear somewhat to have a negative significance.

It may perhaps be asked whether compassion, sympathy etc., are not regarded in Indian philosophy as impediments to spiritual progress. It is true that some ancient writers have said that they are hindrances at a certain stage. But they do not mean that we should be unsympathetic. They mean that the spiritual devotee should not be moved by mental disturbances, and all emotions they

hold to be mental disturbances. Moreover, the religious man is one who has passed beyond morality and does not still feel the pressure of the moral Ought upon him. Therefore to feel compassion and the corresponding duty means that he belongs still to the lower level.'

It is not suggested that Western moral philosophy is imperfect in answer to the criticism that Indian philosophy is unethical. But it is attempted to make out that Western writers on morals have themselves come to see that what we generally call morality finds its completion in something beyond itself. This perception when worked out easily leads to the conception of morality as the ancient Hindu thinkers viewed it. None can miss the fact that the eightfold noble path is one of the four fundamental truths of Buddhism, the highest moral religion that the world has ever produced. It may not have given us a metaphysic of morals. Yet to call it unethical would be to misunderstand the greatest ethical religion. And Hinduism absorbed all that is best in Buddhism.

Basis and Ideal in Buddhism

By

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Chipstead

Many years ago—it was that critical period of the European struggle, 1917 — I was lecturing before a London club, trying to show, that any philosophical system worthy to be so called built upon its basic principles an ideal of life — life considered as aim and destiny. And that not as herd-aim or herd-destiny, but as goal and quest of each and every man and woman. Incidentally I contended, that institutional Buddhism, so far as it adopted and emphasized certain philosophical gnomes of its day (such gnomes were all that Indian 'philosophy' then amounted to), had fallen short in such building. I was myself on the eve of a crisis in life, in ideals. I knew it not, yet like the muttering of a coming storm, there were, could I have then heard, good grounds for the choice of my subject.

Seven years later I converted the lecture into a supplementary chapter to the reprint of my *Buddhist Psychology*, originally published in 1914 in the Quest Society's Series. That supplement is now virtually buried. The special chapter has not proved a fruitful *motif* in writings about Buddhism. Yet it deserves consideration, and the Editor has kindly given it a new platform in a revised shape. I have learnt much these sixteen years, but my thesis remains for me true.

And more : the thesis was true of, not institutional Buddhism, but of the original religious message or gospel which, after centuries, came to be known as Buddhism. That original message persists in the older Buddhist or Pali canon. But, whereas the monastic 'basis' and ideals professed today by 'southern' Buddhism crown the old palimpsests, so that he who runs may read, the original message is much obscured, is largely buried and has needed much disentangling. And few there be who find it. My purpose in these few pages, is to state as clearly as I can, (*a*) the basis and ideals of that institutional Buddhism which superseded the original gospel and is in force today, (*b*) the basis and ideals of that original gospel.

Here is neither the place nor space to vindicate the distinction drawn. I have given this in my writings of the last decade. Given also are the reasons why the teaching we call Buddhism *came to take* the institutional form it did. All world-religions come to take such

forms; the specific difference in the transformation in each is a matter of the historical development in each, as determined by many local and temporal conditions. Here it must suffice to say what I find to be and to have been (*a*); what I find was (*b*).

(*a*) The bases may be stated in four formulas often admitted by Buddhists of today as being 'central'. Not all indicate cosmic purview; all are mainly concerned, as befits religious gnomes, with man: his nature, life and destiny. They are (1) the formula of the Three Marks (*ti-lakkhaṇa*); (2) the formula of Things as Caused; (3) the Four Truths; (4) the Five Moral Habits (*pañca sīlāni*). (1) is: Everything is transient,[1] ill, not-'self', meaning originally not-spirit, not-soul. (2) indicates that the transience is not chaotic or casual, but is determined by causal sequence. (3) states the fact and cause of everything being 'ill' and the fact of a way out; (4) states the one basis for all action that is according to right (*dhamma*). Were these five elementary moral 'practices' not likened to the solid earth as basis for movement, I should have dealt with them under ideals. Let us turn to these ideals as we find them in institutional Buddhism: what are they and are they to be shown as derived from, built upon these four bases?

In ideals we consider mainly two things: prospect and conduct. Taking the second first, we see Buddhism, in process of becoming institutional, as inheriting two 'ideological' terms: wisdom (*paññā*), and amity (*mettā*), not limited but truly catholic. Now in two of the four formulas cited, conduct when 'right' is taken as a basis in outlook, namely, the five *sīlas* and the 'eightfold' way out in the Four Truths. In neither of these is reference made to wisdom or amity; they may, I admit, be implied; that is all, but, in the details of taught doctrine, great weight is given them. As time went on, 'wisdom' is seen shrinking[2]; amity is seen maintained. And perhaps the reason is not far to seek. Wisdom, as *prajñā*, belonged to the teaching of the Upanishads, the matter of original Buddhism. As the rift between mother and child widened, wisdom, attribute of Brahma, would fade out with much else. But amity as a central ideal belonged to a religious gospel, contemporary with and *annexed by early Buddhism*. As an ideal, amity agreed both with the early mission-preoccupation of Buddhism and also with the backbone of all monasticism in so far as it contained healthy elements.

1. *Anicca*, or impermanent.

2. In the standard mediaeval manual *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, *paññā* is cited only once, and briefly.

All modes of affection had to fade out from that life save only devotion to teacher and amity for the fellow-votary. Today no Buddhist will cite 'paññā' as his ideal, but he will not fail to uphold that adopted gospel of amity for all beings, even though he is not aware it was not integral part of his Founder's message. He has been nursed on a tradition and in that finds nothing odd. It is only the student from without who finds it strange, that in the main ethical formula and in the way out from ill, now made into eight modes of physical and mental conduct, not a word is there about either wisdom or amity.

It may be contended, that amity is taken as in itself—or more correctly, taken as chief—in a fourfold basis: that of the 'Divine Moods'. This is true, but careful study will reveal, that in this connection the fourfold teaching is an adopted child. Even where it, in one context[3], appears as if crowning the *sīla* exposition, it is only at the conclusion of 13 discourses dealing with the *sīla*-formula, and even when so placed is not shown *as a development* of *sīla*.

Had it not been for the unhappy rift widening between Brahman teaching and early 'Buddhism,' the latter might have built on the basis of the former's Immanence an ideal as lofty as that of Christianity in seeing in Divine sonship a basis for human brotherhood, namely, if the germ of Deity was in every man his most precious and beloved, each man was bound to reverence This in every other man. The keynote for this was sounded in the early Suttas: "Since to every man the Spirit (or self) is dear, let him see he harm no man". But alas! the Spirit came, in the third Mark, to be denied as not real, and the precious opportunity was lost. The 'Five Sīlas' remained basis only. It is true that, once or twice, the first of the five negations—they are as formula nothing more—is developed in positive terms as amity-culture, but as formula, yea, as sacramental formula, the five *sīlas* remain negations only.[4]

Turn we to the causation-basis. This is found in a general and in a particular form. One is: This being, that comes to be; this being stopped, that stops. The other concerns the life of man only, and it was as process in this, and not as 'cosmic law' that was, at the birth of Buddhism, attracting interest, meetly following as it did the new interest in man's mind as having its uniformities no less than external phenomena. Life, or rather awareness in each individual, starting from an unknown datum, proceeded from every

3. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Tevijjā Sutta.
4. Viz. to refrain from, like the Hebrew 'Thou shalt not'.

fresh span of awareness (in life after life) to land him in 'ill' or misery. The hopeful alternative of the more general, and surely earlier formula should have been developed as a splendid gospel of hope, of planted seed and succeeding efflorescence. Actually the taught ideal is ever of the alternative result: cut out the cause and the result comes not to be. In other words extirpate the desire for life in worlds (expressed in the one word *bhava*: coming-to-be) and the word desire (lit. thirst: *tanhā*), and the inevitable result 'ill' cut off.

The latter ejection, is the second and third of the 'four truths' formula: the cause of ill and the 'stopping' of it make it a text for the world-forsaker only, and unfit for friend Everyman. But and notwithstanding, it is only one of the formulas making a 25 per cent room for an ideal. Namely, the undoing of ill and its cause could be effected by wayfaring in a 'Way'—a way institutionalized as eightfold in excellence of deed, word and thought. Whither it led is again in negative terms only :—'to the ending of ill.' Gone was the once current phrase of "becoming Brahma" for the man's consummation. Not yet had there come in the phrase ,'utter waning out" (*parinibbāna*) of the wholly 'worthy one', the arahan, or the other formulas expressing his consummation, here on earth or after one more survival in a better world. The Indian tendency to express a superlative by a negative—we too have it in 'immortality'—may have lent glory to the 'ending of ill' (*dukkhass' antam*) and then we must leave it.

But that the term now so prominent in Buddhist ideology: nirvāṇa (*nibbāna*) was in the original message I do not accept. It is listed, I know, in the First Utterance with three other desirables, none of them expressing consummation, and it makes a pretty *refrain* in the Vinaya chronicle of the inauguration of the movement. But we also find it defined in early Suttas as, not the *summum bonum*, but a catharsis of three roots of evil, and equated with *nirodha*, the term in the 'truths' for the 'stopping' of the cause, the process of ending 'desire' by the wayfaring. And this shifting of meaning attached to it has even survived to this day, Mr. DUROISELLE, after long residence with Burmese Buddhists, finding that no one ever described Nirvāṇa in the same terms.[5]

Buddhists may not be unreasonable in leaving the yet inconceivable, let alone comprehensible Goal of each man's life to be covered by a vague term. We do so with 'heaven' and with 'immortality', a very illogical word. In so far as it points to the

5. Given in detail in my *Buddhism* 1st Ed. only, 1912.

goal as something ineffable, exception cannot be taken to such terms. For that matter 'the immortal' was used also by early Buddhism, a term taken over from the mother-teaching and declared to be just that which the Founder set out to declare to his world :—

"I go to beat the drum of the Immortal: open are the gates thereto." Yet will man never be ultimately content with the negative. For his needs *attha*: 'the aim' (thing needed, thing sought), which was in the very marrow of the First Utterance is a better term than either 'immortal' or 'waning out' (nirvāṇa).

Finally as to the first of the three marks-basis : 'transient':— to the outsider, neither-helped nor hindered by tradition, it should seem strange to find built on this term a gospel of woe rather than of hope. For if happy experience wanes, so also no less does unhappy experience; pain gives way to ease, depression to hope, to reason for hope. Had the first 'mark' asserted: all happiness is transient, facile acquiescence might be allowed; but 'all evil is transient;' is none the less true. More especially if, as with early Buddhism, the vista of life is not cramped by this-world vision only—by the faith that after death a happier destiny, here striven for, was to be certainly expected. But monastic world-abjuring was too strong. Its *raison d'être* was that in world-life man both saw universal transience and judged that causation was the means, not of working to bring out the better in world-life, but of insuring the 'stopping' of results.

(*b*) I now briefly give what is for me both basis and ideal in the original gospel taught by the founders and which lies half stated, half buried beneath the palimpsest of institutional Buddhism. And let the reader condone it I, the better and more briefly to declare it, use the words 'worth' (to experience), 'well' (*le bien*), and 'more', in perhaps unfamiliar ways.

The basis of the original gospel was, that the man is not 'being' but 'becoming', coming-to-be. My reasons I have stated at length in recent books. Every man is in, or part of the very process of the will of the world, the well of the world. As such he is willed as not an unchanging, static being, but as becoming, coming to be what he was not. In his body he has a type of this becoming, but it is a transient becoming in growth, succeeded after maturity by decay, a becoming worse. In 'mine' we have the ways of man working through the body, ways that worsen as body worsens. In the very 'man', decay has no place. He goes on, goes further with a new body time after time till he is the perfected will in the 'well' he has long sought. One at last with the highest will, his

now is not the 'well' that is transient. He is worthing the 'well' in the uttermost, 'well' to which he has aspired, after which he has sought, for which he has yearned. His is worth in the 'well' that cannot be willed away as man now often wills away his 'well', a 'well' that will be the ever active, ever creative, ever a will in the more, never in the less.

This is what contexts in the old Canon dimly express, meanings worsened by the later worth in a 'worse' and a 'less' traceable to current influence misleading the after-men. This, I say, is there, and in that it is there. I see in original Buddhism a great More-word in the new, in the true, in the will, in the 'well': a message that is ever young albeit, rated in years, it is many centuries old.

The Philosophy of Ahiṁsā

(Non-violence)

By

P. NĀGARĀJA RAO, Madras

In point of popularity the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* is second to no ism in modern political theory. The great interest evinced in this doctrine by the savants of humanity, if anything, is on the increase. The doctrine is as old as the rocks. But its connotation and jurisdiction have varied with different authors. It has been interpreted by some ethicists in an elementary manner to mean one of the characteristics of a noble soul. Its cultivation is prescribed as a step necessary for the cleansing of the heart, which is the pre-condition for the salvation of the soul. The *Gītā* puts *ahiṁsā* as the first in the list of the virtues characterising the divine-minded men. In several other places the *Gītā* speaks about the excellence of this virtue, non-violence.

Leaving for a minute the protagonists of violence like Marx who believe that violence is the midwife of a new social order, let us consider the other views that are for mitigating the use of violence. A purely ethical outlook cannot stigmatise 'violence' as intrinsically bad. The Humanists regard 'violence' as neutral and that it must be used in such degrees as is necessitated by the dictates of expediency. Men like Prof. Bertrand RUSSELL, JOAD etc., are expediential pacifists. Violence and wars are bad because they are economically futile and politically stupid. The utilitarians are not for a total rejection of violence. They are for a discriminating use of it. They are not, to use a modern political parlance, "out and out non-violent". The Hindu view as laid down by the law-giver, Manu, sanctions the use of violence in such a large number of cases, as in hunting, conquest, in self-defence, for sacrifice, etc. so much so that it amounts to subscribing to the view that violence is a way of life and that there is nothing wrong in its being so. The early Hindu law-givers have not been worried about violence. They of course, held the view that *ahiṁsā* is good, but they formulated serious limitations to it and sanctioned the use of violence in a large number of cases. They did not stop there, but went a step further and declared "that violence in certain cases such as sacrifice etc., are verily cases of non-violence." This is a method of exaggeration to which traditional ethics of Hinduism is accustomed.

The great *Gītā* is held by some as having the rudiments of the doctrine of '*ahiṁsā*'. Granting it for a moment, (which is very difficult) still '*ahiṁsā*' of the *Gītā* has no wider connotation and deeper significance than those attached to it by the traditional Hindu ethicists like Manu. Arjuna is asked to wage war against evil forces. Violence has to be met, and it is not wrong to use violence to quell it. Whether it is possible to do so is a question which needs a deeper psychological understanding of violence. We are not here prepared to admit that the *Gītā* has any such deep psychological analysis of violence. 'Violence is the dharma of the Kṣatriya, and violence is the traditional way of meeting violence, and so take to it' seems to be the *pith* of Kṛṣṇa's message. That violence must be resisted is no doubt a moral attitude. The fact that violence can only subjugate violence and not put an end to *violencing* may not be a doctrine inconsistent with the *Gītā*, but it is certainly unfair to state that it is found in the *Gītā*.

Ingenious interpreters of the *Gītā* have attempted at deriving twentieth-century wisdom from it. At best we can get analogies. Some have held that Arjuna has been exhorted to fight without malice and such of those qualities that make violence despicable. The frame of mind with which Kṛṣṇa asked Arjuna to fight amounts to taking away the fangs out of violence. The core is removed, nd the shell of violence alone remains. As pictorial thinking goes, this simile is highly suggestive, but does not satisfy the test of logic. Does the mere fact, that Arjuna fought with the core of Violence removed from his heart, in any way affect or lessen the physical pains of the victims of his Violence? To the victim the mere fact of the use of violence by the aggressor with whatever fair motive or state of mind he may do it is enough trouble. How can violence be transmuted into a variety of non-violence as long as the victim's position is no better. Besides this explanation still admits that the *Gītā* retained the shell of violence at least. It did not want to do away with violence as such.

The doctrine of *ahiṁsā* preached by the absolute pacifists like the late Dick SHEPHERD, George LANSBURY and Lord Jesus is a great improvement on the above mentioned ethical view. The Christian view that violence must be abhorred under any condition is a great step in the increase of the connotation of *ahiṁsā*. So they suggest that if a man asks you for a coat, give him the cloak also. If he wants you to walk a mile with him do two. This ethics of turning the other cheek requires an abundant degree of selflessness on the part of the individual who practises it. But this

attitude is not still perfect. The Christian view does not oppose violence. It meets violence with meakness. This makes violence triumphant and it goes on ravaging all over the world. Violence has to be resisted, mind not by violence, for the simple reason that violence can only subjugate and not put an end to *violencing.* The continued resistance of violence by violence can give us only a series of Versailles. It can never be a war to end all wars.

II

For that we have to devise "a moral equivalent of war", and that is the *ahiṁsā* of Mahatma GANDHI. The doctrine of *ahiṁsā* is based on the metaphysical view of life broadly elaborated by Śaṅkara t. e., *advaita.* Reality is one whole consciousness, and infinite bliss. Plurality of selves and things are super-imposed on the one without the second on account of the functioning of he beginningless nescience. This nescience is neither real nor unreal. It is indeterminable. From such a metaphysics it follows that violence has a place only in the world of plurality which is not ultimately real. So it is bound to be destroyed; hence it has to be somehow transmuted or sublimated into that ineffable reality. Hence violence must be resisted. We should not run away from it. We must go to the place where the aggressor stands and must give him a chance to learn the non-ultimacy of violence by the use of *a force other than violence.* The Mahatma calls it the *soul force.* If we run away from the aggressor we will never be able to convert him. The most important fact is that the aggressor must realise the force of *ahiṁsā* in its plenary sense. It is with this invincible faith that violence is not ultimately real, and with the hope to educate the aggressor that the Mahatma asked the Satyāgrahis to say to an invader "Take me before you can take my country".

Without such a faith the formal practice of *ahiṁsā* would be of no avail. It is this fact that makes the method of *ahiṁsā* a dharmic means. There is no limit to its power provided one believes in the above mentioned metaphysical view of reality. The very psychology of *ahiṁsā* is calculated to educate the aggressor. The Non-violent means proceeds to transform the nature of the problem confronted. It does not attempt a direct frontal attack on the problem. The non-violent means changes the very conditions surrounding the circumstances of the problem. Once the conditions change, the problem is practically solved, or at any rate it is capable of being solved without the aid of force. When conditions change the question of individual prestige disappears. The instinct

of defiance is transmuted. The change in the atmosphere enables friendly discussion on the merits of the problem. That a problem is recalcitrant to such a treatment shows that the non-violent resources harnessed to the problem are not sufficiently intense. If non-violence seems to be failing, the alternative is intensive non-violence. We cannot cast away Satan with the help of Beelzebub. The Mahatma observes "Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law, to the strength of the spirit. The Ṛṣis who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence."

To the man of faith there is no limit to the capacity of non-violence. The hardest metal yields to sufficiency of heat. To those who live in the faith that peace and love are ultimate to them, there can be no limit to the practice of non-violence. Non-violence is not a beautiful little dream ; it has its *bona fides* in reality. It has been given to Mahatma Gandhi to interpret the term *ahiṁsā* in its plenary sense by precept as well as by practice. He is intensely a man of religion and that is why he has been able to do it. There can be no better description of this *dhīra* than the one of Prof. RADHAKRISHNAN. "To be true, to be simple, to be pure and gentle of heart, to remain cheerful and contented in sorrow and danger ; to love life and not to fear death, to serve the spirit and not to be haunted by the spirit of the dead, nothing better has been taught so well since the beginning of thought."

New Light on the Sangham Age

By

K. G. Sankar, Calcutta

The earliest extant Tamiḻ works are the stray lyrics collected in the *Eṭṭuttokai*, *Pattuppāṭṭu*, and *Patineṇkīḻ- Kaṇakku* of the Sangham age. Some would add the grammar *Tolkāpyam* and the twin epics *Śilappadhikāram* and *Maṇimekhalai*, ascribed respectively to Iḷanko-aḍigaḷ and Śāttanār. The age of these works, however, has not been settled beyond reasonable doubt. The object of this paper is to throw new light on the subject, that may help in arriving at a definite conclusion.

The later limit of the Sangham age is fixed by the Veḷvikuḍi Plates (c. 770 A. C.) of Jaṭila Parāntaka, first published by me in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* (October 1922, pp 448–458). They place Mudukuḍumi, a Pāṇḍya of the Sangham age (*Puṟanāṉūṟu* 9 ; *Madurai-kkānchi*, lines 759–760) before the Kaḷabhra occupation of the Tamiḻ country, which terminated before c. 600 A. C., when Kaḍunkon founded a new Pāṇḍya dynasty, which lasted till c. 950 A. C. The Kaḷabhras, as early as c. 400 A. C. were occupying the Choḷa country, and Kaḷabhra Achyuta-Vikrama was king, when Buddhadatta wrote his *Manuals* (pt I, p. 140). The Sangham age must, therefore, be dated not later than c. 400 A. C.

The earlier limit of the Sangham age is fixed as c. 300 B. C., by references in the *Ahanānūru* (69, 175, 251, 265 and 281) and *Puṟanā-nūru* (175) to the wealth of the Nandas hid in the Ganges near Pāṭaliputra and to an attempted Mauryan invasion of South India. Between these limits c. 300 B. C. and c. 400 A. C., most Tamiḻ scholars agree in looking upon the 2nd century A. C. as the 'Augustan age' of Tamil literature. Their main reasons are the evidence of Greek chronicles like *Periplus* and Ptolemy's geography, and the Gajabāhu-Śenkuṭṭuvan synchronism. But the political and economic conditions of the Sangham age, even if they tally exactly with those depicted in the Greek chronicles, might have prevailed for a century or two before or after the Sangham age, and therefore cannot by themselves yield a definite chronological result.

The Gajabāhu-Śenkuṭṭuvan synchronism, on the other hand, deserves careful scrutiny. The *Śilappadhikāram* says in the prologue and in the last canto (xxx. 160) that Gajabāhu of 'Sea-girt Lankā' (Ceylon) was present when Chera Śenkuṭṭuvan dedicated at Vanchi a temple to Kaṇṇaki, and, after returning to his own country, instal-

led her worship there also. The author Iḷanko-aḍigaḷ claims to have been Śenkuṭṭuvan's own younger brother and an eyewitness of many of the events he relates (*ibid* xxx. 171–183); and Gajabāhu's connection with Pattini (Kaṇṇaki) worship is confirmed by many confusing legends and ballads of Ceylon. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the said epic is a poetical romance abounding in miraculous episodes, that, if its title gives a correct indication of its contents, the poem, in its original form, must have ended with Kaṇṇaki's ascension to heaven, that therefore, the prologue and the third and last part, the Vanchikkāṇḍam were probably added by a later author to explain the origin and early history of Kaṇṇaki worship, and that the references to the authorship of the poem and to the Gajabāhu-Śenkuṭṭuvan synchronism are found only in the prologue and the Vanchikkāṇḍam. It must be admitted too that there is no confirmation of Gajabāhu's visit to South India and his connection with Kaṇṇaki worship in the early Ceylon chronicles *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa*, though this argument cannot be pressed too far, as they are primarily interested only in the secular and ecclesiastical history of Ceylon and very rarely stray to other topics. Admitting the Gajabāhu-Śenkuṭṭuvan synchronism as well-founded, the identity of Gajabāhu is still uncertain. He cannot anyhow have been Gajabāhu II (12th century A. C.), as the Sangham age can by no means be dated after c 400 A. C. But besides Gajabāhu I (116–138 A. C.), who is usually identified with the Gajabāhu of the Kaṇṇaki worship, we hear of another Gajabāhu, also known as Śrī Sanghabodhi, who is mentioned in the Tamiḻ cyclopaedia, *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*; and Śrī Sanghabodhi I ruled from 245–247 A. C. Which of these two Gajabāhus is to be preferred will depend on the other evidence bearing on the Sangham age. The Gajabāhu-Śenkuttuvan synchronism is thus by no means the sheet-anchor of Tamil chronology that it is commonly claimed to be.

Another synchronism, Karikāla-Trilochana-Vijayāditya, is more helpful. The Telugu-Coḷas claim descent from Karikāla, who embanked Kāverī and blinded Trilochana Pallava. This claim is made as early as the 8th century A. C. by Śrīkanṭha, whom the Anbil plates of Sundara Coḷa (c. 950 A. C.) mention as an ancestor of Vijayālaya (c. 850 A. C.) (*Copper-plate grants in the Govt. Museum Madras, p. 14.*); and it is confirmed, not only by numerous local traditions of Reṇāḍ (Mackenzie Collection Mss), which indicate that Karikāla wrested it from Trilocana Pallava, but also by reliable semi-historical Tamiḻ works.

The Kalingattu-Paraṇi (c. 1100 A. C.) (viii. 20-21) says that Karikāla blinded Mukari for not helping to embank the Kāverī and en-

riched the author of *Paṭṭinappālai* (of *Pattuppāṭṭu*). Mukarināḍu and Pon-mukari were perhaps so named after Mukari alias Trilocana. The *Kulottunga-Coḷan-ulā* (lines 34-36) refers to Karikāla having blinded him, who would not help to raise the banks of the Kāverī; and the *Kulottungan-Piḷḷaittamil* refers to Mukari's loss of one of his three eyes at Karikāla's hands. The reference to the third eye of Mukari unmistakably indicates his identity with Trilocana. The *Tiruttoṇḍar--Purāṇam* (*Tirukkuṟippu--Toṇḍar*, st. 85) mentions Karikāla's renovation of Kānchī by fortifying it and settling people there. The Tiruvālankāḍu plates of Rājendra I (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 395) likewise say that Karikāla embanked the Kāverī and renovated Kānchī. The Karikāla-Trilocana synchronism is thus amply confirmed; and Mukkaṇti Kāḍuveṭṭi (Trilocana Pallava) is stated in a Telugu Coḷa Inscription (No. 580 of 1907) to have made a grant. Evidence of Karikāla's conquest of Reṇāḍ may perhaps be found in the Śangham lyrics themselves. For example, *Paṭṭinappālai*, devoted to the praise of Karikāla, mentions (lines 275-286) not only Karikāla's victory over the Aruvāḷar and the Vaḍavar, on the northern frontier of the Tamiḷ country, but also his clearing forests, building temples and settling people in his own and conquered lands. If similar references are wanting in the other lyric devoted to his praise, the *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai*, the reason may be that it was probably composed before Karikāla's conquest of Renāḍ.

Some admit that Karikāla was a conqueror, and that the Colas are later on found actually settled in Reṇāḍ, but deny that Karikāla conquered Reṇāḍ. Similarly they admit that the Pallavas were called Kāḍuvettis, as they cleared forests and settled people there, but affirm that Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi is a myth, as legends have grown around him. They do not care to enquire which other Coḷa can claim to have conquered Reṇāḍ, or which other Pallava cleared the forests. They may with profit mark and digest the following remarks of G. K. CHESTERTON (*Short History of England*, p. 24):— "The nineteenth century historians went on the curious principle of dismissing all people of whom tales are told, and concentrating upon people of whom nothing is told. Thus Arthur is made utterly impersonal, because all legends are lies, but somebody of the type of Hengist is made quite an important personality, merely because nobody thought him important enough to lie about. Now this is to reverse all common sense. A great many witty sayings are attributed to Talleyrand, which were really said by somebody else. But they would not be so attributed if Talleyrand had been a fool, still less if he had been a fable. That fictitious stories are told

about a person is, nine times out of ten, extremely good evidence that there was somebody to tell them about. Indeed some allow that marvellous things were done, and that there may have been a man named Arthur at the time in which they were done ; but, here so far as I am concerned, the distinction becomes rather dim. I do not understand the attitude which holds that there was an Ark and a man named Noah, but cannot believe in the existence of Noah's Ark. "

There is equally good evidence for the Vijayāditya-Trilocana synchronism. The Cāḷukya grants are unanimous in stating that, after 59 kings had ruled in Ayodhyā, the Cāḷukyas ruled in Dakṣiṇāpatha (Dekhan). The Eastern Cālukya grants add that Vijayāditya was the first Cālukya, who came down to Dekhan ; but he is said to have lost his life in battle against Trilochana Pallava. His posthumous son, Viṣnuvardhana, however, founded a dynasty, after defeating the Kadambas and the Gangas. His son by a Pallava princess was Vijayāditya II, and his grandson was Pulakeśi Vallabha (Raṇastipūṇḍi plates of Vimalādıtya and 1018 A. C. *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 6, No. 36). The Western Cāḷukya grants only say that 16 kings, including Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya, ruled in Dekhan. Then, after a temporary eclipse, the family fortunes were revived by Jayasimha Vallabha, who defeated Rāshṭrakūta Indra, son of Krishṇa. His son was Ranarāga and his grandson was Pulakeśi, who took Vātāpı (Bādāmi) (Nīlgunḍa plates of Vikramāditya VI and 1087 A. C. *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 12, no. 19). The Eastern Cāḷukya grants evidently err in making Pulakeśi, the son, instead of a remote descendent, of Vijayāditya II. Modern scholars suggest that Vishṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya II may be identified with Jayasimha and Raṇarāga. But the western Cāḷukya grants distinguish them, and Ranna (*Sāhasa-Bhīma-Vijaya Ind. Ant.* vol. 40, p. 44) likewise makes Satyāśraya Vallabha, alias Vishṇuvardhana of Ayodhyā a predecessor of Jayasimha, foe of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, of Raṇarangasimha and of Pulakeśi, who took Vātāpi. Thus Vishṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya II must have been the first two of the 16 kings of the Dekhan, who preceded Jayasimha and Raṇarāga.

From the Vijayāditya-Trilocana synchronism, on the one hand, and the Karikāla-Trilocana synchronism on the other, it may be concluded that Trilocana at first defeated Vijayāditya I and was thereafter himself defeated by Karikāla. These synchronisms enable us to fix the date of Karikāla approximately. The Bādāmi Inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 3, p. 305) of the 12th year of Pulakeśi's son Kīrtivarman is dated Śaka 500=578 A. C. His accession therefore must be placed in 578-12=566 A. C. Between Vijayāditya I and Kīrtivarman,

there were 16 kings including Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya II, plus the 3 kings Jayasimha, Raṇarāga and Pulakeśi, i. e., 19 kings in all. These 19 kings must have ruled for about 19 × 20 = 380 years from c. 186 to 566 A. C., and Karikāla, a later contemporary of Trilocana Pallava must have lived in c. 200 A. C.

Rudran-Kaṇṇanār, who sings of Karikāla in *Paṭṭinappālai*, has also sung of Toṇḍaimān Iḷantiraiyan of Kāncī in *Perum-Pāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*. We have seen that Karikāla was also king of Kāncī. He could not have conquered Reṇāḍ otherwise. In fact, Kāncī was an ancient Coḷa city, which later on was taken by the Pallavas and made their capital. But Kāncī continued in the possession of the Coḷas, not only in Karikāla's lifetime, but even for some time after, as Cola Ilan-Kiḷḷi is said to have built a Buddhist chaitya in Kāncī (*Maṇimekhalai*, xxviii. 172-175). The Velurpāḷaiyam plates (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, No. 98) attribute the conquest of Kāncī to Kumāraviṣnu I, whose son Buddhavarman is stated to have been a predecessor of Viṣṇugopa, who is evidently to be identified with Visṇugopa of Kāncī mentioned by Samudragupta among his South Indian opponents (*Gupta Inscriptions* No. 1). In a paper on the epoch of the Gupta era (*New Indian Antiquary*, 1941), I have shown that the Guptas began to rule in 273 A. C., and that Samudragupta was succeeded by Candragupta II before G. E. 61 = 334 A. C. Kumāraviṣṇu I, who was at least two generations earlier than Viṣnugopa, must therefore be dated not later than c. 334–2 × 20 = c. 294 A. C., and Karikāla, who ruled at Kāncī, not later than c. 294—20 = c. 274 A. C. Karikāla cannot be placed later than Kumāravisṇu I, as from the time of the latter's conquest of Kāncī, the Pallavas were in continuous possession of the city down to at least c. 900 A. C. Iḷantiraiyan must have been either a Cola or a Pallava, as he was king of Kāncī. But as he is said to have surpassed the glory of the three crowned Tamiḻ kings, of whom the Coḷa was one (*Perum-Pāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* lines 33-35), he could not have been a Coḷa himself. He must therefore have been a Pallava; and as he and Karikāla were both contemporaries, later and earlier, of Rudran-Kaṇṇanār, he may reasonably be identified with Kumāravishnu I, the first Pallava king of Kāncī. In fact, Iḷantiraiyan seems to be an exact Tamiḻ translation of Kumāraviṣṇu, as Tiraiyan is an epithet of the sea-recumbent God Viṣṇu. Iḷantīraiyan is also said to be a scion of Toṇḍaiyar (line 454); and Toṇḍaiyar and Pallavar have the same meaning. The Toṇḍaiyar, like the Pallavas, are said to have been lords of Venkaṭam (Tirupati hills) (*Ahanānūṟu, 213*). Tradition avers too that the Pallavas were a branch of the Tiraiyar (sea-folk).

'5

If Iḷantiraiyan is identified with Kumāraviṣṇu I, Trilocana may be identified with Skandaśiṣya, the immediate predecessor of Kumāraviṣṇu I; and Skandaśiṣya and Trilocana are only various names of Śiva.

Nallanduvanār's 11th *Paripāḍal* also enables us to throw new light on the Sangham age. It gives the positions of all planets at the beginning of a rainy season. Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury and Venus are said to be respectively in Mesa (0° to 30°), Mīna (330° to 0°), Makara (270° to 300°), Mithuna (60° to 90°), and Ṛṣabha (30° to 60°), on a day of lunar eclipse, when Kṛttikā (37° 30′) was near the zenith or high up in the heavens. From a study of Gupta and other early inscriptions, it is found that the Hindus calculated by the mean motions of planets and not by their apparent motions. Apparent motions came into vogue only with the extant *Sūrya Siddhānta* (10th century A. C.) and even later, mean motions continued in use side by side with apparent motions until Śrīpati (1039 A. C.) protested against their continued use in *Siddhānta-Śekhara*, when they were finally given up. In making calculations for early times, therefore, we have to use only mean motions. More-over, as the mean motions of Mercury and Venus, whose maximum distances from the sun could not be more than 26° and 48° respectively, vary widely from their apparent motions, we are perfectly in the dark regarding the Hindus' rates of mean motion for these minor planets in those early times. Therefore only the positions of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn are available for chronological verification. Again, as the Revatyādi ecliptic could not have been known before *c.* 500 A. C. and as Aśvinī is placed at the head of the nakṣatras in the period of which we are speaking, the Hindu ecliptic of those times must in all probability have begun from the yogatārā of Aśvinī (8°). The required positions of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn thus become 8° to 38°, 338° to 8° and 278° to 308°. As Kṛttikā (37° 30′) was high up, and as it was the beginning of the rainy season, the Sun's longitude must have been between 90° and 130°; and there must be lunar eclipse on the given day. Calculating for the period *c.* 1 to *c.* 600 A. C., the only date that satisfies these conditions is 28th June 196 A. C. On that full-moon day, the sun's longitude was 100°, and its distance from the node was 8°. So lunar eclipse was certain, and the mean longitudes of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were 25°, 0° and 308° respectively. Thus this date completely satisfies all the given data. In a previous paper, I had suggested 27th July 17 A. C. as the only such date, but that was calculated with the Revatyādi ecliptic and the apparent and not mean motions of the planets. We may therefore safely conlude

that the true date of the *Paripāḍal* is 196 A. C. and not 17 A. C.

Another datum that throws new light on the Sangham age is the reference to the Maurya invasion in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (175) and the *Ahanāṉūṟu* (69, 251 and 281). These lyrics mention the Moriyas, in one text the Vamba Moriyas, as trying to cross the southern hill (Tirupati) which was the northern frontier of the Tamil country (Tamiḻakam), with the Vaḍukar (Andhras) as their advance guard, but as having been repelled by Mohūr aided by the Kośar. In their progress southward, their cars are said to have rolled along the passes of the dew-gemmed hill of many waterfalls. This famous incident of Tamil history is commonly believed to refer to an unsuccessful invasion of South India by Maurya Bindusāra. But the only basis of this belief is a vague reference to Bindusāra's conquests in the *History of Buddhism* of the recent (c. 1600 A. C.) and unreliable Tibetan chronicler Tāranātha. Even Aśoka did not proceed further south than Kaliṅga, and after his Kaliṅga conquest, he deliberately chose for the rest of his life to make conquests only by *dharma* and not by force. In his rock-edicts, he refers to the independent Tamil kingdoms of the Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, Keraḷaputra and Satiyaputra, but gives no indication of an attempt, successful or otherwise, to conquer these kingdoms. No post-Aśokan Maurya king was powerful enough to attempt or even to be credited with any such achievement. The Sangham lyrics, moreover, evidently refer to a recent event, which had strongly impressed itself on their imagination to such an extent that they content themselves with hinting at the place of the contest, without actually naming it, as if it were too commonly well-known to need specific mention; and there is no evidence of any kind for dating the Sangham age so early as the Mauryan period. The epithet 'Vamba' (new or restless) applied to these Moriyas likewise seems intended to distinguish them from the well-known Mauryas of the 3rd century B. C. The Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ, on the other hand, belong to a much later age (6th century A. C.). They were besides never powerful enough to invade Tamilakam, so far from their own country on the west coast. Samudragupta (c. 300 A. C.) is known to have invaded South India, but the most Southern king that he met and claims to have defeated was Vishṇugopa of Kāñcī. Among his numerous opponents, neither Mohūr nor the Kośar are mentioned; and Samudragupta was a Gupta, not a Maurya, though some would suggest that the Guptas were in fact Mauryas revived. We must therefore seek for other Mauryas. Here we get new light from Śūdraka's recently

published Bhāṇa *Padma-prābhṛtaka* (p. 18) which refers to a Maurya prince Candrodaya as having gone out to subdue rebellious Sāmantas. As the characters of this Bhāṇa were all evidently historical persons, who were contemporaries of Śūdraka, the Maurya prince Candrodaya may be assigned to the same age as Śūdraka, i. e., 3rd century A. C. He is apparently identical with Emperor Candra of the Delhi iron-pillar inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 32), who won Vaṅga, crossed the Sindhu and defeated Bāhlikas, ruled long over a kingdom won by his own valour, and lost his life in a southern expedition; and the paleography of the iron-pillar inscription indicates that it belongs to about the same age as the earliest of the Gupta inscriptions. The reference in this inscription to a southern expedition indicates that he was perhaps the 'Vamba' Moriya of the Sangham lyrics; and as he immediately preceded the Guptas (273-497 A. C.), he was also probably the founder of the Traikūṭaka era of 248 A. C. whose origin has so far remained unknown.

The Sangham age may therefore be reasonably assigned to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. C.

The existence of "Prose Works" in Oldest Tamil[1]

By

C. R. ŚANKARAN

It is a matter of common knowledge that no prose work, much less any short story, belonging to the oldest period of the Tamil language is extant now. But from this a negative conclusion as to the existence of prose works in old Tamil cannot be drawn. For in the oldest Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* (Poruḷatikāram, Sūtra 475), there is a distinct reference to the existence of four different prose styles in old Tamil.

Pāṭṭiṭai vaitta kuṟippiṉāṉum
Pāvīṉṟeḻuṅta kiḷavi yāṉum
poruṇmarapillāppoymmoli yāṉum
poruḷoṭu puṇarṅta ṅakaimoli yāṉum eṉ—
ṟurai vakai naṭaiyē ṅāṉkeṉa molipa[2]

The first line *pāṭṭitai vaitta kuṟippiṉāṉum* refers to the prose bits between verses, found in certain literary compositions which are known as *campū* in Sanskrit.

In the next line of the sūtra *pāvıṉṟeluṅta kıḷavi yāṉum*, there is reference to prose without any admıxture of words. Since it is said here that this prose rises out of verse, later commentators perhaps having in mind stories like *Pañcatantra* interpreted this line with the following line and observed that the second line of the sūtra refers to stories havıng no verısimilitude (like the tale which speaks of a friendship between an elephant and a horse). These commentators take the third line of the sūtra *poruṇmarapillāppoymmoḷi yāṉum* to mean only such fables as Aesop's. But it is not unlikely that the author of *Tolkāppiyam* had in mind the idea of 'idealism in art' when he wrote this line. And, therefore, he might have thought of such artistic creations which turn our minds away from the turmoils of this world. Likewise we may be missing Tolkāppiyaṉār's meaning if we take the second line of this sūtra to mean gloss or commentary of verses."

In the next line *poruḷoṭu puṇarṅta ṅakaimoḷi yāṉum*, Tolkāpiyaṉār speaks of such artistic creations in prose which portray the

1. This paper is based on an interesting article by R. S. DESIKAN in a Tamil periodical (*Kalaimagaḷ*, Aug. 1940 pp. 102–109).

2. *Tolkāppiyam* Poruḷatikāram edited by Chidambaram PILLAI and Vaiyapuri PILLAI, Madras, 1935, p. 437.

highly humorous side of our life here. This prose consists of 'wit' (*cāmatkarokti*), 'irony' (*vyājokti*), 'repartee' (*pratyukti*) and 'satire' (*vyājastuti*).

It is interesting to note here that Tolkāppiyaṉār gives first place to *Hāsyarasa* (cf. *poruḷatikāram-Meypāṭṭiyal* sutra 247)

ṅakaiyē yaḻukai yiḻivaraṉ maruṭkai
yaccam perumitam vekuḷiyuvakaiy eṉ
ṟappāl eṭṭā meyppāṭ eṉpa.[3]

It is significant that Tolkāppiyaṉār gives the first place to *Hāsyarasa*. This shows the highly civilised culture of the Dravidians who undoubtedly had a remarkable sense of humour. Here it must be also remembered that Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies laughter under four divisions. (*Poruḷatikāram-meyppāṭṭiyal sutra* 248):

yeḷḷal ilamai pētaimai maṭaṉeṉ
ṟuḷḷappaṭṭa ṅakai ṅāṉkeṉpa.[4]

We either laugh at others in mockery or while being undeservedly taunted we laugh in sheer compassion at the meanness of those that mock at us. On account of absolute ignorance also, sometimes there is laughter. Then laughter also results in the half ignorant and the half knowing state.

Lastly it might be pointed out here that the ancient Dravidians conceived also of three kinds of laughter. The compassionate smile of a highly evolved soul or divine being (like Kṛṣṇa) at the ignorance of less developed beings (like Arjuna) is very naturally placed at the top. Moderate and temperate laughter involving a high degree of control and therefore implying high culture comes next and intemperate laugher which betrays *childish* (not *child-like*) ignorance of which MEREDITH in his *Essay on Comedy* speaks, comes last.

muṟuvalittu ṅakutalum aḷavē cirittaḷum
perukac cirittalum eṉā mūṉṟeṉpa.[5]

Thus we see that in *Tolkāppiyam* there is not only mention of different styles of prose compositions, but also a very interesting subtle analysis of *rasa*. We have only these *sūtras* before us. But time has destroyed those artistic creations which the author of *Tolkāppiyam* had in mind when he wrote these *sūtras*. But our consolation is that happily, we meet with short story-technique in late works of the Sangam period too like the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Kalittokai*.

---

3. *Tolkāppiyam* PORUḶ, p. 355.
4. *Idid*,
5. *Kalai Magaḷ* Aug. 1940, p. 105.

An Unknown but Daring Project of King Sambhaji

By

G. S. SARDESAI, Kamshet

This is an age of expansion in research all round. Perhaps the impact of rapid discoveries is felt more keenly in science influencing life's necessities than in purely mental subjects like history and psychology. But the advance in historical research is none the less striking. Workers in the departments of ancient and modern history and students of Indian Universities are vying with one another in discovering fresh topics for research and discussion and concentrating their best energies on them. There can really be no end to this spirit of enquiry. The more we feel we have discovered, the more glaring become the gaps in our existing knowledge of things, making further investigation imperative. To illustrate this demand and supply in the field of history I intend in this short paper to place before my readers one or two curious Sanskrit letters written by King Sambhaji, the hapless son and successor of the great founder of the Maratha Raj.

It is a truism in human affairs that nothing suceeeds like success. This truism applies most pertinently to the unfortunate career of Sambhaji. Because he failed to protect his heritage against the heavy odds of Aurangzeb's severe onslaught, we forget that Sambhaji possessed several sterling merits of head and heart and that he was an accomplished prince in many ways.

Sanskrit works have been recently discovered whose authorship goes directly to Sambhaji personally. His trusted minister the famous Kavi-Kalash, popularly known as Kalusha was doubtless a learned Pandit of the traditional type, well-versed in Sanskrit literature and priestly learning, and certainly not a spy employed by the wily emperor to compass the ruin of his adversary. Two Sanskrit letters have been recently discovered in the archives of the Jaipur State which directly prove the heroic effort that Sambhaji and his minister put forth.

Students of history know how conspicuously the rulers of Jaipur served the Mughal Emperors from generation to generation. Mansingh, Mirza Raja Jaysingh and Ramsingh were devoted supporters of the Mughal throne and carefully secured copies of the various transactions that took place at the imperial court. These

records now so invaluable to history remained uncared for during more than two centuries and are now being examined and offered to students of history. Graphic accounts of Shivaji's visit to the Emperor at Agra in 1666 have been unearthed in a mass of Hindi letters, which mention that the poet Paramānand, author of *Śiva-bhārata*, had also accompanied his master to Agra, thereby establishing the contemporaneity of the two personages.

Along with these Hindi letters two letters in Sanskrit have been discovered, addressed in 1683 by Sambhaji to Ramsingh, mentioning the former's daring project of deposing Aurangzeb, and seeking the latter's hearty co-operation for accomplishing that object. The plan was quite feasible and had in it every chance of success; but because it failed, history must not omit to take cognisance of it. Both the letters are nearly of the same import: and as they have not been published anywhere, I would reproduce here the one which is more elegant and eloquent in style and matter. I also offer a free English translation for those who do not understand the original language.

श्री

रामराम

राजमान राजमान महाराज

रामसिंघवर्मं महाशयेषु

०॥ छँ श्रीमद्रमारमणचरणपरिचरणपरायणांतःकरणतावासवैभवभावसंभावनासंभावितशेषविशेषधामधौरयेषु

विविधवर्णाश्रमसंकीर्णधर्मशर्मविघटकदुर्मददण्डदर्पसर्पापसर्पणनिर्घृणसुपर्णसवर्णवर्णेषु

धीरोदात्तवीरासाधारणप्रविदारणदुर्निवारणप्रतिभटोत्कटधरापरिदृढवारणविदारणनिष्ठुर निस्त्रिंशकरजकठोरभरवरकंठीरवेषु

अनन्यमामान्यसौजन्यवदान्यतावशीकृतमान्यजनतन्यमानधन्यभावानुभाववन्मूर्धन्येषु

सदुचितसमुपचितगुणरत्नधाम—

स्नेहाभिलाषी श्रीशंभुराजवर्मनृपविहितवचननिवेदकमदः पत्रमत्रस्थभव्यभव्यावेदनपूर्वकं श्रीमद्गोचरं तदेव पृच्छति यदुत श्रीमद्भिर्लिखितं स्वमनसि एवं स्थितं यद्दिल्लीन्द्रेण साकं विरोधो न विधेयस्तस्य महत्त्वमेव पालनीयं तदनुकुमार कृष्णसिंहस्य तादृश्यवस्था[1] सुरत्राणसंकेतनिष्पन्नेति निपुणं विज्ञाय कंचिद्राजकार्यविषयं मनसि

1. This is a reference to Krishna Singh or Kisan Singh, the only son of the addressee Ram Singh, who while serving in the Emperor's army in Maharashtra, was by the Emperor's orders put to death at about the age of 19 near Parenda on 10th April 1682 for complicity with his rebel son Akbar.

कृत्वास्माकं स्तुतिपुरःसरं पत्रं प्रेषितं यदकबरः सुरत्राणः स्वसविधे स्थापितः इदमुचितमेव कृतं श्रीमद्भिरस्माकमपि संमतमेतत् वयं हिन्दूकाः अस्मान्भवन्तो यदाज्ञापयन्ति तदवश्यं विधेयमिति तर्हि प्रकृतविषये श्रीमद्भिर्मुख्यतामवलंब्यैतस्य यवनाधमस्य सांप्रतं सकलहिन्दूकाः सत्वशून्याः श्रीप्रासादभंगादिधर्मोपप्लवेपि स्वधर्मरक्षणाक्षमाः स्वधर्महीना इति मन्यमानस्योत्कर्षं तथा क्षत्रियशब्दाभिधेयविपर्ययं तथा श्रुतिस्मृतिसिद्धवर्णाश्रमधर्मप्रजापालरूपराजधर्मविप्लवंचासहिष्णवः स्वकोशदेशदुर्गादिषु विधृतानादरा दुष्टयवनाधिपप्रतिद्वंद्वितयैवाकबरदुर्गादासौ वर्षद्वयपर्यंतं स्वदेशे स्थापितौ यवनाधिपसंबंधिनः सेनानायकाः मारिताः केचित्कारागृहे स्थापिताः केचिद् द्रव्यं गृहीत्वा मोचिताः केचिन् धर्मेण केचिदस्मत्सैनिकानामुत्कोचं दत्वापयाताः एवं विधा तत्सेनानायका अप्रयोजकाः अस्मिन्समये यवनाधमः कारागृहस्थो विधेयः श्रीस्थापनादयः सर्वेपि धर्माः प्रवर्तितव्या इति मनसि धृत्वा तदनुकूलमाचराम इतिविदांकुर्वन्तु तत्रभवन्तो भवन्तः

किं च वयं भवत्समक्षं अल्पवयसः स्थितास्तदा श्रीमतां स्वधर्मपक्षपातशौर्यादयो गुणाः श्रुताः दृष्टाश्च इदानींतु यूयं ससागराज्यसंपन्नाः केवलं धैर्यमवलंब्यास्मदारब्धः यवनोच्छेदायोपयुक्ता भविष्यथ चेत् किं किं न भवेत् एवं सति स्वधर्मत्यागेन तुष्णींभावमापन्ना इदमतीवाश्चर्यमस्माकं विधत्ते

अन्यच्च हाडा दुर्जनसिंहः [2] कीदृक् तस्य कोशादि सर्वं भवद्भिरस्माभिश्च ज्ञायत एव परंतु तेन कोशादिस्थाने धैर्यमेव कृत्वाऽस्मल्लिखितानुसारेण कथमुपप्लवो विहितः स भवद्भिरदूरवर्तिभिः श्रुत एवास्ति इतोस्माभिर्विधीयते यत्तत् विधीयत एवेदानीं अकबरदुर्गादासौ गुर्जरदेशं प्रति प्रेष्येते तर्हि श्रीमद्भिर्धैर्यावष्टंभेन यत्कर्तव्यं तदवश्यं विधेयं पठाणाधिपः इहा आबास नामकेः अकबरस्यांगीकारपूर्वकं पत्रं प्रेषितं तथापि यवनस्यैतादृशं यशो देयमिति अनुचितमिति यथा श्रीमत्पूज्यमहाराजैरयमेव यवनाधमो दिल्लीश्वरः कृतः यशो गृहीतं तथापि श्रीमद्भिरपि अकबरसाहाय्येन यशो ग्राह्यं हिन्दुस्थानस्यैते सुरत्राणाः एतत्स्थाने यवनाश्चेन्मुख्यास्तदा तेषामेव प्राधान्यं स्यात् अतस्तद्व्यतिरेकेणास्माभिर्भवद्भिश्चाकबरः सुरत्राणो विधेयस्तेन स्वधर्मरक्षणं भविष्यति भवतां च महाराजजयसिंहवंशशोभविता

सविस्तरंच श्रीमत्कविकलशपत्रात् तथा श्रीमज्जनार्दनपंडितपत्रात् प्रतापसिंहमुखवचनेभ्यः चारमुखेभ्यश्चावगंतव्यं निरंतरस्वकुशललेखनेनानंदनीया वयमिति किं बहुलेखनपल्लवितेन विज्ञधुरंधरेषु ॥

"Shambhuji Rajah to Rajah Ram Singh of Amber
Written c. November 1682

[After five long appellations of traditional eulogy]

Shri Shambhu Raja craves your friendship and after enquiring about your welfare communicates to Your Highness his own words in this letter.

---

2. Durjan Singh Hada of Bundi rose against Aurangzeb and caused him serious trouble for years. He was ultimately killed in a fight.

We have received your communication and understand your object to mean that no opposition should be offered to the Emperor of Delhi, but that his suzerainty should be accepted.

Thereafter you came to know how your son Krishna Singh met his ruin for having intrigued with Sultan Akbar; and after full consideration of the political situation you again wrote to us in laudable terms that we acted rightly in offering shelter in our dominion to Sultan Akbar, that you approved the course we followed and that as we are Hindus, you signified your readiness to execute whatever was considered expedient in the circumstances.

If such indeed is your real intention, then you yourself ought to take the lead in this affair. The present wicked Emperor believes that we Hindus have all become effeminate and that we have lost all regard for our religion. Such an attitude on the part of the Emperor we cannot any longer endure. We cannot put up with any thing derogatory to our character as soldiers (Kshatriyas). The Vedas and the codes enjoin certain injunctions of religion and caste, which we cannot allow to be trampled under foot, nor can we neglect our own duty as kings to our subjects. We are prepared to sacrifice every thing, our treasure, our land, our forts, in waging war against this satanic Emperor. With this firm resolution we have for these two years extended our hospitality to Akbar and Durgadas. We have killed many a brave captain of the Emperor, imprisoned several, released some after exacting ransom, and some out of compassion; several effected their escape by offering bribes. In this way the imperial commanders have proved themselves utterly incompetent. The moment has now arrived when the Emperor himself can be captured and made prisoner with the result that we can rebuild our temples and restore our religious practices. We strongly assure you that we have resolved to execute all this in the near future.

But we are in comparison with you young and inexperienced. We have seen and heard so much about your valour and your zeal for religion. You at present fully possess the seven arms of kingship, so that if you muster courage and co-operate with us in the task of annihilating the power of this Emperor, what may not be accomplished! When we ponder on this situation, we feel extremely surprised to find that you keep yourself so quiet and so unmindful of your religion.

There is another point. You and we have well observed what sort of a man Durjan Singh Hada is and what wealth he possessed. But he sacrificed his wealth and relying on his own personal valour

4

created such a havoc at our instigation, as you being so near must have fully learned about. We from our side are doing our best. We are planning to despatch Akbar and Durgadas into Gujarat, so that you on your side must courageously execute whatever is possible. Shah Abbas of Persia has signified his willingness to support the cause of Akbar ; but it does not in our opinion behove us to accept Muslim help in this cause and enable Abbas to gain the credit. Was it not your own revered father Jay Singh who gained the honour of helping Aurangzib to capture the throne of Delhi ? You can now follow the same example and obtain the same credit by helping Akbar (to the throne). If he becomes the Emperor of Delhi with the help of the Muslims of Persia, they will gain predominance. It is necessary to prevent such a contingency. If you and we join our forces and place Akbar on the throne, we shall get the opportunity of protecting our religion and on your part you will shed lustre on the house of Jay Singh.

My ministers Kavi-kalash and Janardan Pandit are writing to you separately at length. You will also learn all the details personally from (our deputed agent) Pratap Singh and from the trusted spies who will meet you. Please write constantly about your own welfare. What more is there for us to write, when we are sure you comprehend all matters so intelligently ? "

I have to thank Sir Jadunath SARKAR for supplying me copies and a photograph of the original letter. It is difficult to say whether the handwriting is Sambhaji's own or of Kavi Kalash or of a scribe. I am inclined to attribute it to a scribe. It resembles the traditional writing of old Sanskrit compositions. That Sambhaji knew and wrote Sanskrit I readily believe · the actual composition of the letters may have been executed by Kavi Kalash. Resort to Sanskrit in preference to Persian is an obvious precaution against detection of the plan by the Emperor.

Authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras

By

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, Adyar

The authorship of the Unādi Sūtras is still debated. Some ascribe them to Śākaṭāyana, an ancient grammarian who derived all nouns from verbal roots; others to Vararuci; there are yet others who identify this Vararuci with, and father the work upon, Kātyāyana, the Vārtikakāra.

Their chronological relation to Pāṇini is also a matter on which opinion is divided among scholars. I believe with GOLDSTRÜCKER[1] that though the Pratyayas given in these Sūtras are pre-Pāṇinian, the work in the present form is the production of a much later period. GOLDSTRÜCKER's view, however, should be clarified and slightly modified. Though a good number of the Uṇādi Pratyayas can be pre-Pāṇinian, all of them cannot be so. A correct interpretation of Pāṇini 3. 3. 1 and the Śloka Vārtika thereon gives us a glimpse of the true history of this work.

उणादयो बहुलम् : Pāṇini reads this among those rules which deal with the Kṛts. 'Ādayaḥ', like that in *bhūvādayah*, (1. 3. 1) refers here to a list enumerating these Pratyayas. Whether Pānini availed himself of a list drawn up by Śākaṭāyana or himself compiled one of the suffixes selected from the latter's work, or of words formed by them, is a question which cannot be satisfactorily answered at present. One point, however, deserves to be noted. Śākaṭāyana as an etymologist derived every word from a root with an affix; and in doing so, he could not necessarily confine all his affixes to the forces of the present and the past, as he too must have had in his language words used with the force of the future , but Pāṇini in his Sūtras 3. 3. 1–2 refers only to those Unādi affixes which are used in Vartamāna and Bhūta. In 3.4.75 Pāṇini says that the Uṇādi affixes denote ideas other than those of the dative and the ablative. Nothing would therefore be more foolish than to believe that Pāṇini restricted all the affixes invented by the etymologists to these senses. It would be tantamount to saying that the words known to Śākaṭāyana and his followers were used only in these senses specified by Pāṇini. Nāgeśa dives into the meaning of these Sūtras deeper than other commentators when he intelligently remarks :[2]

1. Pāṇini, pp. 170–171.
2. *Laghuśabdenduśekhara*, Vol. II, p. 807 (*Kāśi sans. series, No. 5.*)

कृवा इत्यादिसूत्राणि........................शाकटायनादिप्रणीतव्याकरणान्तरादभियुक्तैः सङ्गृहीतानि ।
'Saṅgraha' means choice collection and by Uṇādayaḥ Pāṇini means only some of the affixes invented by Śākaṭāyana. Perhaps Uṇādi might have formed one chapter of Kṛt affixes in Śākaṭāyana's work. 'Bahulam' is always used by Pāṇini to mean 'often' or 'mostly'. When the instances are numerous he says 'bahulam' and when they are only a few he has 'dṛśyante', as in the next Sūtra (3.3.2). 'Bahulam' is an adverb and here modifies the use of these Pratyayas with the force of the present. The meaning of the Sūtra then is this : The Uṇādi Pratyayas are used mostly with the force of the present. भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते: They are seen employed with the force of the past also.

This reference to them in his work is to acknowledge that the words formed by these affixes are admissible in the meanings and tenses specified by him. It scarcely means that he is in favour of the method adopted by Śākatāyana and his followers in deriving these words. Nāgeśa rightly observes :

अनेन भाष्यवार्तिकसमूहेन उणादयो बहुलमिति
व्याकरणान्तरव्यवस्थापकमिति स्पष्टमेवोक्तम् ।

It will thus be seen that Pāṇini wants only to restrict the use of these words. The restriction is his own , otherwise his reverence for his predecessors would have, as in many other places, made him here also say : Uṇādayaḥ Śākaṭāyano bahulam.

The Śloka Vārtika on this Sūtra, however, reveals the imposition of a new and liberal interpretation on 'bahulam', which leaves the doors wide open for the etymologists to bustle in. On the Sūtra under discussion Patañjali quotes this Śloka Vārtika and explains it as follows :

Patañjali · बहुलवचनं किमर्थम् · Why has 'bahulam' been employed in the Sūtra ?

Śloka Vārtika बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः ।

Patañjali : तन्वीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्य उणादयो दृश्यन्ते ।

Uṇādi affixes come only after a limited number of roots and not after all; it is to cover all the roots that 'bahulam' has been employed.

Śloka Vārtika : प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
Patañjali : प्रायेण खल्वपि ते समुच्चिता न सर्वे समुच्चिताः ।
Moreover only a few affixes have been covered, not all.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 808.

Here 'teṣām' which is in the masculine gender, refers only to Pratyayas and not to Prakṛtis. VASU forcibly refers it to Prakṛtis when he says :

"Moreover[4] there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come : only some of them have been collected in works treating of Uṇādi affixes."

The first sentence discloses the inexhaustiveness in the enumeration of roots and the second shows it in that of affixes. Viṭṭhala in his Prakriyāprasāda clearly points this out as follows[5]:

अल्पा प्रकृतयः उक्ता अल्पे च प्रत्ययाः ।

Śloka Vārtika : कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तम् ।

Patañjali : कार्याणि खल्वपि सशेषाणि कृतानि । न सर्वाणि लक्षणेन परिसमाप्तानि । किं पुनः कारणं तन्वीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्य उणादयो दृश्यन्ते न सर्वाभ्यो दृश्यन्ते । किं च कारणं कार्याणि सशेषाणि कृतानि न सर्वाणि लक्षणेन परिसमाप्तानि ॥

The various operations of the affixes including those of their Anubandhas also have not been exhaustively treated : there yet remains much to be said on these. What is the reason for this incompleteness of treatment ? Why do the Uṇādi affixes come only after a limited number of roots and why have their operations not been exhaustively treated ? This is to show that there are many more affixes to be included in the Uṇādi list.

Śloka Vārtika : नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ।

Patañjali : नैगमाश्च रूढिभवाश्चौणादिका· कथं सुसाधव. स्युः ?

How are Vedic words having conventional meanings correct (understandable) (if they are not explained etymologically)?

The Śloka Vārtika then gives the following answer to all these questions.

Śloka Vārtika : नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते ।

Patañjali : नाम खल्वपि धातुजम् । एवमाहुर्नैरुक्ताः ।

Śloka Vārtika : व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।

Patañjali : वैयाकरणानां च शाकटायन आह धातुजं नामेति ।

In the Nirukta it is said that all nouns are derived from simple roots ; among grammarians Śākaṭāyana too holds the same view.

So much about Vedic words and words having conventional significances. What about words which do not clearly show their derivations ?

Śloka Vārtika : यत्र विशेषपदार्थसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ।

4. *Siddh. Kaum.*, Transl., Part II, p. 331.

5. Part II, p. 599 (Bombay Sans. and Prakrit Series ed.)

There also the proper bases and affixes which form those words must be inferred. The Śloka Vārtika drives us to this conclusion that we should think that Pāṇini employs *bahulam* in this Sūtra in order to cover all other words which he has not enumerated and which may be split up into bases and affixes as suggested by Śākatāyana, and that all the Vedic words, words having conventional significances and words without apparent derivations have thus all been covered by him (Pānini) by this Sūtra, i. e. they can be explained etymologically.

The difference between this interpretation given by the Śloka Vārtika and the one given above is now quite clear. Pāṇini in fact does not employ *bahulam* as a panacea for all these supposed ills. That he uses it as an adverb modifying Vartamāna may be known by comparing this Sūtra with the next one in which he says that the Unādi Pratyayas are seen also used with the force of the past. In the light of this it is not correct to translate *Uṇādayo bahulam* as "They are too many." [6]

The change of meaning which *bahulam* undergoes after Pānini's time accounts for the history of the Uṇādi Sūtras better than anything else. Pānini, a very independent and reasonable grammarian, was influenced least by the Nairuktas and Śākatāyana. But this Śloka Vārtika indicates that some of his successors who as shown above, expanded the scope of this Sūtra to include a great number of words (which are primitive or non-derivative from the Pāṇinian point of view) in the Uṇādi list, were not so. The fact that the works of the etymologists, like the various Prātiśākhyas, have influenced some of Pāṇini's successors deserves attention. Kātyāyana who, as will be presently seen, often favours the etymologists is one among those successors and belongs to a period not far distant from that in which flourished the author of the Śloka Vārtika. Much of the material in the present Uṇādi Sūtras relates to this period, though the form in which it now appears is generally late. All this is clearly borne out by the following evidence. Let us begin with Pāṇini.

Some of these Uṇādi Sūtras are not known to Pāṇini

In 3. 4. 74 Pāṇini passes on certain words like *bhīma*, etc., as Nipātanas (words which admit of no analysis into Prakṛti and Pratyaya) denoting ablation. In the previous Sūtra he has given two similar words as Nipātanas denoting the idea of the dative, viz. *dāśa* and *goghna*. In the very next Sūtra (ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः) he says that the words formed by the Uṇādi affixes denote ideas other than these two, namely dative and ablation. From this it is clear that

6. VASU, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 145.

he does not regard words belonging to the *Bhīmadi* group as words formed by the Uṇādi affixes. But we have the following rules in the Uṇādi Sūtra treating of these words:—

1. 7, 1. 148, 2. 61, 2. 62, 3. 82, 3. 112, 4. 45, 4. 217 and 5. 22.

Pāṇini 2. 4. 57 (*Vā yau*) optionally substitutes *aj* by *vi*. *Vāyu* is thus accounted for by this Sūtra as derived from the root *aj*. The first Uṇādi Sūtra कृपावाजिमिस्वादिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् derives this word from the root *vā* (*vāti*). If Pāṇini had this Sūtra before him, he as an Avyutpannavādin, would have never derived this word from a root as described above. It may be argued that Pāṇini in 2. 4. 57 wants only to enjoin an option in the substitution of *aj* by *vi* and that as there are also instances of the latter other than this (*vāyu*), this cannot be an incontestible proof ; but we have the following indubitable evidence of the Mahābhāsya which instances this very word under the above Sūtra. What is more interesting, even Patañjali does not know the first rule of the present Uṇādi work.

Patañjali : न तर्हीदानीमिदं "वा यौ" (2-4-57) इति वक्तव्यम् ?
वक्तव्यं च। किं प्रयोजनम् ? नेयं विभाषा । किं तर्हि ?
आदेशोऽयं विधीयते । वा इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यजेर्यौ
परतः । वायुरिति ।

Nāgeśa with his characteristic insight and conscientiousness has not failed to note this.

Reviewing in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, p. 375, the Unādi Sūtras with the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyana published as No. 7 in the Madras University Sanskrit Series, Dr. Batakrishna GHOSH says with reference to Dr. Kunhan RAJA's introductory remark—"This commentary on the Sūtras of Pānini forms a basis not only for understanding the meaning of the Sūtras but also reconstructing the history of the various systems of Sanskrit grammar" on the work as follows:—"It is also implied in this quotation that Pānini himself was the author of the Uṇādi Sūtras. Such an assumption in spite of GOLDSTÜCKER, is surely unwarranted. We are confronted with two contradictory but undeniable facts in this regard. Pānini knew at least some of the Uṇādi Sūtras. Cf. Pānini VI. 4. 97 (इस्मन्त्रन्क्विषु च), in which the first three suffixes are Unādis. A number of Uṇādi suffixes are again mentioned in 6. 3. 53 (7. 2. 9 ?).

It may be pointed out that though Pāṇini knows some Uṇādī suffixes, there is nothing of an evidence showing that he knows, the present Uṇādi Sūtras.

7. See *L. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 810.

Some are not known to Kātyāyana

On P. 3. 2. 178 Kātyāyana has the Vārtika : वचिप्रच्छ्यायतस्तुकट-प्रुजुश्रीणां दीर्घश्च ।

These roots take *kvip* and their vowel is lengthened when followed by that suffix, e. g. *vāk*, *śabdaprāṭ*, *āyatastūḥ*, *kaṭaprūḥ*, *jūḥ* and *śrīḥ*. After instancing these words, Patañjali refers to an emendation in regard to *vaci* and *pracchi* by another commentator and rejects it as follows:—

अपर आह वचिप्रच्छ्योरसंप्रसारणं चेति वक्तव्यम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् ? न वक्तव्यम् । दीर्घवचनसामर्थ्यात् प्रसारणं न भविष्यति ।

इदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । दीर्घत्वं क्रियतां संप्रसारणमिति । परत्वात्संप्रसारणम् । अन्तरङ्गं दीर्घत्वम् । कान्तरङ्गता । प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिसन्नियोगेन दीर्घत्वमुच्यते । उत्पन्ने प्रत्यये संप्रसारणम् । तत्रान्तरङ्गत्वाद्दीर्घत्वे कृते संप्रसारणं प्रसारणपरपूर्वत्वे कृते कार्यकृतत्वात्पुनर्दीर्घत्वं न स्यात् । तस्मात्सुष्ठूच्यते दीर्घवचनसामर्थ्यात्प्रसारणं न भविष्यतीति ॥

Neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali knows that there is an Uṇādi rule to account for these words. When there is an explanation in the Unādi, Kātyāyana does not supplement Pānini. For instance, रजकरजनरजःसु कित्वात्सिद्धम् । (P. 3. 4. 24, Vārtika 5).

Patañjali : कित एवैत औणादिकाः । तद्यथा–रूचकः । भुवनम् । शिर इति ।

The author of the Unādi Śūtras has, on the other hand, taken these two Vārtikas together to form his rule:

क्विब्वचिप्रच्छिश्रिस्रुद्रुप्रुज्वां दीर्घोऽसंप्रसारणं च । (2.57.)

The plagiarism is clear. The identification of Kātyāyana with Vararuci referred to by Vimalasarasvatī in his *Rūpamālā* is as unreasonable as that with the author of the *Prākṛtavyākaraṇa*. It is deserving of notice that Kātyāyana, though he generally favours the Avyutpattipaksa, has not even cared to comment upon P. 3. 3. 1.

In spite of Kātyāyana's various shortcomings, Pāṇini has to thank him for one great service which consists in having not tortured Pāṇini's meaning. To him *bahulam* means what it exactly means to Pāṇini.

Some are not known to Patañjali

It has been noticed above that Patañjali introduces a new affix *krukan* (P. 3. 2. 174) to account for the word *bhīruka*. This word is explained by Unādi 2. 31 by the same affix, and Patañjali, a staunch adherent of the Avyutpattipaksa, would have never supplemented P. 3. 2. 174 if he had this Uṇādi rule before him. In a supplementary Vārtika (Iṣṭi) on P. 6. 4. 40 (ऊङ् च गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम्) Patañjali

8. See Vasu, Transl. of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 146.

derives the word *bhrū* with the affix *ūṇ*, eliding the nasal. The same word is derived in quite a different way by Uṇādi 2. 68:

बालमूललघ्वलमङ्गुलीनां वा लो रमापद्यत इति

वक्तव्यम् । अश्ववारः अश्ववालः......... ।

संज्ञाछन्दसोर्वा कपिलकादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् । कपिरकः

कपिलकः..................... ।

(भ्रमेश्च डूः) which is an attempt to improve upon the Mahābhāṣya.

Nāgeśa[9] refers to another instance of this kind. In order to account for certain words in which *r* has changed to *l* Patañjali says that the following may be added to P. 8. 2. 18. (कृपो रो लः)

Nāgeśa points out that all these are words explained by the Uṇādi[10] Sūtras. In some cases the author of the Uṇādi work copies exactly the Sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Cf. 6. 1. 21 चायः की (Uṇādi 1. 73).

p. 3. 2. 75 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते (Uṇādi 4. 105 etc etc.)

Many more instances can be adduced ; but these will suffice to show that the author of the present Uṇādi Sūtra has freely drawn upon the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Vārtikas and the Mahābhāṣya.

Internal Divergence

This brief survey of the history of the Unādi Sūtras would be incomplete if we do not notice here the differences among our grammarians in regard to the Vyutpattipakṣa. Kātyāyana[11] in all his allusions to the Uṇādi, definitely exhibits a leaning towards Ṣākaṭāyana's school ; but Patañjali in all those cases adheres staunchly to Pāṇini's Avyutpattipakṣa and refutes all those Vārtikas saying : उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ।

Kātyāyana[12] himself points out that Pāṇini is not in favour of the Uṇādi ; and we can infer that most of these affixes are pre-Pāṇinian and that Kātyāyana does not allude to the present work when he speaks of Unādis. On such occasions as noted above, Kātyāyana says that Pāṇini's rules do not hold good for the Uṇādis. The Vārtikakāra, as has already been noted, is a great Vedic Scholar. Steeped in the exegetical lore of his time, he cannot but leave some traces of it in his work. He makes his allegiance to Śākaṭāyana quite clear when he says : प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (7. 1. 2, V. 5), i. e. the words referred to under this

9. See *L. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 808.

10. *Vide* Uṇādi 4.2 etc.

11. See P. 1. 1. 61, V. 4 ; 3. 4. 77, 3 ; 4. 1. 1, 2 ; 6. 1. 162, 5 ; 7. 1. 2, 3.

12. See 7. 2. 8, 1 ; 7. 4. 13, 1 ; 8. 2. 78, 2 ; 8. 3. 59, 1. Vide the *Mahābhāṣya* on these.

Sūtra are not Vyutpannas (do not admit of an etymological analysis) according to Pānini. This shows that he is not in agreement with the Sūtrakāra. One thing must be said about this great grammatical Kātyāyana. He never mixes up theories or their exponents; never tampers with the Sūtras nor tortures their meanings; there is no cribbing, cabining and caging in his work. Whenever a point of difference arises between himself and Pāṇini, he clarifies his position as well as that of Pāṇini avoiding injustice and placing everything beyond doubt. His Vārtikas thus sometimes illumine the Indian linguistic antiquity which is at times the despair of our grammatical historians. Instances like the above prove conclusively that he cannot be the author of the Śloka Vārtika; yet scholars have not been wanting to suggest that Kātyāyana is himself the author of the Uṇādi Sūtras. It is a sorry sight that is afforded by theories appearing in an uninterrupted procession, quite in the teeth of the internal evidence furnished by the texts. GOLDSTRUCKER's and KIELHORN's appeals have fallen on deaf ears. A proper study of the Vārtikas would certainly enlighten us on many such problems as the one under discussion, which would otherwise remain knotty for ever. This much has to be said of Kātyāyana in this connection.

When we come to the Śloka Vārtika we see that the rule उणादयो बहुलम् is wrested from its context and interpreted in a quite different way in order to obtain Pāṇini's sanction. The Śloka-Vārtikakāra acted the rôle of a liaison officer and made room for convergence. What was the result? When the Uṇādis with all their ramifications appeared later in the form of the present work, they slowly came nearer and nearer until they came to be regarded as an important appendage to the Aṣṭādhyāyī. There is also another factor which is not less responsible for this convergence. The author of the Uṇādi Sūtras uses Pāṇinian terms and Anubandhas which make his work depend on Pāṇini for its interpretation. What is true of the Uṇādi Sūtras is also true of the other appendages like the Phiṭ Sūtra, the Liṅgānuśāsana, etc. Kāśikā has not commented upon these. A comparison of the following Mahābhāṣya which enumerates the Upadeśas with the Kārikā of the later commentators quoted below it will indicate the truth. At the end of Paspaśā Patañjali says:

क्वेमे संवृतादयः श्रूयेरन्निति । आगमेषु । आगमाः शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते । विकारेषु तर्हि । विकाराः शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते । प्रत्ययेषु तर्हि । प्रत्ययाः शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते । धातुषु तर्हि । धातवोऽपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते । प्रातिपदिकेषु । प्रातिपदिकान्यपि शुद्धानि पठ्यन्ते । यानि तर्ह्यग्रहणानि प्रातिपदिकानि । एतेषामपि स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीज्ञानार्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः ।

The Kārikā of the later commentators runs :

धातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।
आगमप्रत्ययादेशा उपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

This includes the Uṇādi and the Liṅgānuśāsana also among the Upadeśas.

Patañjali's Position

Kātyāyana's position with regard to the Uṇādi Sūtras has been made clear. We now turn to Patañjali. When the Ślokavārtikakāra justified the intrusion of etymologists, Patañjali refused to give them a long tether. He instructed them to confine their busy efforts to Saṃjñās and thus placed with them orders for ropes of sand. According to Patañjali, the etymologists would have prospered greatly among words like *ḍittha* etc. which do not have any intelligible etymologies and which may be coined by any one. We can now understand why Patañjaji, though in all other instances he says उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि, derives[13] लृपिड्ड, etc. with the Uṇādi affixes.

Says He : [14] संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥

Viṭṭhala also in his *Prakriyāprasāda* says[15] : डित्थादिः तत्र तादेः प्रत्ययात् डीत्यादिधातोरूह्यम् ।

As[16] against this it may be noted that Kātyāyana regards even such words as *śaṅkha*, *kaṇṭha*, etc. as Unādis.

The Author of the Uṇādi Sūtras.

Who is then the author of the Unādi Sūtras ? Most probably a grammarian called Vararuci who flourished some time after Patañjali compiled these Uṇādi Sūtras drawing fully well upon the Munitraya texts as well as upon those of the etymologists to which he might have had access.

Admitting that the author of the Unādi Sūtras was called Kātyāyana, it may be pointed out that there is nothing to warrant his identification with the author of the Vārtikas. Sanskrit literary tradition knows several Kātyāyanas bearing the *alias* Vararuci. The two names are seen mostly going together. Probably the true bearers of both the names were only some old Kātyāyanas ; but with later commentators almost every Vararuci comes to be called also Kātyāyana. This adds perplexity to confusion and Vararuci thus becomes

13. See Patañjali on ऋलृक् ।
14. 3. 3. 1.
15. Part II, p. 600 (Bomba y Sans. and Prakrit Series ed.).
16. See 7. 1. 2, 7. 3. 50, etc.

a mysterious name in Sanskrit literature. The works coming under this name are such as have to be assigned to widely varying dates. We cannot but be cautious in all such cases. Śvetavanavāsin does not attribute this work to any single author when he says: शाकटायनादिभिः कृतम्।

That the present Uṇādi work is based on Śākaṭāyana's grammar nobody doubts, but what we cannot accept is his authorship of this. GOLDSTRÜCKER's view thus stands uncontroverted.

It may be noticed in passing that the Unādi Sūtras have themselves undergone some changes. Bhaṭṭoji[17] Dīkṣita in his commentary on these often disagrees with Ujjvaladatta. There is also the controversy regarding the real extent of the work; according to some it consists of only five Pādas, (*Pañcapādī*), and according to others of ten Pādas, (*Daśapādi*). What is interesting above all is that "every[18] system of Sanskrit grammar has its Unādi Sūtras".

---

17. See *Prauḍha-Manoramā*, Part II, pp. 747–810; see also BURNELL, *Catalogue of Sansk.* Mss. in the Tanjore Library, p. 42.

18. See Dr. CHINTAMANI's introduction to the Uṇādi Sūtras, Madras University Sanskrit Series.

Problems of Identity- Viśvarūpa, the author of Bālakrīḍā and Viśvarūpācārya alias Sureśvarācārya

By

P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, Madras

In his learned Introduction to the *Yājñavalkyā Smṛti* with Viśvarūpa's *Bālakrīḍā* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 74 in 1922) the eminent Editor Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Ganapati SASTRI identified Viśvarūpa, the author of *Bālakrīḍā* with Sureśvara, the author of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika*. The identification has been steadily gaining currency since then. Mr. P. V. KANE states in page 262 of his "History of Dharma Śāstra": "it may therefore be held as fairly established that Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are identical".

To us, the identity seems to rest on rather unreliable and insufficient data. Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganapati SASTRI relied for his conclusion on the statement contained in a commentary on the *Bālakrīḍā* (No. 63 A of Volume I of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in the Trivandrum Palace Library) which has the following half-stanza.

भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणम्य तम्

There are only two MSS. of this work, one in the Trivandrum Palace Library and the other in the Trivandrum Curator's Library. The whole commentary is only on the first seven stanzas of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* and the work is a fragmentary one. But even here, the half stanza has all the appearance of a later interpolation as it forms the pūrvārdha according to one MS. and the uttarārdha according to the other MS. (No. 1218 Vol. I. *D. C. Tri. Cur. Library*). The learned Mahāmahopādhyāya is himself put to a good deal of trouble in interpreting it, as is evident when he asks us to understand भवभूति to mean विवभूति 'presumably a title' and सुरेश to be the same as सुरेश्वर to press home his identification. If conjectural interpretation has to be resorted to, it is much more easy to understand भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यं to mean "named Bhavabhūti, the best Pandit (सुरेश: पण्डित: *Śabdakalpadruma*).

Indeed, the learned Editor Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganpati SĀSTRI relies for his own interpretation on the statements contained in another commentary on the *Bālakrīḍā* called *Vacanamālā* described

as No. 122 in Vol. I of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in the Trivandrum Curator's Library. In this work, the author of the *Vacanamālā* begins stanzas 2 and 3 as follows :—

प्रणम्य मनु—सुरेश्वर-योगीश्वर-तीव्रकिरणगुरुचरणान् ।
शास्त्राणां व्यकर्तॄन् कर्तॄनपि देवता निखिलाः ॥ २ ॥
परमेश्वरस्य परमां परहितनिरतस्य विश्वरूपस्य ।
रचयामि वचनमालां विदधतु मदनुग्रहं सन्तः ॥ ३ ॥

In stanza 2, the author pays homage to the well-known writers on Dharma. The straight-forward meaning of the first half of the stanza is "Having paid obeisance to Manu, Sureśvara (Bṛhaspati) Yogīśvara (Yājñavalkya) and Tīvrakiraṇaguru" (Prabhākaraguru)—all well-known writers on Dharma. But the learned Mahāmahopādhyāya wants us to understand by Sureśvara the famous Vārttikakāra to identify him with Viśvarūpa and take योगीश्वरतीव्रकिरणगुरु as one word meaning Yājñavalkya. But, in understanding the line thus, he has to face the difficulty of Sureśvara the commentator on Yājñavalkya being mentioned prior to Yājñavalkya and he explains this away by stating that the author's sense of reverence to Sureśvara is thus accomplished by his mentioning him before Yājñavalkya. This is indeed too laboured a method of explanation. Particularly so when in the very next stanza, the author of *Vacanamālā* refers to the author of *Bālakrīḍā* as Viśvarūpa in specific terms. To strain that Sureśvara in stanza 2 is identical with Viśvarūpa in stanza 3 seems to us to be too far-fetched and illogical.

If we take Sureśvara to mean Bṛhaspati, whose authority on Dharma is next only to Manu and whom Yājñavalkya also follows, and Yogīśvara to mean Yājñavalkya, and Tīvrakiraṇaguru to mean Prabhākaraguru, whose authority on Dharma is accepted by Ānandānubhava and others, we will then have in stanza 2 a citation of the standard writers on Dharma mentioned in their chronological order, followed in stanza 3 by the mention of Viśvarūpa who comes after Prabhākara chronologically also.

The identification of Viśvarūpa, the author of *Bālakrīḍā* with Sureśvara of Vārttika fame is thus far-fetched. Viśvarūpa, the Smṛti commentator must have been a gṛhastha throughout his life. As Ānandānubhava points out in his *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* (see F. N. 150 to the Introduction to the *Brahmasiddhi*) Viśvarūpa the Smṛti writer could not have been a sannyāsin at all.

न चासौ ग्रन्थः सन्यासिना विरचितः etc. etc.

And if Viśvarūpa is different from Sureśvara the Vārttikakāra, there is no inherent incompatibility between the views of Viśvarūpa,

the Smṛti writer, Maṇḍana the Gṛhastha writer and Prabhākara; nor need there be any continuity in doctrine between Maṇḍana as a Gṛhastha writer and Sureśvara cum Viśvarūpa, the Sannyāsin author of the Vārttika.

We are of opinion that he who was known as Maṇḍanamiśra in his Gṛhastha stage was initiated as a Sannyāsin with the name of Viśvarūpa and came to be famous in the world as Sureśvara. That Viśvarūpa was the real Sannyāsī name of Sureśvara is borne out by many evidences.

It is interesting to note that the Śaṅkaravijayas do not give generally the grhastha or brahmacarya names of each of the four famous pupils of Śaṅkarācārya or even of Śaṅkara himself. Sanandana, Hastāmalaka, Toṭaka and Viśvarūpa are the Sannyāsa names by which the pupils of Śaṅkara are referred to. Sanandana got his title Padmapāda on his crossing the Ganges and Viśvarūpa got his title Sureśvara on his writing the Vārttikas. The Vārttikakāra is referred to as Viśvarūpācārya by such standard writers like Vidyāranya in his *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha*, Rāmatīrtha in his *Mānasollāsa*: *Vṛttāntavilāsa* and in *Parāśaramādhavīya* etc. (See page 261 of KANE's *Darmasastra*).

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that (1) the Viśvarūpa of the *Bālakrīḍā* lived and died as a Gṛhastha and he was no other than the famous Bhavabhūti—a fact corroborated by the author of the *Vacanamālā* when he states in stanza 13 भवभूतिनिबन्धनोद्धृतो referring to the *Bālakrīḍā* and (2) that the famous Vārttikakāra—Sureśvara was known also between the 8th and 14th centuries as Viśvarūpācārya his Sannyāsa name, his Gṛhastha name being Maṇḍanamiśra.[1]

---

1. For fuller discussion of this last topic see the author's article on 'Problems of Identity' Mandanamisra-Suresvara in Part VI, Vol. II of the *Sankara-gurukula-pattrikā* published at Srirangam.

3

Maṇḍanamiśra's Bhāvanā-Viveka- a Study

By

V. A. R. SASTRI and K. A. S. SASTRI, Annamalainagar

The Sanskrit-reading public owe a deep debt of gratitude to MM Dr. Ganganath JHA for having left at their disposal the publication of Maṇḍana Miśra's *Bhāvanāviveka* with Umveka's Commentary, in two parts in the Prince of Wales Saraswathi Bhawana Texts Series, Benares. It must also be said that the commentary of Umveka does not help us to understand the difficult language of Maṇḍana Miśra. Now we have undertaken on the basis of manuscript and printed materials to issue in instalments in the Annamalai University Journal a revised, critical edition of the *Bhāvanāviveka* with a more elaborate, clear and hitherto unpublished commentary, called *Viṣamagranthibhedikā* (the breaker of uneven knots) by one Nārāyaṇa, the son of Visnu. This Visnu may be identified with Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, the author of the *Naya-tattvasaṅgraha*, a critical commentary on the Tarkapāda of the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā Sūtras, according to the Prābhākara School. If this identification is correct, the commentator Nārāyana, a Keralīya brahmin, might have flourished in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. This commentator has not only availed himself of the materials in Umveka's commentary on the *Bhāvanāviveka* but also is in many instances an interpreter of Umveka whose writings are very often obscure just like Maṇḍana's. In certain cases Nārāyana differs from Umveka in interpreting the text of the *Bhāvanāviveka* and in the readings he adopts.

The contents of the *Bhāvanāviveka* can be briefly noted in two sections, the former a *pūrvapakṣa* and the latter, the *siddhānta*, regarding the nature and scope of *bhāvanā*.

I

Pūrvapakṣa

The pūrvapakṣin, chiefly the Grammarian, contends that there is no *Bhāvanā* as expressed by the suffix *ti* in *pacati* and that if there be any such thing, it is not different from *dhātvartha*—the meaning of the root.

The answer 'पचति' for the question किं करोति? explains that the root *pac* in पचति conveys a particular *kriyā* and the root *kṛ* in करोति expresses a क्रियासामान्य, as in the example—'वृक्षः शिंशपा'. So the argument of the Siddhāntin that the root 'kṛ' in पाकं करोति, the explanatory passage of पचति, means *bhāvanā* does not hold good. From statements also like 'किं करोति ? ध्वनति', no *bhāvanā* is known except *dhvanana*, the meaning of the root.

If *bhāvanā* is accepted, then it must be said that *dhātvartha* also is a *kriyā*, so that two *kriyās* should have been known from 'पचति'. But only one *kriyā* is evidently experienced.

If *dhātvartha* is also related to *bhāvanā* as a *kāraka*, काष्ठ (fire-wood) in 'काष्ठैः पचति' cannot be related to the *dhātvartha pāka* as its instrument—*karaṇa*—, as conveyed by the instrumental case.

If there is *bhāvanā* as *ākhyātārtha*, there could be no distinction between 'विक्लिद्यन्ति' and 'पचन्ति', since both have *pāka* as *dhātvartha* and *bhāvanā* as *ākhyātārtha*. If the personal suffix conveys *bhāvanā*, it should have in all instances a *bhāvya*; but in examples like 'शाम्यति', it cannot convey *bhāvanā* in the absence of a *bhāvya*.

If *bhāvanā* is held as the activity of agent—कर्तृव्यापार—it must be अधिश्रयण in the instance of पाक and as such, becomes *dhātvartha* in पचति. In the instance अधिश्रयति it is evidently the *dhātvartha*.

The nature of *bhāvanā* (1) as a power to produce the desired fruit, (2) as *parispanda*, (3) *prayatna* and (4) as *apūrva* is discussed and it is held that none of these assumptions is acceptable.

So there is no *bhāvanā* separate from *dhātvartha* as the meaning of *ākhyātapratyaya*. The passage—यजेत स्वर्गकाम :—does not therefore expressly convey the idea 'यागेन भावयेत्स्वर्गम्', but it explains a *niyoga* with *yāga* as its object in relation to the स्वर्गकाम—स्वर्गकामस्य यागे नियोगः। Whether स्वर्ग is necessarily produced by the performance of *yāga* is not emphasized by this passage.

II

Siddhānta

The Siddhāntin first emphasizes that the root 'kṛ' in 'घटं करोति' does not mean *kriyāsāmānya*, since *kriyāsāmānya* cannot take *ghaṭa* as its *bhāvya*; so it must mean *bhāvanā*. The root 'kṛ' in 'पाकं करोति' can therefore be said to convey *bhāvanā* and not *dhātvartha-sāmānya*. So also in 'किं करोति? पचति', the root 'kṛ' means *bhāvanā*. The personal suffix expresses *bhāvanāsāmānya* only but conveys *bhāvanāviśeṣa* with the help of the root after which the suffix is operated, as the word राजन् in the compound पाञ्चालराजः expresses a *rājaviśeṣa* (particular king). The distinction between 'पचति' and 'पाञ्चालराजः' lies in the fact that in the former the personal suffix cannot be used independent of the root, while in the latter the word राजन् can be used independently. Even from statement like 'किं करोति? ध्वनति' *bhāvanā* is known with some *bhāvya*—pleasure or pain;—or with *dhātvartha* itself, since it is held that such statements refer to *dhātvartha* either as *bhāvya* if no other *bhāvya* is known, or as *karaṇa* if other *bhāvya* is experienced. The term पाकः also conveys *bhāvanā* as the secondary sense of the root. The distinction between 'पचति' and 'पाकः' is therefore explained that

the former refers to the *dhātvartha* as *sādhya*—to be accomplished—(since *dhātvartha* is influenced by the expressed *bhāvanā* which is always *sādhya*) and the latter, due to the lack of such influence, presents it as *siddha*—accomplished. The relation of काष्ठ to काप in 'काष्ठैः पचति' is also to be explained only through *bhāvanā*.

The distinction between 'विक्लिद्यन्ति' and 'पचन्ति' is to be explained by the distinction of the कर्तृव्यापार—the activity of the agent. This *Vyāpāra* is conveyed by the personal suffix, according to the Siddhāntin and by the root, according to the Pūrvapakṣin. Of these two, the Siddhāntin's view is more tenable. In expressions like 'पाकः' and 'पच्यन्ते तण्डुलाः स्वयमेव' the root expresses only विक्लित्ति, since the action of the man, viz., अधिश्रयण, is not known. 'पचति' since it is explained as 'पाकं करोति' refers to a कर्तृव्यापार as the meaning of the root 'kṛ', which is distinct from पाक, the meaning of the root '*pac*'; and so this *Vyāpāra*, viz. *bhāvanā* is conveyed by 'ti' in *pacati* as the chief concept. Even in instances like 'अस्ति घटः' 'अस्ति' refers to *bhāvanā* with घट (the agent) as *bhāvya*; otherwise no distinction between the experience derived from the statement अस्ति and those derived from the statements सत्ता and भावः can be maintained. Moreover, it cannot be held that there is no *bhāvanā* other than *Kriyāsāmānya*, since either the root in पचति, etc. which is capable of conveying a *kriyāviśeṣa*, or the suffix which, according to the Pūrvapakṣin, conveys the senses of *saṅkhyā* (number), *Kartr* (agent), etc., cannot express क्रियासामान्य. If *dhātvartha* is *bhāvanā*, the usages—अश्वमेधेन यजते, स्वं यज्ञं यजति—cannot be justified in view of the fact that the *nāmārthas*—अश्वमेध and यज्ञ—cannot stand in a *kāraka* relation to the respective *dhātvarthas*.

The Siddhāntin adds that it is not argued by him that *bhāvanā* (the activity of the agent) is always conveyed by the personal suffix only. It is sometimes expressed by a root as in 'अधिश्रयति'. Strictly speaking, it can be maintained that *bhāvanā* is the meaning of the personal suffix only and the results accruing from *bhāvanā* are the meanings of the root.

The nature of *bhāvanā* is described as—औदासीन्यविच्छित्तिसामान्यरूप—the total absence of inactivity. It can even be identified with *parispanda*, in view of the fact that the activity of the inanimate object results from their association with the volition of some animate being as the विक्लित्ति in rice results from the activity of Devadatta, the agent.

Thus *bhāvanā* is the primary meaning of the personal suffix in पचति and other verbal forms, so that the passage 'यजेत स्वर्गकामः' expressly says that स्वर्ग is the *bhāvya* of the *bhāvanā* and it is to be attained by one by the performance of the *Yāga*—यागेन स्वर्गं भावयेत् ॥

3

Logical System of Madhvācārya

By

S. ŚRĪKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRĪ, Mysore

If psychology is a science of mental phenomena, characterised by the pursuance of future ends and of the choice of means for their attainments, it is the special function of logic to concern itself with the problems of truth and error. The realistic schools admitting enduring objects and cognitions hold that all knowledge is intrinsically right, except in the case of contradiction or deficiency. The extremely idealistic schools however assert that all knowledge is intrinsically unreliable and only subsequently by re-cognition becomes reliable.[1] As perhaps the last great exponent of realism and theism in India, Śrī Madhvācārya's system of logic as expounded in his *Pramāṇa lakṣaṇa* may be compared with other systems.

Madhvācārya starts with a definition of Pramāna as "corresponding to the object".[2] This terse definition implies the reality of the object, a cognition corresponding to the object and a valid means of attaining such cognition. Thus it can be distinguished from doubt and otherness. As a contrast the Buddhist definition of Pramāna as efficacious knowledge[3] applies to the ultimate reality which is momentary (*svalakṣaṇa, kṣaṇa*). The Buddhists stipulate that uncontradicted experience is the source of right knowledge, and this right knowledge depends on sensation, not conception.[4] The Mīmāmsaka definition of pramāna[5] as a means of right knowledge is from Madhva's point of view also defective. The Bhāṭṭas urge that in the cognitions "this is a pot", "the pot is known", and "the pot is revealed" there is a sequence and hence the first leads to the second. Since such cognition of the thing is primary, there are no defects of illusion. But Madhva urges that right cognition is knowledge only and does not exclusvely depend upon the object. In the statement "the pot is known", the pot was manifest, but, it is the knowledge alone that is revealed due to the attribute of the object cognised. Therefore we arrive at the

1. *Prāmānyam paratah.*
2. *Yathārtham pramānam.*
3. *Prāpakam jñānam.*
4. *pramāṇam-avisamvādi, arthakriyā-sāmarthya-lakṣaṇam-vastu-paramārtha-sat.*
5. *Pramākaraṇam.*

statement "the pot is known" and such a proposition is not valid regarding the cognisability which is an attribute of the object. Therefore knowledge alone becomes manifest as the object's quality and hence is not different as another thing like right knowledge.

Another Mīmāmsaka view of right knowledge is that it is the knowledge of the object hitherto undetermined and the means of obtaining such right knowledge is pramāṇa.[6] This definition is also defective because the right knowledge of the known is excluded and there is no evidence for the assertion that valid knowledge of the previously cognised object is invalid and its means also as invalid. Then if it is objected that all memory which depends upon the previously cognised object should be accepted as valid, it is not so, because of selectivity. The Prābhākaras assert that experience alone is valid knowledge and do not accept the validity of memory [7]. Knowledge is of two kinds: experience and memory, the latter is born of the previous experience[8] and since error is possible, the view that experience alone constitutes right knowledge cannot stand.

If we accepted the Naiyāyika view of pramāna as the means to the best experience (*samyag anubhava*) [9], God's knowledge will be excluded as it does not depend on experience. To determine the validity of knowledge, a valid means is necessary. This is the witness (*Sākṣin*) without which all knowledge would become false. If however it is urged that all knowledge is not necessarily false, because some other means might be accepted, it leads to infinite regress. In this witness-revelation the nature of experience is as "I know myself". This witness-knowledge is knowledge only and not its means. If memory is rejected as leading to error, then a statement like "this was experienced by me" will be futile.

If it is further urged that the validity of memory depends upon the mark (*liṅga*) due to previous experience and becomes a means for future experience and hence a statement "this was experienced by me" does not become useless, there arises the fault of too much assumption[10]. Memory is taken as the mark in experience and experience is taken as the mark in previous experience. Further, sense-perception will cease to be a separate means of valid

6. *Ajñāta parichhitti.*
7. *Anubhūti, anadhigatārthādhigantṛ.*
8. *Mānasapratyakṣajā smṛtih.*
9. *Samyag anubhava sādhanam.*
10. *Lingatvēna prāmāṇyē kalpanā-gauravam.*

cognition. If the existence of the mark is indispensable for the validity of memory, because of the same mark, validity should be asserted of sense-perception also. But if memory is classed as inference, sense-perception also should be classed as such.

To get rid of this absurdity Pramāṇa should be defined as "corresponding to the (defectless) object". This implies two aspects " just as it exists " and " as manifesting the object of cognition ".[11] Therefore knowledge is not of only two kinds (memory and experience), since there are also doubt, other-ness etc. experienced by us.[12]

Sense-perception according to Madhva is of seven varieties depending on the Sākṣin and the six senses. The witness-perception is of the nature of the self and of knowledge and has for its objects the nature of the self, bliss, nescience, happiness and misery, unmodified space, time etc. The witness-knowledge is always valid and reveals only the specific and not the causal. Whereas the Naiyāyikas divided sense-perception into *nirvikalpaka* and *savikalpaka* and the Buddhists recognised *nirvikalpaka* as the only valid perception, Madhva rejects Nirvikalpaka. He holds that attributes are neither entirely separate nor devoid of particularity from the substance. Therefore in all perception there is the cognition of the attribute. Since this is perceived by the witness, it should be *savikalpa* only.

Mental perception is also indirect because memory arises from it. As that memory is due to previous experience it does not directly depend upon the mind. The difference between memory and recognition lies in the fact that the former can sometimes function independently of the five senses and that the latter is due to previous experience functioning through the five senses. But both depend upon the mind allied with previous experience and hence can be classed as sense-perceptions.

The validity of memory is proved by the witness experience. The Prābhākaras deny the value of memory and subsequent statement (*anuvāda*), as means of knowledge. They assert that memory merely manifests what was previously experienced and anuvāda is a statement of the meaning previously adduced by other means of knowledge. But Madhva replies that both are corresponding to the object.[13] If the object does not exist at the experienced time and

11. *Yathāvasthita* and *jñēya viṣayīkāri*.

12. *Smṛti pramāna dvaividhya kalpanē mithyā-jñānādeh Nirāśādanubhava virōdhah*.

13. *Yathārthatvānubhavāt*.

place, the cognition is not valid. But if at the time of cognising there is no object, that knowledge is not necessarily invalid. Memory however is related to a qualified object in its previous condition as in the statement. "This object was thus at that time and place."[14] That previous condition being real, its remembrance is valid. If it is asserted that memory cognises an object not previously experienced, then all past and future experiences would be futile. In the experience of the sage (*Yōgi pratyakṣa*) that peculiar quality born of mental discipline (*Yōga*) forms the connecting link.[15] The mind uniting with past experience[16] cognises the previous condition. Just as the knowledge of silver arises from the eye associated with colour defect, so also memory arises. Hence memory is proved by the witness experience.

Inference[17] may be defined as a process which makes known an object not present, in the past or future; or as that which reveals an object only according to other means of knowledge; or as that which has the mark free from defects. Diṅnāga defined inference as a cognition of an object through its mark and Vasubandhu as the consequence of a previously noticed inseparable connection between two objects.[18] Therefore the mark (*linga*) implies concommitance (*sāhacarya, avinābhāva, vyāpti*).[19] To the Buddhist inference is only of the general, that is, it depends upon conception and not upon pure sensation which cognises only the particular and momentary (*svalakṣaṇa kṣaṇa*). Concommitance may be immediate or mediate. If it is immediate, it has the *hētu* and *sādhya* (middle and major terms); if mediate, in its turn it implies the immediate. The Naiyāyikas divide *vyāpti* into three, the purely affirmative (*kēvalānvayi*), the purely negative (*kēvala vyatirēki*) and concomitance (*anvaya vyatirēki*). The Mīmāmsakas and Vēdantins reject the purely negative (*kēvala vyatirēkī*) but accept implication (*arthāpatti*). Madhva also accepts only the purely affirmative (*kēvalānvayi linga*) and concommitance (*anvaya vyatirēki*) since Kēvala vyatireki (purely negative) is indirect and hence also *arthāpatti* (presumption) may be included in sense-perception and inference.

---

14. *Mānasam taddhi vijñānam tacca Sākṣhipramānakam* (*Anuvyākhyāna*). Memory is proved by the witness experience.

15. *Pratyā satti*; *Sambandha*.

16. *Samskāra*.

17. *Anāsanna-atīta-anāgata-vyavahita-artha-gōcaram ;pramāṇāntarā nu saranē naive artha pramāpakam*; *nirdoṣōpapattih*.

18. *ānantarīyakārtha darśanam tadvidō numānam* (*Vāda vidhi*).

19. Trirūpāllingāllingini jñānam anumānam (Dharmottara) *Anumānam lingādartha darśanam*.

The validity of inference depends upon two factors,:the concommitance between middle and major terms, and upon the minor term delimiting the *hetu* (*pakṣadharmatā*) according to the Naiyāyikas.[20] But Madhva contends that whereas *vyāpti* is indispensible, *pakṣadharmatā* is not, as in the syllogism " the higher region is rainy because the rivers in the lower region are full ". Secondly, whereas the older Naiyāyikas employed the ten membered syllogism and the later Naiyāyikas only the five membered, Diṅnāga retained only two, the general rule including the example and the application including the conclusion.[21] In the inference for others (*parārthānumāna*) the Buddhist says that only two, drstānta and upanaya are enough. Madhva like the Vēdāntins and Mīmāmsakas recognises the three, *pratijñā*, *hetu* and *dṛṣṭānta* But there is no invariable rule that only so many should be employed. In fact as many as are necessary to convince the other person may be employed.

The logical fallacies can broadly be classed as contradictory (*virōdha*) and irrelevent (*asangata*) or as *pramāṇa virōdha* and *svavacanavirōdha* (including *chala* or *asangati*). The Naiyāyikas and the Vaiseṣikas had five classes Savyabhicāra or Anaikāntika, Viruddha, Satpratipakṣa or prakaranasama, Asiddha and bādhita or kālātīta. Madhva divides *mānavirōdha* into three varieties according to pratijñā, hetu and dstānta. The counter-proposition (*satpratipakṣa* or *prakaraṇa sama*) may be included in *pratijñāvirōdha*. Diṅnāga according to the position of the reason, worked out nine possible positions, two being right and the seven being the fallacies of the hētu. Out of these seven two are *viruddhas* and five are *sandigdha* or *anaikāntika*. Apart from these, Diṅnāga recognises satpratipakṣa.[22] Dharmakīrti rejected it but introduced two Buddhist dogmas, that of the omniscience of the Buddha and of the soul, which are beyond logic.

Sva-vākya virōdha is divided by Madhva into unproved conclusion (*apa-siddhānta*) and futile rejoinder (*jāti*). The latter may also be considered as *mānavirōdha*. The Naiyāyikas recognise twenty-three kinds of jāti, and each jāti has seven parts. But Madhva classifies jātis as opposed to one's own word or action or self. Casuistry (*chala*) as usually divided into *vāk*°, *sāmānya*°, and *upacāra*° may also be included in svavacanavirōdha. The twenty-

20. *Pakṣa dharmatvam, sapakṣē sattvam, vipakṣēcāsattvam* (Nyāya Pravēśa).

21. *Ātmapratyayanārtham tu pratyakṣānumānam ca dvēeva pramāṇē.* But the *Yōgācārya Bhūmi Śāstra* and *Abhidharma Sangiti* Śāstra recognise three. Sthira mati and Haribhadra also recognise three pramānas.

22. TCHERBATSKY : *Buddhist Logic.*

four *nigrahsthānas* of the Tārkikas are also included in virōdha and asangata.

In *kathā* defeat is in curbing the pride of the opponent by destroying the *pratijñā*, refuting the opponent's argument and establishing one's own thesis (*svasiddhisādhanam, para siddher dūṣaṇam*).[23] Further divisons of inference as pūrvavat, śēṣavat and sāmānyatō dṛṣṭa have been reduced by Madhva to two, Dṛṣṭa and sāmānyatō dṛṣṭa.

The third pramāṇa recognised by Madhva is the scripture. It is defined as that which without depending on any other means reveals things; which is the best revealer of objects beyond the senses, which is the word without defect.[24] The defects of the word are seven: (1) not revealing, (2) revealing a contrary, (3) revealing the already known, (4) useless, (5) useless from one's own point of view, (6) including the impossible, (7) teaching a hard way when there is an easier one. The import of the word is the natural connection between the sound and its meaning,[25] whereas the Naiyyāyikas hold that the import is due to the will of God. Further Madhva thinks that between the universal and the particular, the particular alone is the meaning of the word. Similarity is the instrumental cause, because in this view, though there is no one universal in all particulars, a knowledge of the import is possible in the innumerable particulars.

Madhvācārya does not recognise upamāna, arthāpatti and anupalabdhi as separate means as these can be included in sense-perception and inference. So also Sambhava and Pariśeṣa can be included in inference.

---

23. Cp. *Sādhanam dūṣanam caiva sābhāsam para samvidē*
Pratyakṣam anumānam ca sābhāsamtvātma samvidē. (*Nyāya Pravēśa*)

24. *Svātantryēṇa-aśeṣārtha-viṣaya; samyag-atīndriyārtha-avagamaka; nirdōṣa śabda.*

25. *Svābhāvika vācya vācaka rūpa sambandha.*

Survival of Some Aśokan Forms in Seventeenth Century Bengali

By

SURENDRA NATH SEN, New Delhi

Migration of words forms a fascinating study and no less interesting is that of survival of peculiar verbal forms in widely separated regions. Language may not provide a sufficiently convincing evidence of racial origin or affinity but a common word certainly indicates cultural contact in the past. Aśoka, the Mauryan king, lived and ruled in the third century B. C.; Dom Antonio do Rozario was captured and sold into slavery by the pirates of Arakan in 1663 A. D. Between the times of the Maurya king and those of the Christian missionary there is an interval of two thousand years. But they belonged to the same country and it may be argued that the survival of certain *Prākṛt* words, used in Aśoka's inscriptions in the Bengali prose work of Dom Antonio do Rozario need not cause any surprise. We might have ignored the reappearance of Aśokan forms in seventeenth century Bengali but for the region of their origin.

Dom Antonio was a Bengali prince and not a Portuguese nobleman as his name may lead us to think. A son of the king of Bhusna, he was carried away by the Magh pirates of Arakan and sold into slavery. A Portuguese missionary took pity on him and rescued him from a miserable fate and taught him the tenets of Christianity. Converted into his benefactor's faith, Antonio, for so he had been named after his conversion, returned home and preached Christianity among his country-men. Ultimately he compiled a dialogue in Bengali, entitled "Arguments Disputoe sobre a Ley", which proved very useful to his brother missionaries in their religious controversy with the Brahmins. The dialogue was, therefore, carefully transcribed and a manuscript copy, the only one so far known to us, found its way to Evora in Portugal.[1] As a treatise on doctrinal polemics or Hindu mythology it is of little use, but it is the earliest

1. Published by the Calcutta University Press and edited by me in 1937.

prose work in Bengali, and as such, provides an interesting specimen of seventeenth century Bengali. Curiously enough, there are remarkably few words of Persian and Arabic origin in this missionary work, although Persian was the court language of the day and a scion of an aristocratic family of Bengal, as Dom Antonio was, was expected to be quite familiar with the language and literature of Persia. Dom Antonio's prose is interesting from another point of view. The phrases, and the idioms, he used, are still current in some parts of Eastern Bengal, and his vocabulary goes a long way to prove that the phonetics of the Eastern Bengal dialect except in very few cases, has undergone but slight or no variation during the last two centuries and a half.

One of the exceptions, however, is of unusual interest and carries us back to the days of Aśoka Maurya. To-day the word ***pūrva***, in polished Bengali and colloquial language, is used with reference to the past. One would ordinarily expect the same form or ***pūva*** in Dom Antonio's prose But he invariably writes "prob" (p. 6) "prube" (p. 41) and "probbe" (p. 51) the sound in each case being the same, as Portuguese *O* has in some cases the same sound as English *U*. Dom Antonio was not unfamiliar with the Sanskrit form of the word, for in one place he writes *opurbo*, which is the Bengali phonetical rendering of Sanskrit *Apūrva*. Curiously enough we find the similar transformation of ***pūrva*** into ***pruva*** in Aśoka's inscriptions. If this peculiar form occurred in the Dhauli and Jaugad versions in the neighbouring province of Kalinga it would have caused little surprise, but it is found at Girnar in far off Surashtra or Kathiawad and at Shabazgarhi and Mansera in the North-Western Frontier Province. E g.

Girnar V.—4.

Na bhūtapruvaṁ dhaṁma-mahāmāta nāma.

Shabazgarhi IV—8 *Na bhutapruve tadiśe*

V—11 *No bhutapruva dhramma-m(ha)ma(tra) nama*

VI—14 *Na bhutapruvam.*

na (hu) ta pr(u)ve tadise

Mansera—IV—14

na (hu) ta pr(u)ve tadiśe

V—21

na bhuta-pruva dhramd(ma)hamatra nama

VI—27

na huta pruve.

At Jaugad and Dhauli, nearer home, we find *pruvam* and *pruve* substituted by *puluva* and *puluve* (Reference is to HULTZSCH's *Asoka Inscriptions*). Not that Dom Antonio's Bengali had no affinity with Aśokan *Prākṛta* of Dhauli and Jaugad, for instance, the *Prākṛt* form *munisa* and *munise* of Dhauli, Jaugad and Topra are not only found in Dom Antonio's dialogue but are still current in some of the Eastern Bengal dialects.

It is well known that modern Bengali has a close affinity with Western *Prākṛt*. Dom Antonio's " prub " supplies but one link in the chain of evidence. But one may naturally ask how this form found its way to Bengal from Kathiawad and the North-West Frontier Province although it is not found in the intermediate provinces at Kalsi, Kosam, Sarnath, Gaya and other find spots of Asokan rock, pillar and cave-inscriptions.

An Obscure Passage in the Purāṇas

By

H. C. SETH, Amraoti

The origin of Candragupta, the illustrious founder of the Maurya dynasty, is yet shrouded in obscurity. The later-day traditions of his being an illegitimate son of the Nanda king of Magadha appears to be historically incorrect. The scholars now give more credit to the Buddhist traditions that Candragupta belonged to the Kṣatriya clan of Mauryas. According to the Buddhist traditions the Mauryas belonged to the same Kṣatriya stock as Buddha himself. Now Buddha himself according to the Brahmanic and the Buddhist traditions alike was in the line of Māndhātā and Ikṣvāku of the solar dynasty (सूर्यवंश). Candragupta and Maurya dynasty will also thus appear to belong to the famous line of Māndhātā and Ikṣvāku [1] This fact is further borne out by a medieval Brahmanic inscription at Vaghli in Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency according to which also Mauryas were the descendants of Māndhātā of the solar dynasty.[2]

Along with this we may also mention here our suggestion set forth in detail elsewhere[3] that Parvataka of the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*, the ally of Candragupta in the overthrow of the Nanda king of Magadha, is the great Porus of the Greek historians, and that Porus, which is equivalent to Paurava, was not his personal name but a title denoting chief of the Purus.

In the light of these conclusions, we may examine the following passage from the Purānas :

---

1. We have discussed these points in detail in our paper, "North-West origin of Candragupta Maurya", *ABORS*. Vol. XVIII, Pt 2 The question is re-examined by me in a paper "Gārdhāra Origin of Candragupta Maurya" being published in the *Journal of the U. P Historical Society*.

2. The following is the relevant text of this inscription from *Ep. Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, p. 86.

...............मनुरभूत्तत्सुतात्सूर्यवंशः । विख्यातः सर्वलोकेष्वमलनृपगुणैरन्वितः
कीर्तिधर्म्मैर्म्मान्धातुर्भूमिपालात्सकलगुणनिधेर्म्मौर्यवंशो बभूव ॥ १ ॥

आसीत्कैलासशृंगे रुचिर शशि सुधाशुभ्रगगाप्रवाहे दिव्यारामोपभोगातुरसुरनिकरोद्घुष्ट-
काम्यप्रलापे ।

सोमः सोमार्द्धभूषः सकलसुरनुतः कामचित्तप्रदोषः सर्व्वेषां लौकिकानामशुभविहृतये
सोवतीर्ण्णं सुराष्ट्रम् ॥ २ ॥

3. "Identification of Porus and Parvataka" a paper read before the IX Oriental Conference, which is being published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

यदैव भगवद्विष्णोरंशो यातो दिवं द्विज । वसुदेवकुलोद्भूतस्तदैव
कलिरागतः ॥ १५ ॥

प्रयास्यन्ति यदा चैते पूर्वाषाढां महर्षयः । तदा नन्दात्प्रभृत्येष
कलिर्वृद्धिं गमिष्यति ॥ ३९ ॥

शतानि तानि दिव्यानि सप्त पञ्च च संख्यया । निःशेषेण
ततस्तस्मिन्भविष्यति पुनः कृतम् ॥ ४२ ॥

देवापिः पौरवो राजा मरुश्चेक्ष्वाकुवंशजः । महायोगबलोपेतौ
कलाप-ग्रामसंश्रयौ ॥ ४५ ॥

कृते युग इहागत्य क्षत्रप्रावर्तकौ हि तौ । भविष्यतो मनोर्वंशं
बीजभूतौ व्यवस्थितौ ॥ ४६ ॥

Viṣṇu Purāṇa ch. 24[4].

The passage under consideration suggests that after the Kali age, which began at the end of the Mahābhārata, and the influence of which greatly increased when Nanda began to reign, the king Devāpi of the Puru race and the king Maru of the Iksvāku race restored the Ksatriyas and started a new Kṛta age.

It thus seems that in the older Indian historical traditions Kali age itself seems to be a definite historical period, the climax of which reached with the Nandas and after this Devāpi, the Paurava, and Maru, the Ikṣvāku, created a new Krta-Yuga. There cannot be the least doubt that the Nandas in this Pauranic tradition refer to the Nanda Kings of Magadha. The Pauranic traditions assign the fall of the Nandas to about twelve hundred years after the battle of the Mahābhārata. According to most of the Purānas the duration of Kali-age is also 1200 years after the battle of the Mahābhārata. Moreover Pauranic traditions show a great hatred towards Nanda kings of Magadha, chiefly Mahāpadma Nanda who is regarded as śūdra, and like Paraśurama a great destroyer of Kṣatriyas. In *Matsya Purāṇa* Mahāpadma Nanda is even called as the incarnation of Kali.

महानन्दिसुतश्चापि शूद्रायां कलिकांशजः ।
उत्पस्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृपः ॥ १८ ॥ Ch. 272.

It may then be concluded that in the older Pauranic traditions Kali-age seems to have ended with the destruction of the:Nandas of Magadha. In the later Pauranic traditions Kali-age was extended indefinitely beyond the Mahābhārata to include much later unpopular and anti-Brahmanic dynasties.

4. See also *Vāyu* Ch. 32 Verses 38 ff ; and Ch. 99 ; *Matsya* Ch. 273. Verses. 56 ff ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, (74, 250).

These older Pauranic traditions thus seem to indicate that Devāpi, the Paurava, and Maru, the Ikṣvāku, belong to the period of the fall of the last Nanda king of Magadha, and they were perhaps associated with the overthrow of this apparently anti-Brahmanic dynasty. It is beyond any doubt that the Nandas were overthrown by Candragupta Maurya, to which we add our conclusion that Porus or the Paurava, king of the Punjab, was Candragupta's ally in the overthrow of the Nandas. In the light of this we may hazard the opinion that in the Pauranic tradition under discussion the Paurava king Devāpi and Maru, of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, who as the Kali-age ended with the destruction of the Nandas, brought about a new Kṛta age, may be Porus and Candragupta Maurya. Maru is reminiscent of Maurya and Devāpi may have been the personal name of the Paurava king referred to as Porus by the Greek historians.

Along with the tradition concerning Devāpi and Maru referred to above the following old tradition is also quoted in the Purāṇas :

यदा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च तथा तिष्यबृहस्पती ।
एकराशौ समेष्यन्ति भविष्यति ततः कृतम् ॥ २० ॥

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Ch. 24.

According to this passage when the Sun, Moon, Tiṣya (i. e. Puṣya, a lunar asterism) and Bṛihaspati (Jupiter) are in the same mansion the Krta age will begin again. This does not appear to convey any important astronomical information indicating the date of the commencement of the new Kṛita age, as the combination of these four heavenly bodies would be re-occuring so often, as Jupiter completes its revolution only in 12 years. May be that the above passage is a figurative expression of the historical event which ended the Kali age and ushered in the new Kṛta age, namely the destruction of the Nandas by the combined efforts of Candragupta, Porus and Cāṇakya. In the above passage, Candragupta, as he belonged to the solar dynasty and being the central figure, is represented by the sun, Porus belonging to the lunar dynasty by the moon, and Candragupta's Brahmin preceptor and minister Cāṇakya, another important figure in the drama of the time, as Bṛhaspati, and Tiṣya as the Nakṣatra representing the country.[5] That Tiṣya stands for the Nakṣatra of the country may be also borne out by the importance given to it by Aśoka in his inscriptions. On the Tiṣya days his royal proclamations were to be read out, and slaughter of many animals on these was occasions also prohibited.

---

5. It is a common astrological practice to represent the living beings including the kings by planets while all inanimate things including countries are represented by Rāśis and Nakṣatras.

The Original Places of Some Indo-Muslim Inscriptions of Aḥmadnagar

By

C. H. SHAIKH, Poona

A careful study of the Indo-Muslim Inscriptions of Aḥmadnagar reveals that some of them are to be found at places which are not their original homes. In the following lines an attempt is made to show where these should have properly been.

The earliest known Indo-Muslim inscription of Aḥmadnagar is the one that records the construction of the fort "Panāh-i-Islām, Ḥiṣār-i-Bhingār",[1] preserved on a stone fixed in a wall of the Mullā Masjid of Bhingār, Ahmadnagar

The fort was begun during the reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh Bahmanī, and completed, as the inscription evidently means, by Maliku'sh-S͟harq Badru'd-Dīn Hilāl in 778 A. H. 1376-77 A. D., two years after Muhammad S͟hāh's death.

That the inscription does not belong to the Mullā Masjid where it is now to be found is certain. It is, however, quite possible that the old fort, of which even the traces have completely disappeared, had, within its boundaries, the present Mullā Masjid, and that after the ruination of the old fort the inscriptional stone was brought and preserved on the wall where it is to be found now. This is, however, a mere conjecture.

Two further instances of misplaced inscriptions are the loose slabs lying in the Kotla of Bārā Imām, Ahmadnagar, of which the text, readings, translations and notes were published by Mr. G. Yazdānī in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*[2] Let us take the first, viz. Plate XXVI (a):–

و فی الخبر مَنْ تَكَلَّمَ بكلام الدنيا فی المسجد حبط عمله اربعين سنة
آنکه ز جان و دل غلام اهل وفا، بانی سهری مسجد بصفا، بندهٔ درگاه
خالق اکبر

سیدّ اسد امیر جعفر، کنده الفقیر ابراهیم نصر، فی تاریخ سبع ثلاثین
و تسعمائة ۹۳۷

1. Published with a reading translation and note by Dr. NĀẒIM in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 4-5 (Plate Ia).
2. 1935-36, pp. 39-40 (Plate XXVI (a) and (b)).

As is evident, the inscription records the construction of a mosque called *Sunehrī Masjid* by Sayyid Asad Amīr Ja'far in 937 A.H. -1531 A. D. This was evidently in the reign of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I (915-960 A. H.—1509-1533 A. D.). But as far as I know there was no mosqu of the name in the compound of what was then called لنگر دوازده امام. Ferishta and Ṭabāṭaba speak of the building of the present Kotla during the reign, and by the order, of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, but there is no mention of Sunehrī Mosque within the precincts of the لنگر دوازده امام

On the other hand, there is a mosque in Aḥmadnagar of that name, the description of which is given in the *Bombay Gazetteer*[3] Its building, however, is wrongly attributed therein to Niẓāmu'l-Mulk (1720-1748); and since it has been altered so often to suit the requirements of its occupiers,[4] it is very difficult to point out where the inscriptional stone-slab exactly fitted in. There is, however, no doubt that the stone-slab bearing the above inscription does not belong to the present Kotla of Bārā Imām.

The other slab bearing an inscription, also lying in the Kotla of Bārā Imām, is the next to be considered. The inscrption is in a very bad condition and records the construction of a mosque by Sayyid Jalāl. He records that he has built a tomb for himself in the premises of the mosque.

In the *Muẓda*-i-Aḥmadnagar,[5] which primarily deals with the historical huildings of Ahmadnagar, there is mention of a mosque called the *Chūbīn-Masjid*, build by one Sayyid Jalāl Dakhanī, who was "an unrivalled Qārī and Ḥāfiẓ (reciter of Qur'an and one who has committed it to his memory)". Further more, there is an account

3. Vol. XVII, p. 699.

4. Until 1884, according to the account of CAMPBELL in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XVII, p. 699), this mosque was the residence of a Pārsī gentleman (with whom it was mortagaged by its caretaker Imāmkhān 'Umarkhān) and was altered and added to. Before 1939-40 it formed part of the Ripon Hospital, and was used as residential quarters for one of the Senior Medical Officers. This year (1940) the mosque was separated by a stone wall and handed over by the Government to the Aḥmadnagar Waqf Committee. Originally, now what is known as the Ripon Hospital, formed part of the land endowed for the maintenance of this mosque.

5. (Aḥmadnagar, 1305 A. H.) Pt. I, p. 76

This is a translation in Hindustānī by Shaikh Ismā'īl La'l called Ḥāfiẓ, of the so far unpublished Persian book called *Ta'rīkh-i-Shihābī* of Qāḍī Shihābu'd-Dīn, the chief Qāḍī of Aḥmadnagar. Two copies of this (in manuscript) are to be found in the Islāmiya Library of Aḥmadnagar.

of this mosque in the *Bombay Gazetteer*,[6] where it is also mentioned that the said mosque was built by "Syed Jelāl Dakhnī in the reign of Būrhān Niẓam Shah (1508-1553)".

That it is the Chūbin Masjid the building of which the inscription in question records, is further borne out by the fact that the mosque has, in its compound, a tomb, in all probability that of Sayyid Jalāl Dakhanī (Cf. بہ پہلویش برای خویش جا کرد as mentioned in the inscription).

The old Chūbīn Mosque, situated in Shāh Ḥaider's Moḥalla, has been recently repaired by one Bane Ṣāḥeb Bhishtī, since then it has been known as Bhishtiyonkī Masjid.

Other instances of inscriptions lying in improper places are to be found in the case of some loose slabs lying in the Civil court of Aḥmadnagar. Let us consider these one by one.

The first to be considered is the one that records تاریخ وفات حضرت سیّد ابراهیم شاه.[7] Ḥaḍrat Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shāh was originally a native of Nāgūr and died, as the inscription records, in 967 A. H. 1559-60 A. D. at Aḥmadnagar. He was buried in the burial ground, near the Dāne Dabrā (Grain Market), near the Takya of Kālā Shāh. The Misgar Community (who call themselves as the Nāgūrī Muslim Misgars), who are the disciples of this saint, have very recently erected a fine garden round about his tomb (which is still to be seen).

The stone-slab bearing the inscription in question was produced by the Misgars in a civil suit No. 2 of 1899 as evidence, and since then it is lying in the court.

Another loose slab bearing inscription, and which also lies in the civil court, records the building of shops for the maintenance of the *Bādshāhī Mosque*.[8] This mosque is situated in the Gunj Bāzār, and is recorded to have been built by the emperor Aurangzib (1658–1707).[9] The inscription,—it must be clearly pointed out,—merely records the building of shops (and not of the mosque itself) for the maintenance of the mosque, in 1258 A. H. 1868-69 A.D., and was also produced in the civil suit No. 2 of 1899 by the Misgars who have the *wahīwāt* of this mosque.

6. Vol. XVII, p. 698.

7. Published with a reading, translation and note by Dr. NAẒIM in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-34 (supplement), pp. 5-6 (Plate Ib).

8. A full description of this mosque is to be found in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, p. 699.

9. Ibid.

The third inscription in the District Judge's court is the one that refers to the garden of Faraḥ *Bakhsh*.[10] The foundation of this immemorial garden was laid by Changīz Khān, while it was built under the supervision of Ni' mat Khān Samnānī. But as it did not appeal to the king Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh (1565-1588), he ordered it to be demolished and another one erected in its place. The new garden. Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh, was completed by Ṣalābat Khān.[11]

The Faraḥ Bakhsh Garden is situated about two miles south-east of the city and is known as Faraḥ Bāgh now. It is at present among the ' protected monuments ' of Aḥmadnagar.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt whatsoever about the inscription belonging to the Faraḥ Bakhsh Garden ; and since its foundation was laid by the famous wazīr and noble Changīz Khān, the slab was probably left in his palace which is now used as the District Judge's court.

The last to be mentioned in this series is the inscription on a wall inside Bastion No. 1 of the Aḥmadnagar Fort.[12] In his note on the above inscription Dr. NĀẒIM justly remarks : " This stone apparently does not belong to this bastion as there are no traces of any mosque on it.''[13] The mosque to which the inscription refers was built in 1083 A.H.-1672-73 A. D. by Mīr Zainu'-l-'Ābedīn during the government of Nawwāb Ismā'il Khān. Dr. NĀẒIM could not " trace any reference to this Nawwāb in the historical works of that period.'' I have, however, found a reference to this gentleman in the 'Ālamgīrnāma of Muhammad KĀẒIM,[14] wherein the following passage occurs in the 46th year of the life of Aurangzīb :

"و منصب اسماعیل خان قلعه دار احمدنگر باصالت پانصد سوار
منصب هزار و پانصدی هزار سوار، و از اصل و اضافه مکرمت خان
دیوان گجرات بمنصب هزار و پانصدی سه صد و پنجاه سوار و
قلندر خان بمنصب هزاری هشت صد سوار، و محمد تقی خان بمنصب
هزاری صد و پنجاه سوار و منصور ولد ملک عنبر به سالیانه هزار روپیه
مباهی شدند۔"

10. For a full description see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 11-12 ; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, 703-704 ; *Mugda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, Pt. I, p. 36-37 ; MIRĪKAR, *Aḥmadnagar Chā Prāchin Itihās*, (Ahmadnagar, 1919), pp. 49-51 , etc.

11. For details see *Ibid.*

12. Published with a reading, translation and note by Dr. NĀẒIM in the *Epi. Ind.-Mos.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 13 (Plate VIIIa).

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Bib. Ind.* series, p. 755.

From this it is quite clear that in the 46th year of Aurangzib's life (he was born in 1027 A.H.-1618 A. D.) that is to say, in 1073 A.H. 1663 A. D., Ismā'īl Khān, who was the Qil'adār of Aḥmadnagar, received a certain promotion in his rank. After ten lunar years i. e. in 1083 A. H.-1672-73 A. D. he is represented, in the inscription, to be at the head of the government[15] of Aḥmadnagar.

I have not been so far able to get any information about Mīr Ẓainu'l-'Ābedīn who is said to have built the mosque; nor has it been possible for me to find out to which mosque the inscription in question refers.

---

15. This seems to be the meaning of the phrase در عمل نواب والا ...

Test of the Vedic Eclipse-cycle

By

R. SHAMSĀSTRY, Mysore

The unaccountable conviction of Oriental scholars that the Vedic poets had no astronomical knowledge and that the Vedas are their childish utterances describing the usual celestial phenomena in such dim and unconnected terms as those of our own children are when they attempt to give us their impression of similar phenomena in our own days accounts for the utter failure in interpreting the ancient texts as satisfsctorily as possible. My close study of these scriptures has however revealed to me that eclipse-cult is the main theme of the Vedas. Accordingly I published two books entitled "Drapsa. the Vedic Cycle of Eclipses", and "Eclipse-cult in the Vedas, Bible, and Koran". But the response of scholars for or against my view has been quite meagre. Feeling however no disappointment, I renewed my study of the texts and unearthed their puzzling description of the nodal year or the period during which the sun returns to the same node which he left about 346 days before. It is as follows :—

The Tait. Ār. (1-1) says that the luminaries have the Vāyus or winds for their horses (*Vāyvaśvā raśmipatayaḥ*). Ṛg. 1,164,3 says that seven horses are yoked to the sun's chariot. The Tait. S. (3,4,2) says that the Vāyus (same as the Maruts) are seven and a thousand are their teams. According to the Tait. Ār. (1,4) there are three eclipses in one thousand days. A. V. 9, 10, 26 says "Three beings are there with their heads covered with hair (evidently eclipses). Of them (the sun and the moon) one (the moon) lays his seed in due season (Ṛtū) in the year and another (the sun) surveys the whole world with his bright rays untarnished, while the former (the elcipsed moon) is not seen." A. V. 13, 2, 38 and 13, 3, 14 says that the Haṁsa soars to heaven with wings spread over a thousand days' continued journey. The seven Maruts identified with the sun's horses evidently represent a half of a Parva of 14 days. A Marudgaṇa or troop of Maruts consists of forty-nine Maruts. It follows therefore that in the course of about a thousand days these fortynine half-parvas bring about three lunar eclipses. In other words fortynine half parvas make one eclipse-year. Now fortynine half-parvas are equivalent to $49 \times 7 = 343$ days—a period which is very near to our modern eclipse-year of 346 days. Three times 343 days make 1029 days. This excess of

nearly 30 days is not lost sight of by the Vedic poets. Dividing these days by three and adding ten days to each of the three eclipse-years, evidently to arrive at a full-moon day in the case of lunar eclipses and a new-moon day in the case of solar eclipses they say in Ṛg. 6, 44, 24, " The moon has developed of its own will a well with ten lifting machines" ; in Ṛg. 9,1, 7–8, " Ten sisters (ten days) press the Soma on the skin (skin-like sky)", and in Ṛg. 10, 4, 6, " As two robbers lurking in a forest seize with ten cords, so the two hands seize upon the touchwood with ten fingers (to generate the fire)."

It must be borne in mind that generating fire, Soma-pressing, and other acts done in the sacrificial hall are all an imitation of the natural phenomena observed in the sky during the season of solar and lunar eclipses. In the case of lunar eclipses ten days are personified as ten sisters engaged in pressing the moon towards the eclipse-point called the node or lifting up Soma from a well for ten days by ten ropes. Likewise in the case of solar eclipses ten robbers (of the calves of the sun-cow) are said to drag the sun by ten ropes towards the node, The fire generated is the eclipse-fire in the sky. The east and west points personified as two trees are represented by the two pieces of touch-wood in the sacrificial hall. Eclipses are variously described : It is a fight between two bulls for the possession of the sun-cow ; it is Śipiviṣṭa or the sun covered over by the private parts of Indra or Vṛtra, it is a chase after thieves carrying off the calves (rays) of the sun-cow ; or it is Vṛtra-serpent keeping waters (rays of sun-light) pent up in its coils, and so on.

It is now clear that the Vedic poets were familiar with three kinds of years : the year of eclipse or Agni of 343 or 344 days, the lunar year of 354 days, and the solar year of 365 or 366 days. It may now be taken for granted that Vedic Agni is an eclipse personified as fire. The fortynine horse-like Maruts or Vāyus passing through camps of seven days carry the sun or the moon to the dangerous point of Agni or node and cause them to fall a prey to the eclipse demons. If in the 49th period of half-parva or week of seven days (so to speak) there occurs a new moon, a solar eclipse is sure to happen ; or if it is a full moon, a lunar eclipse is equally certain. If the eclipse is in the morning, the Parva is called Kṛta ; if on midday, it is Tretā ; if in the evening, it is Dvāpara ; and if

1. Dividing 1000 into three parts and adding 10 to each part, we can also arrive at 343. For division of 1000 into three parts, see Black Yajus V. 5, 2 ; and VII. 1, 6.

it happens at night, it is termed Kaliyuga. The method of calculating these Parvayugas are explained in my "Drapsa: the Vedic Cycle of Eclipses". The race of the fortynine half-Parvas nearly equal to three times 12 lunar months terminating in Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, or Kali Parvas, in the course of 1000 days is the source of the Akṣadyūta or dice play frequently referred to in the Vedas. The word "Akṣa", made by the combination of the first and last letters of the Devanāgarī alphabet signifies fortynine, there being 16 Svaras, 25 Sparśa letters and eight Antastha letters in the alphabet. The number of dice pieces formed of Vibhītaka nuts taken for the play out of 1000 such pieces is fortynine or sometimes fifty. The game is like the Chauka Bhāra play or Koweri play of our own days.

The Maruts, fortynine in number, are called Krīḍins,[1] players or sportsmen in the Vedas. They are believed to be playing with the seven horses of the sun and also of the moon. In the Rājasūya sacrifice which represents a lunar eclipse, the seven Ratnins or officers of the king represent the seven horses of the sun and the fortynine or fifty dice-pieces the fortynine Maruts. As only two players can play at dice at a time, the seven Ratnins seem to have formed themselves into twenty-one sets of two players each, on the principle of combination. As it is very important, it should be clearly understood. It can be explained as follows:—Let us suppose there are seven men called *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g*. Now *a* with the other six fellows can form only six sets of two each, as *ab*, *ac*, *ad*, *ae*, *af*, and *ag*; *b* with five others only five sets as *bc*, *bd*, *be*, *bf*, and *bg*; *c* with four others only four sets as *cd*, *ce*, *cf*, and *cg*; *d* with three others only three as *de*, *df*, and *dg*; *e* with two others only two as *ef*, and *eg*; and *f* with the remaining one only one as *fg*. Thus the total number of playing sets of two each comes to twentyone only split into three groups of seven sets for the three eclipse years into which 1000 days are equally split. First the seven sets play successively one set after another with the fortynine or fifty dice-pieces for Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, or Kali Parvas and one or the other of the two wins the stake of food-stuff representing the sun or the moon eclipsed. The total number of plays of the first set comes to $49 \times 7 = 343$ or $50 \times 7 = 350$. Likewise with the second and third group of seven pairs of players it comes to 343 or 350. The seven pairs here represent the seven days and nights of half of a Parva of 14 days, and 49 or 50 half-parvas 24 or 25 full Parvas

2. The sun and the moon also are two children playing.—A. V. XIV. I, 23. It is these two that are represented by the Ratnins.

equal to 12 or 12½ months of 28 days each forming a nodal year or Agni's year of 343 or 350 days. When the sun is at the node, the arrival of the moon at or exactly opposite the node causes a solar or lunar eclipse. So it is a dangerous spot and the journey of the sun and the moon, the two sportive children, may then prove fatal. In Baudhāyana Sr. 2, 8 the number of dice-pieces is said to be 49 (*Ekonapancāśataḥ*). In 12, 15 the seven Ratnins are said to take three times fifty dice-pieces made of gold (*Tisraḥ pancāśataḥ sauvarṇākṣān*). In A. V. 19, 34, 2 and Ṛg. 10, 34, 3 thrice fifty dice-pieces (*Tripañcāśa*) are also mentioned Following Baudhāyana the Vedic word "*Tripañcāśa*" should be translated as three-times fifty and not as fiftythree as GRIFFITH and others have done.

Division of the year into seven days seems to have been in vogue in the Vedic and Sūtra periods. The Nidānasūtra of the Sāmavedins which is older than the astronomical Siddhānta works of the first or second century A. D. divides the intercalary year of 378 days into two halves of 189 days each and says that it is formed of "27 periods of seven each". (*Saptaviṁśatimevaisa saptāhaneti dakṣiṇā ; tathodaṅg saptaviṁśatimiti*") See my Drapsa. P. 32.

From this it follows that Agni in the Vedas means not merely the fire generated by attrition, but also the eclipse fire caused by the attrition of the east and west points personified as two trees. The puzzling statement made in the Aitareya Br. (1,1) that Agni is the lowest and Viṣnu is the highest among the gods finds satisfactory explanation in the light of Eclipse-cult. It means that the nodal year which is Agni's year is shorter than the lunar year by ten days and the solar year by 20 or 21 days. Accordingly Viṣnu or the sun is the highest. The three eclipse-seasons in 1000 days are called Ṛitus or seasons of rut or copulation and also the three wheels of Agni's car (*Agnestrivarūthah*) of unequal size and form, through which the moon is said to pass and cast out his dark skins. They are also known as Parṇas of the Palāśa tree (*Butea Frondosa*), of which two leaves are semicircular and one fully circular. The Parṇas are called Juhūs or ladles to pour out clarrified butter likened to soma into the fire. The reason why it is called Juhū or crier is that it calls to or warns by shouting the gods of the approach of the eclipse-demon or Mṛtyu. Hence Agni receives the name of Hotar or caller. These eclipse-puzzles are found in the Ṛgvedic hymn devoted to the description of Sūryā's marriage to the moon. They are also skilfully woven in the story of Nala and Ṛtuparṇa, experts in the arts of Aśvahṛdaya (secret of horse-driving or riding) and Aksahṛdaya (secret of diceplay) respectively. The story is as follows :–

Nala (king of Niṣadha, a reed or a raft of reeds) marries Damayantī, daughter of the king of the Vidarbha country, like Soma marrying Sūryā, the light of the sun on the morrow of the newmoon day, and goes home (Asta), 18° from the sun's house with her, mounted on his Nala-chariot through the aerial lake called Puṣkara. Puṣkara defeats him in dice-play. His kinsmen conspire and bind him. A witch takes the form of his wife and takes possession of him. He leaves the country with his wife and in the night cuts off a part of his wife's garment which was his only cover, and wanders in the forest. Hearing a call for help from a snake in fire, he rescues it and is bitten by it. Consequently he loses his form and colour. Next he takes service as a charioteer under Ṛtuparṇa, a solar king. Hearing that Damayantī is going to remarry, Ṛtuparṇa starts for Vidarbha in a special chariot driven by Nala, and on the way asks the charioteer to stop the chariot to pick up his handkerchief which fell down. Nala says that in the interval of a minute between the fall of the kerchief and its announcement the chariot ran more than a hundred miles. When the chariot is, however, stopped, at the king's request Nala reveals himself and exchanges his knowledge of the secret of horse-driving for the king's knowledge of the secret of diceplaying. On reaching Vidarbha Nala recovers his original form and taking back Damayantī, his legitimate wife, and bidding goodbye to Ṛtuparna and other kings assembled there for the pretended re marriage, goes to the Niṣadhas, his own kingdom. He defeats Puṣkara in dice-play and recovers his kingdom.

This is an eclipse-story and is unmistakably based on the eclipse-myth of the marriage of Sūryā to Soma narrated in Ṛg. 10, 85, and A. V. 14, 1, and 2. The A. V. hymns are too long to be quoted here. Nor is the whole of the hymns necessary for our purpose. So I take GRIFFITH's translation of only those verses of the Atharvaveda in which solar and lunar eclipses are specified in terms of Sūryā's marriage.

The bridal pomp of Sūryā which Savitar started moved along.

In Maghā days are oxen slain, in Phalgunis they wed the bride. 13

When on your three-wheeled chariot, O ye Asvins, ye came as suitors unto Sūrya's bridal,

Where was one chariot-wheel of yours? Where stood ye for the sire's command? 14

Two wheels of thine the Bramans know, Sūrya, according to their times.

That which is hidden only those who know the highest truths have learned 16

As from its stalk a cucumber, from here I loose thee, not from there, 17

Hence and not thence I send her free. I make her softly fettered there,

That, bounteous Indra, she may live blest in her fortune and her sons. 18

Now from the noose of Varuna I free thee, wherewith the blessed Savitar hath bound thee.

May bliss be thine together with any wooer in Order's dwelling, in the world of virtue. 19

Give thou the wool robe . deal treasure to the Brahman priests.

This witchery hath got her feet : the wife attendeth on her lord. 25

It turneth dusky-red ; the witch who clingeth close is driven off (is suspected).

Well thrive the kinsmen of this bride : the husband is bound fast in bonds. 26

Unlovely is his body when it glistens with that wicked fiend, what time the husband wraps about his limbs the garment of his wife. 27

The butchering, the cutting-up, the severing of limb and joint,–

Behold the forms which Sūrya wears : yet these the Brahman purifies. 28

Pungent is this, bitter is this, filled as it were with arrow barbs, empoisoned and not fit for use.

The Brahman who knows Sūrya well deserves the garment of the bride. 29

The Brahman takes away the robe as a fair thing that brings good luck.

He knows the expiating rite whereby the wife is kept unharmed. 30

Come ye, O cows, with offspring dwell around him · he doth not stint the god's allotted portion. 33

Whatever lustre is in dice, whatever lustre is in wine,

Whatever lustre is in cows, Asvins, endue this dame therewith. 35

He who in water shines unfed with fuel, whom sages worship in their sacrifices,

3. " Is suspected ", my own translation.

May he, the Water's Child, send us sweet waters, those that enhanced the power of mighty Indra. 37

I cast away a handful here, hurtful-injurious to health.

I lift another handful up, sparkling and bringing happiness. 38

Hither let Brahmans bring her bathing water; let them draw such as guards the lives of heroes. 39

Blest be the gold to thee, and blest the water, blest the yoke's opening, and blest the pillar.

Blest be the waters with their hundred cleansings: blest be thy body's union with thy husband. 40

Cleansing Apāla, Indra, thrice thou gavest sun-bright skin to her

Drawn, Śatakratu, through the hole of car, of wagon and of yoke. 41

They mourn the living, they arrange the sacred rite: the men have set their thoughts upon a distant cast. 46

I free her: he who sees, within my bosom, my heart's nest knows how her fair form hath struck me. 57

I taste no stolen food: myself untying Varuṇa's nooses I am freed in spirit. 58

Lift up your weapons. Drive away the demons. Transport this woman to the world of virtue. 59

Mount this, all-hued, gold-tinted, strong-wheeled fashioned of kinśuka, this chariot lightly rolling,

Bound for the world of life immortal, Suryā, make for thy lord a happy bride's procession. 61

Hurt not the girl, ye Pillars twain :upon the path which gods have made.

The portal of the heavenly home we make the bride's auspicious road. 63

A. V. 14, 2.

For thee with bridal train they first escorted Sūryā to her home.

Give to the husband in return, Agni, the wife with future sons. 1

She was the wife of Soma first: next the Gandharva was thy lord.

Agni was thy third husband: now one born of woman is thy fourth. 3

Soma to the Gandharva, and to Agni the Gandharva gave.

Now Agni has bestowed on me riches and sons and this my bride.

Over the ruddy-coloured skin strew thou the grass, the Balbuja.

Let her, the mother of good sons, sit there and serve this Agni here.

Step on the skin and wait upon this Agni: he is the god who drives away all demons. 23,24

Notes on the Verses

The sun is on the Maghā constellation; the moon arrives there, it being the newmoon day. Cows, the rays of sunlight, are slain, are concealed, owing to an eclipse which is referred to again in 17. The three wheels are three lunar eclipses, of which two have already been witnessed, and the third to come is only known to Brahmans, astronomers. The freeing of sunlight from eclipse like a cucumber from its stalk is the same as freeing Sūryā from the noose of Varuṇa in her father's house. "Hence and thence" mean father's house and husband's house respectively. As a lunar eclipse is expected in her husband's house, 180° off from the Maghās, Sūryā is free ***here*** and not ***there***. The moon was destitute of light on the day of the Maghās; hence he is "Goghna, cow-killer," a term now applied to honoured guests and bride-grooms, for whose entertainment cows are slain. The marriage of Sūryā, sunlight, with the moon takes place on the next Phalguni-day, it being the first day of the bright half. The woollen robe is the same solar eclipse already referred to in 17; the treasure to be distributed to Brahmans is the sun-light after the eclipse clears off. The witch referred to in verse 25 is the eclipse of the moon, her husband in his house, 180° off from the Maghās. The binding of the husband by kinsmen, the cutting-off of the garment, the rays of light, the cutting of the limbs, and the poisoned arrows—all this implies a full lunar eclipse. The eclipse-garment is taken by the priest, the sun. The return of cows means the return of light to the moon after the clearance of the eclipse. The dice refers to the occurrence of the Krta and other Parva-yugas which are explained above and also in my "Drapsa". The water's child mentioned in verse 37 is Agni, the eclipse-fire at the node. Verses 38-40 refer to the slow clearance of the lunar eclipse. Apāla in verse 41 is moon-light and her three skins are the three lunar eclipses, as fully explained in my "Eclipse-cult in the Vedas etc. etc.".

The mourning for the living mentioned in verse 46 is the mourning made in the lunar eclipse on the supposition that he was dead. His revival is accordingly referred to in verses 57-58. Kimśuka mentioned in verse 61 means the three leaves of Palāśa tree. Its Parṇas are like the three lunar eclipses coming in their

Ṛtus or seasons (A. V. 9, 10, 26) and may therefore be termed as Ṛtu-Parṇas. The road mentioned in verse 63 is the path from the Maghās to Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā and from the latter to the former. They are called the path from Pitṛloka to Patiloka and from the latter to the former.

Her home in verse 14, 2, 1 is what is 180° from the Maghās, Sūryā's father's home. Soma is the first husband of Sūryā, because it is he who reflects the sunlight first after newmoon. Next comes the Gandharva or a spirit causing a lunar eclipse as her second husband, because the moon loses his light during the eclipse, when Agni, the God of the node, also comes as her third husband, driving the spirit. After her release from eclipse, one born of man, that is, moon who is called Martya, man, on account of his frequent births and deaths (A. V. 14, 1, 23) is her husband. Her future sons are, of course, the successive crescent moons. The ruddy-coloured skin in (A V. 14, 2, 23) refers to a total lunar eclipse when the moon appears Pinga, or Pingala, red. It is one of the three skins of Apāla mentioned in (A. V. 14, 1, 41). In his notes on this verse GRIFFITH says:—"Apāla, it is said, was afflicted with some cutaneous disease and was consequently repudiated by her husband. She sacrificed and prayed to Indra who restored her to health by the procedure mentioned in the verse." She was dragged through the wide hole of a chariot; the narrower hole of the cart, and the small hole of the yoke. She cast off three skins. The Balbuja grass mentioned in verse 24 is what is called Nala-plava or Nalaratha in Tait. Ār. 6, 7, 18. There and in succeeding verses the wife of dead husband is addressed to mount a raft or chariot made of Nala grass and cross the aerial lake on her way to Patiloka or Pitrloka, without being hurt by the two pillars or two trees (Tait. Ār. 6, 7, 16 and A.V. 14, 1, 63). (In Tait. Ār. 6, 1, 3 & 4) the wife of a dead husband is asked to leave her dead husband and marry his living brother. This address can more appropriately be used in connection with the light-wife of an eclipsed moon than with the wife of a man just dead, and laid on funeral pile. The words "Patilokam vṛnānā, desirous of going to the world of the dead husband" seems to have given rise to the custom of burning a living wife along with her dead husband. It is curious that the call made to her to leave the dead husband and marry his brother or some one desirous of marrying a widow did not give rise to the custom of remarriage of widows.

The hymn on the marriage of Sūryā is full of references to repeated occurrences of solar and lunar eclipses on the Maghās on the

occasion of summer solstice and on the Bhādrapadās on the occasion of winter solstice when Puruṣa's or the gnomon's shadow was short and long respectively.[4] The loss of Ṛtuparṇa's[5] Vastra or kerchief means a solar eclipse of small size and Nala's recovery of his original form which he lost from snake-bite means the clearance of a lunar eclipse. The presence of four other beings in the form of Nala on the occasion of Damayanti's marriage seems to refer to the conjunction of three more planets with the sun, the father of the bride, and the moon, the bridegroom.[6]

The call for the bride, the sunlight, to sit on the skin and wait upon Agni implies her voyage on the aerial lake to wait upon Agni, the nodal fire or Baḍabānala or horse-fire hid in the waters of the aerial ocean. Agni's driving of demons in verse 24 means the clearance of the lunar eclipse. Agni is thus both a good and cruel God, as he is believed not only to cause eclipses, but also to clear them off. As eclipses are *Ṛtus* or creative seasons, he is a Ṛtvik, sacrificer on Ṛtus; and he is a Hotar, or caller of men's attention to the arrival of the eclipse-season.

---

4. See Black Yajus II. 1, 3 and 4.

5. *Ṛtu* and *Ṛta* in the Vedas mean Eclipses and Cannon of eclipses.

6. According to the Sūrya siddhānta (Whilney's English Translation) there was a Conjunction of all the Planets on the Bhādrapadās (Pisis) at the commencement of the Kaliyuga. There seems to be a reference to this Conjunction in this hymn. The eclipses referred to in the hymn are other evidences of the Kalyadi, or beginning of Kali Era in 3102 B. C.

Environment of a Sanskrit Poet

By

KĀLICHARAN SHASTRI, Hooghly

By environment, we understand the influences which are brought to bear upon the hereditary endowment. A man starts in life as a uni-cellular organism which multiplies into a multi-cellular organism receiving environmental influences. The original cell contains the individual capacities. But these capacities will wither away for want of proper nurture or environment. Hence environment plays a very important part in the achievement of a man.

According to GALTON what a person becomes is absolutely determined by heredity. Environment makes no difference whatsoever. HERBART again thinks that what a man becomes is completely determined by environment. St. Bernard HOMES shows what good nurture and education can effect for children of unpromising antecedents. The institutions for illegitimate children show that nurture is all powerful. A third theory holds that both the elements of heredity and environment are powerful in the success of a man, but a greater emphasis is to be laid on heredity.

The influence of environment is always necessary for the training and development of the original capacities. The original abilities of ancient uncivilised people were probably very little different from the abilities of modern civilised people. But the differences are due to the transformation of environment. A Newton born in the modern scientific age would have greater and better stimuli than a Newton born in an ancient or uncivilised community. His ultimate eminence would be determined by his environment. Rightly does GRAY lament for those who are 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung' due only to the lack of proper nurture in life in the following immortal lines :

> 'Full many a gem of purest ray serene
> The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear,
> Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
> And waste its sweetness in the desert air.'

Here some reader may retort by quoting another familiar aphorism—'the true poet with innate genius cannot be silenced'. But the trouble is, he *can* be silenced—' by starvation, song-deafness of his generation, or other obstructions'.

Such is the importance of environment; it is more so in the case of a poet a fact dwelt upon at length by Rājaśekhara in the

tenth chapter of his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*. Apart from the question of genius which has already been critically studied by the present writer,[1] a man to become a poet must equip himself with *vidyā* (learning) and *upavidyā* (auxiliaries). Grammar, lexicography, metrics and rhetorics constitute essentially *vidyā*, or more precisely, *kāvyavidyā*, i. e. requisite learning for making poetry and the sixty-four fine arts, for instance, painting, music, sculpture and so on, are *upavidyā* or accessaries.[2]

The poet should cultivate the association of the poets fit to be patronised by good men, acquaint himself with the news of home and abroad, discussions of the experts, ways and customs of the world, meetings of the learned and works of the old poets.[3] 'Every great poet', says SHELLEY, 'must innovate upon the example of his predecessors'. These form the environment of a poet, or rather facilitate the native vigour of poetic genius, and therefore help in the growth of genuine poetry. Besides the three factors, genius, application and learning, the most important requisites of a Sanskrit poet,[4] the poet must secondarily possess a sound mind in a sound body. His mind should be free from cares and anxieties, should have unflinching devotion to the Muses and a strong memory as well.

A poet should always remain pure. Purity implies purity of speech, mind and body. The knowledge of the *śāstras* is the cause of the first while pedigree is of the second. And the third, i.e. purity of body refers to cleanliness of hands and feet with well-cut and polished nails, of mouth perfumed with betels, of the person with proper toilets on, of dress costly but not gaudy and of head decorated with flowers. People are of opinion that the culture of purity adds a special charm to win the favour of the goddess of learning. Every poem reflects the poet. The picture also represents, generally speaking, the nature of its painter. With a smiling face the poet should address others, utter significant words on all subjects, search for the secret everywhere, never find fault with others' com-

1. Poetic Genius: A short study—in *Calcutta Review*, June 1938.

2. nāma-dhātu-pārāyanā abhidhāna-kośaḥ chandovicitih alaṃkāra-tantrañca kāvya-vidyāh | kalāstu catuhṣaṣṭhir upavidyāḥ |
—*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 49.

3. sujanopajīvya-kavi sannidhih deśa-vārtā vidagdha-vādo loka-yātrā vidvad-goṣṭhyaśca kāvya-mātarah purātana-kavi-nibandhāśca.
—*Op. cit.* p. 49.

4. For a detailed study the reader is referred to the writer's monograph 'Requisites of a Sanskrit Poet'—published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI, 1934 by the Calcutta University.

positions not uttered but fairly criticise others' poems already uttered.[5]

Now we come to the poet's residence and its environment. The poet's dwellings should always be well cleaned, provided with various places suited to the six seasons and have groves with canopies overhead formed by roots of various trees, pleasure-hills, lakes and tanks, rivers, seas, eddies and flows of artificial canals. There should be peacocks, deer and various kinds of birds, viz., *hārīta*, *sārasa*, *cakravāka*, *haṃsa*, *cakora*, *krauñca*, *kurara*, *śuka*, *sārikā*. These should remove fatigue of heat having subterranean cells fitted with shower-baths and furnished with bowers and should have swings too.[6]

When the mind becomes too heavy with the excess of poetic culture, the poet in order to dispel langour, should have resort to a solitary retreat or a place where the attendants are adept in carrying out orders in silence. The male attendants there are wont to the use of colloquial language, while the female attendants of Māgadhī dialects. Those of the inner apartment should be conversant with both Sanskrit and Prakrit. The poet's literary friends should know all the current languages. The poet to reform the assembly in all respects, should engage a scribe efficient in all languages, ready with prompt response and having decent intonation, knack to discern internal and external gestures, capacity to decipher various scripts, poetical acumen as well as knowledge of various sorts of metres, poems and so on. In case of the paucity of a writer gifted with all these qualifications at the late hours of night, one with some of the qualifications may do.[7]

---

5. api ca nityaṃ śuciḥ syāt । tridhā ca śaucaṃ vāk-śaucaṃ manaḥ-śaucaṃ kāya-śaucaṃ ca । prathame śāstra-janmani । tārtīyīkaṃ tusanakha-cchedau pādau satāmbūlaṃ mukhaṃ savilepana-mātraṃ vapuh mahārham anulvaṇaṃ ca vāsaḥ sakusumaṃ śiraḥ iti । śuci śīlanam hi sarasvatyāḥ saṃvananam āmananti । sa yat-svabhāvaḥ kavis tadanurūpaṃ kāvyam । yādṛśākāraś citrakaras tādṛśākāram asya citram iti prāyo-vādaḥ । smita-pūrvam abhibhāṣaṇam sarvatrokti-garbham abhidhānam sarvato rahasyānveṣaṇam para-kāvya-dūṣaṇa-vaimukhyam anabhihitasya abhihitasya tu yathārtham abhidhānam ।

—*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, GOS, p. 49.

6. tasya bhavanaṃ susaṃmṛṣṭam ṛtu-ṣaṭkocita-vividha-sthānam aneka-taru-mūla-kalpitāpāśraya-vṛkṣa-vāṭikaṃ sakrīḍā-parvatakaṃ sadīrghikā-puṣkariṇīkaṃ sasarit-samudrāvartakaṃ sakulyā-pravāhaṃ savarhiṇa-hariṇa-hāritaṃ sasārasa-cakravāka-haṃsaṃ sacakora-krauñca-kurara-śuka-sārikaṃ gharma-klānti-cauraṃ sabhūmi-dhārāgṛha-yantra-latā-maṇḍapakaṃ sadolā-prenkhaṃ ca syāt ।

—*Op. cit.* pp. 49–50.

7. kāvyābhiniveśa-khinnasya manasas tadvinirveda-cchedāyājñā-mūka-parijanaṃ vijanaṃ vā tasya sthānam । apabhraṃśa-bhāṣaṇa-pravaṇaḥ paricāraka-vargaḥ samāgadha-bhāṣābhiniveśinyaḥ paricārikāḥ । prākṛta-saṃskṛta-bhāṣāvida

The restriction of language of the house stands according to the pleasure of its master, the poet.[8] And examples more than one have been cited by Rājaśekhara in support of his theory from which it is manifest that certain restrictions were imposed in some quarters regarding the use of cerebral, sibilant and hard letters and conjuncts and of languages also.

Always near the poet there should remain a case containing a black board and a piece of chalk, a box, a pen and an ink-pot, *tāḍipatras* or *bhūrjapatras*, a bundle of palm-leaves with steel needles stitched as well as well-scoured plates. All these materials are necessary to write down whatever verses may occur to his mind at any time: so these constitute the paraphernalia of poetical composition.[9]

Then the poet should turn his attention to himself. He will think first within his own self: What exactly is my original capacity, in which language am I expert, what is the taste of the people at large or of my patron-king, in what environment has he been brought up and what is the bend of his mind and so on? After carefully considering all these points, he should take up a particular language. The above is the view of the teachers in general.[10] But Rājaśekhara is of opinion which is genuinely his own, that the above considerations hold good in the case of a poet who is not competent enough to compose in more than one dialect (*eka-deśa-kavi*), but for a universal poet (*svatantra-kavi*),[11] adept in all languages, he is free to write in any language. And to support his view he has quoted a verse which says that poets of Gauḍa, Lāṭa and other countries knowing the taste and inclination of the local people take recourse respectively to Sanskrit, Prakrit and so on, but a poet who lives in the heart of the country knows all the languages.

āntaḥ-purikāḥ mitrāni cāsya sarva-bhāṣāvindi bhaveyuh | sadah-saṃskāra-viśuddhyarthaṃ sarva-bhāṣā-kuśalah śīghra-vāk cārvakṣaraḥ ingitākāra-vedī nānā-lipijñaḥ kaviḥ lākṣaṇikaśca lekhakah syāt | tad-asannidhāvatirātrādiṣu pūrvoktānām anyataraḥ | —*Oop. cit.* p. 50.

8. sva-bhavane hi bhāṣā-niyamaṃ yathā prabhur vidadhāti tathā bhavati | —*Op cit.* p. 50.

9. tasya samputikā saphalaka-khaṭikā samudgakaḥ salekhanīyaka-maṣī-bhājanāni tāḍipatrāṇi bhūrjatvaco vā saloha-kaṇṭakāni tāladalāni susammṛṣṭā bhittayah satata-sannihitāḥ syuh | taddhi kāvya-vidvāyāḥ parikaraḥ | —*Op. cit.* p. 50.

10. kaviḥ prathamam ātmānam eva kalpayet, kiyān me saṃskāraḥ kva bhāṣā-viṣaye śakto'smi kiṃ-rucir lokaḥ parivṛḍho vā kidṛśi goṣṭhyāṃ vinītaḥ kvāsya vā cetaḥ saṃsajata iti buddhvā bhāṣā-viśeṣam āśrayeta ityācāryāḥ | —*Op. cit.* pp. 50–51.

11. eka-deśa-kaver iyaṃ niyama-tantraṇā svatantrasya punar eka-bhāṣāvat sarvā api bhāṣāḥ syuḥ iti yāyāvarīyaḥ | —*Op. cit.* p. 51.

It is instructive, in art as in politics, to watch the workings of the public mind. The poet in order to be appreciated should first of all be aware of people's taste and inclination as regards the subject-matter as well as his own. In other words, he should write on popular subjects and themes and avoid what is unpopular.[12] So Sir Philip SYDNEY, 'in defence of sweet poetry', claims that a 'poet is indeed the right popular philosopher'. Moreover, the poet must possess full confidence in himself. He must not be perturbed by adverse criticisms. He should know himself fully, because people are in the habit of making uncharitable remarks.[13] As ill luck would have it, such adverse remarks fell to the lot of Bhavabhūti who in his *Uttara-rāma-caritam* exclaimed in utter disgust::—People are fault-finding as regards the purity of any piece of composition just as they are in reference to the chastity of women.[14] Bhavabhūti was not appreciated in his life-time, but was rather ignored by the then people of his country. Nevertheless, he had ample self-confidence which is testified to by his own utterance in the *Mālatī-mādhavam* :—Those who indeed cast aspersions on us in this matter, do they know anything? This attempt is not for them. There will be born, or there is some one of kindred tastes with me; for, time is unlimited and the earth is wide.[15] In fact, the world knows nothing of its greatest men. What generally happens in this world is that people do not appreciate a poet living before their very eyes though he may be great. Rather, they hold a dead poet or a poet living in a foreign land in high esteem.[16] So goes the saying that poetry of a living poet, beauty of a lady living in a family and learning as well as treatment of a family physician are hardly well spoken of.[17]

12. jānīyālloka-sāmmatyaṃ kaviḥ kutra mameti ca |
asammatam pariharenmate'bhiniviśeta ca || —*Op. cit.* p. 51.

13. janāpavāda-mātrena na jugupseta cātmani |
jārīyāt svayam ātmānaṃ yato loko niraṅkuśaḥ || —*Op. cit.* p. 51.

14. yathā vācām tathā strīnāṃ sādhutve durjano janah ||
—*Uttara-rāma-caritam*, I/5.

15. ye nāma kecid iha naḥ prathayantyavajñāṃ
jānanti te kim api tān prati naiṣa yatnah |
utpatsyate'sti mama ko'pi samāna-dharmā
kālo hyayaṃ niravadhir vipulā ca pṛthvī ||
—*Mālatī-mādhavam*, I/6.

16. gīta-sūktir atikrānte stotā deśāntara-sthite |
pratyakṣe tu kavau lokah sāvajñaḥ sumahatyapi ||
—*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, GOS. p. 51.

17. pratyakṣa-kavi-kāvyañca rūpañca kula-yoṣitah |
gṛha-vaidyasya vidyā ca kasmaicid yadi rocate || —*Op. cit.* p. 51.

Besides, a poet must not read a poem which is half-done, for, the result is indeed its incompletion. This is considered as the secret of the poets. Nor should he read out a new composition before a single person, because if the latter claims it to be his own, there is no witness against him. He shall not think too highly of his works : for, partiality is apt to overlook the distinction between merits and demerits. Demerit appears as merit and *vice versa* to the partial. He shall not brag : even a tinge of vanity can mar all his faculties and impressions. He will, on his part, have the poem thoroughly examined by other experts. What a neutral person finds out is hardly detected by the writer himself—is a statement generally accepted.[18]

The poet should try to please one who poses to be a poet even by acting according to the latter's intentions. Good saying before him is nothing but a cry in the wilderness, or sometimes turns contrary-wise. Hence it is said that the poet should not read a good saying before him who poses to be a poet. For such persons who pose themselves as poets not only make it puplic but are, in most cases, plagiarists. This is a secret of good poems.[19]

Next, we come to the discussion of another important point. The poetic inspirations come into play with no fixity of time. The poet should therefore divide the day and the night in four parts according to a *yāma* (a division of day and night into three hours). In the first *yāma* or *prahara*, rising in the morning he shall perform his daily rites and then recite the hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Then taking his seat quite at ease in the study, he shall peruse the poetical sciences and their auxiliaries till the end of the first *prahara*. The impressions received in the early hours of the morning in a pure state of mind last long and are most effective in unfolding the poetic vision.[20] The most important in the growth

18. kiñca nārdha-kṛtaṃ paṭhed asamāptis tasya phalam iti kavi-rahasyam | na navīnam ekākinah puratah | sa hi svīyaṃ bruvānah katareṇa sākṣiṇā jīyeta | na ca sva-kṛtiṃ bahu manyeta | pakṣa-pāto hi guna-doṣau viparyāsayati | na ca dṛpyet | darpa-lavo'pi sarva-saṃskārān ucchinatti | paraiś ca parīkṣayet | yad udāsīnah paśyati na tad anuṣṭhātetı prāyo-vādah | —*Op it.* p. 52.

19. kavi-māninaṃ tu chando'nuvartanena rañjayet | kavimmanyasya hi puratah sūktam aranya-ruditam syād viplaveta ca | tad āha—
idam hi vaidagdhya-rahasyam uttamaṃ paṭhenna sūktiṃ kavi-māninah purah |
na kevalaṃ tāṃ na vibhāvayatyasau sva-kāvya-bandhena vināśayatyapi ||
—*Op. cit.* p. 52.

20. aniyata-kālāh pravrttayo viplavante tasmād divasaṃ niśāña yāma-krameṇa caturdhā vibhajet | sa prātar utthāya krta sandhyā-varivasyah sārasvataṃ sūktam adhīyīta | tato vidyāvasathe yathāsukham āsīnah kāvyasya vidyā upavidyāś canuśīlayed āpraharāt | na hvevaṃ-vidham anyat pratibhā-hetur yathā pratyagra-saṃskāraḥ | —*Op. cit.* p. 52.

of genuine poetry is the poet's vision. So M. Arnold rightly says : Science, religion, philosophy are 'but the shadows and dreams and false shows of knowledge', for ever incomplete, without the poet's vision 'to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us'.

In the second *prahara*, he should do poetical works and then shall take his bath near about the midday and have balanced and regular diet.[21]

In the third *prahara*, after his meal, he shall engage himself in poetical discussions: on occasions he will try to solve answers to various questions, think on poetical riddles, practise writing poems and compose variety of figures of speech.[22]

And in the fourth *prahara*, either alone or with the help of an expert committee, he will examine the poetry made in the fore-noon. As the poet has composed the poems under the influence of over-whelming sentiment, so it is likely that at the time of composition, his outlook cannot be as much critical as it should be. Hence subsequent examination at a sober moment is essentially necessary. And during the scrutiny, there should be the rejection of superfluity, the supply of the omissions, the change of the wrong use and the search for the missing words. Thus the poem would then be very sweet and complete.[23]

Then in the twilight the poet shall observe his evening rites and worship the goddess of learning. Till the end of the night-fall he will arrange properly his writings which received final shape at day-time after proper reasoning and thorough scrutiny. As soon as he feels tired, he should retire to his wife. Then in the second and the third *praharas* he should try to have a good sleep. Sound sleep is conducive to health. Then in the fourth *prahara* he should rise from the bed quietly. In the early dawn, the mind, being very much serene, is at work in assimilating those matters already discussed and rewritten. This is the poet's time-table for the whole day and the night.[24]

21. dvitīye kāvya-kriyām । upamadhyāhnaṃ snāyād aviruddhaṃ bhuñjīta ca । —*Op. cit.* p. 52.

22. bhojanānte kāvya-goṣṭhīṃ pravartayet । kadācic ca praśnottarāṇi bhindīta । kāvya-samasyā-dhāranā mātṛkābhyāsah citrā yogā ityāyāma-trayam । —*Op. cit.* p. 52.

23. caturtha ekākinah parimita-pariṣado vā pūrvahṇa-bhāga-vihitasya kāvyasya parīkṣā । rasāveśataḥ kāvyaṃ viracayato na ca vivekī dṛṣṭis tasmād anuparīkṣeta । adhikasya tyāgo nyūnasya pūraṇam anyathā-sthitasya pari-vartanaṃ prasmṛtasyā-nusandhānaṃ ca । ityahīnam । —*Op cit.* p. 52.

24. sāyaṃ sandhyām upāsīta sarasvatīñca । tato divā vihita-parīkṣitasyābhilekhanam āpradoṣāt । yāvadārti striyam abhimanyeta । dvitiya-tṛtīyau sādhu

Actually, however, even Aristotle, the father of western poets, did not attempt to draw up any complete abstract formula for, or enforce iron discipline on, the poets.

Rājaśekhara next proceeds to make a fourfold classification of poets whose hours for application to poetry vary according as the temperament and position of the poets.

The poet who thus dividing day and night devotes himself whole-heartedly to the art of composing poetry becomes surely successful in his attempts: and his poetry shines with the grandeur of a necklace of pearls.[25]

To insure against the loss or theft of the work,[26] the poet should prepare several copies of his composition when completed. This is indeed a practical piece of advice.

Then some of the important impediments to genuine poetry are enumerated. Rājaśekhara quotes a stanza where it is mentioned that the following five viz., poverty, attachment to sensual objects, scepticism, ill luck and confidence in the wicked and the enemy—are considered as great obstacles to the writing of poetry.[27] Fickleness or hesitation such as, 'I shall complete it later on, I shall rewrite it or shall examine it along with my literary friends' on the part of a poet stands in the way of his completion of work. So also does anarchy destroy all poetical compositions.[28]

The degree of the excellence of the poem depends upon the genius and its proper application on the part of the poet.[29] Indeed single-eyed devotion to verses wins the favour of Sarasvatī who becomes a never-failing companion of the poet in all his endeavours, even as the faithful wife is of the husband.[30]

Thus we see that the influence of environment on the enfoldment of the poetic genius was recognised by the Indian authors even in

śayīta । samyak-svāpo vapuṣah paramārogyāya । caturthe saprayatnaṃ pratibudhyeta । brāhme muhūrte manah prasīdat tāmstān arthān adhyakṣayati । ityāhorātrikam । —*Op. cit.* p. 52.

25. ahar niśā-vibhāgena ya ittham kavate kṛtī ।
ekāvalīva tat-kāvyaṃ satām kaṇṭheṣu lambate ।। —*Op. cit.* p. 53.

26. siddhañca prabandham anekādarśa-gataṃ kuryāt । —*Op. cit.* p. 53.

27. dāridryaṃ vyasanāsaktir avajñā manda-bhāgyatā ।
duṣṭe dviṣṭe ca viśvāsah pañca kāvya-mahāpadah ।। —*Op. cit.* p. 53.

28. punaḥ samāpayiṣyāmi punah saṃskariṣyāmi suhṛdbhiḥ saha vivecayiṣyāmīti kartur ākulatā rāṣṭropaplavaś ca prabandha-vināśa-kāraṇāni ।
—*Op. cit.* p. 53.

29. yathā yathābhiyogaś ca saṃskāraś ca bhavet kaveh ।
tathā tathā nibandhānāṃ tāratamyena ramyatā ।। —*Op. cit.* p. 54.

30. ityananya-manovṛtter niḥśeṣe'sya kriyā-krame ।
eka-patnī-vrataṃ dhatte kaver devī sarasvatī ।। —*Op. cit* p. 54.

the middle ages. It is remarkable that MILTON's conception of the vocation of a poet agrees in substance with what the Sanskrit rhetoricians define. He writes : 'I was confirmed in this opinion that he who would not be frustrated of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poet * * * * not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and practice of all that which is praise-worthy! On this Mark PATTISON comments : 'Of the spontaneity, the abandon which are supposed to be the characteristic of the poetical nature, there is nothing here; all is moral purpose, precision, self-dedication. So the poet acquires knowledge, wisdom, religion. To these must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation and insight into all seemly and generous acts and affairs.[31]

Of course, we admit that a poet is born and not made. But the poetic inspirations and faculties cannot blossom without intense application. The original seed given by nature must receive proper nurture without which it will fade away. Similarly the genius of the poet cannot bud forth without the co-operation of environment. Environment with all its importance, surely cannot create genius, but it is absolutely necessary for the expression of genius. Thus the world has lost many of the best songs 'by silencing its poets and crucifying its prophets'. ' A masterpiece of art is not a miracle of individual genius so much as the expression of a reciprocal relation between the artist and his public. He who must butt his head against a stone wall of apathy, cannot long produce his best work'. 'Put Shakespeare under the necessity of occupation in an unkind environment, in other words, set him to pegging Elizabethan shoes for a living: *Hamlet* is never written.'[32]

The little that we have said about the environment of a poet is enough to show that this factor viz., environment plays a greater part in moulding and putting into the right channel the out-bursts of poetic genius. It is impossible, in the limited space at our disposal, to speak in detail, of the many-sided functions and scope of the environment of a Sanskrit poet.

---

31. *Life of Milton*, pp. 16-17.
32. H. MONROE's *Poets and Their Art*, p. 236.

Is the Ājnā-patra of Ramchandrapant Amātya spurious?

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR, Poona

All argument in history depends upon the authenticity of the documents brought forth in writing it. Where an autograph is not forth-coming, a document can be tested by the subject-matter, the language, the mode of expression, the tone and even the ring of words and sentences occurring in the extant text of the document, in addition to the references (if any) to the document found elsewhere. For such a testing, the tester must be fully conversant with the language of the document and other details connected with it. Sir Jadunath SARKAR, the wellknown author of *Shivaji and His Times* is supposed, from the nature of the rôle he has assumed, to be a competent man to do such testing. He has pronounced a first-class Marathi document, viz. the ĀJÑĀ-patra of Ramchandra Amātya, as "not a genuine document by a contemporary of Shivaji," throwing "no real light". We intend to reexamine the document and see whether that learned historian's verdict is substantiated by its internal evidence in the light of further research on the same topic.

To judge from the few words of this weighty pronouncement, Sir Jadunath does not seem to doubt the authorship of the document as some literary critics have done. If this, our interpretation, is correct, Sir Jadunath's criticism of the document reduces itself to two things only. First that its author is not a contemporary of Shivaji and as such[1] the ideals, principles and rules for guidance propounded in this 'book of good counsels' together with the historical interpretation of the careers of the first three Maratha sovereigns prefixed to it, cannot be taken as the work of a man knowing these things first-hand and therefore, the book can throw no real light on the politics of the nascent Maratha State.

Was not Ramchandra Amātya a contemporary of Shivaji? Nilo Sondeva, the father of Ramchandra was serving Shivaji from 1657 and was next in importance to the prime minister Moro Trimbak. It means that he had joined Shivaji just after Afzalkhan's death when Shivaji had begun his career of expansion in right earnest.[2] His

1. SARKAR—*Shivaji*—Third edition—page 414.
2. *Bavda Daftar*, Vol. No. 3.

younger son Ramchandra was appointed the Sabnis to fort Sindhudurga (then newly built) near Mālwan on the western seaboard in 1668,[3] because Nilo Sondeva had served Shivaji to his great satisfaction in his maritime invasion of Basrur (Bareclore) in South Canara in 1665.[4] In that, personally his only naval expedition, Shivaji had started from Mālvan,[5] which henceforth became his chief naval station. So Ramchandrapant must be taken to be in his late teens in 1668. Already as a boy he must have made himself conversant with all office routine working as a candidate in his father's department which included finance, audit-accounts and revenue administration of Shivaji's tiny principality of early years. At Mālvan he picked up all information that was then available as to the navy and mercantile marine, including the political propensities of the western nations visiting that coast, viz : the English, French, Dutch, Portuguese. All this firsthand information and observation is found succinctly culled in the fifth and ninth sections of the Ājnā-patra. Ramchandrapant's father Nilo died[6] some time in 1672. Naropant[7] the elder brother succeeded to the father's office but as he was not fit to wield the high office Ramchandra[8] conducted the departmental work in his name. At the coronation in 1674 he was honoured as a minister[9] with his brother. So his experience at the court of Shivaji was firsthand and he had opportunities to make himself fully acquainted with the ideals, the principles and laws for the conduct of the State and its machinery.

Later on in 1677 Raghunath Narayan Hanmante helped Shivaji so much in his Madras coast campaign that Shivaji had to promote him to a minister, in conformity to his status. Instead of creating a new post, Shivaji removed the incompetent Naro Nilkanth from the post he nominally occupied, and conferred the office of Amātya on Raghunath Narayan.[10] Still Ramchandrapant continued to work at Rāygad and was present there at Shivaj's death. He seems to have taken part in the plot of setting aside Sambhaji and raising Rajaram to the throne.[11] But after Anaji Dutto Sachiv had been

3. *Ibid*, No. 6.
4. *Ibid*, No. 95.
5. *English Records on Shivaji*—Vol. I, No. 107.
6. SEN—*Śiva Chhatrapati*—page 108.
7. SEN—*Śiva Chhatrapati*—p. 108.
8. SEN—*Śiva Chhatrapati*—p. 108.
9. *Ibid*—page 116.
10. *Source Book of Marathi History*—Vol. I, page 40.
11. SARDESAI—*Sambhaji*—page 22.

murdered, Sambhaji made Ramachandrapant the Sachiv[13] or Secretary of State in his place and so seems to have regained Sambhaji's favour. In this office he continued[13] till he was made the Amātya by Rajaram in 1693. During the long drawn out struggle against Aurangzib, Ramachandrapant practically wielded the whole burden of the Maratha State in Maharastra proper, till he was eclipsed after Shahu's return.

It will be seen from this brief sketch that Ramachandra was a a contemporary of Shivaji till he was thirty, with all the facilities of knowing Shivaji's State system in theory and practice, its genesis and growth, even if we ignore his later life-work. He is said to have been a favourite[15] with Shivaji, if we are to believe Sabhāsad, the earliest writer on Shivaji. When such a person writes on Shivaji and the Maratha State (including the Administrative system) his opinion ought to be taken as the most authoritative. Yet to Sir Jadunath ' it throws no real light ' !

But the genuineness of the Ājnā-patra can be proved by the internal evidence of the document itself Here some professors[16] of literature who do not seem to possess even cursory acquaintance with the forms of Marathi historical documents audaciously enter the field and try to till. They cannot say that Shambhu Chhatrapati whose name appears as the promulgator of this royal edict has composed this ' book of good counsels '. If the boy king was not the writer, the obvious surmise should have been that the man to whom it is addressed would be the writer. But here stark ignorance of historical matters blocks the intellect of these litterateurs. They take the things literally. As Sambhaji issues the edict and addresses it to Ramachandra, Ramachandra cannot be the writer, such is the reasoning of these savants. Because he is addressed with honorific titles like Samasta Rājakarya Dhurandhar and respectful mention of his achievements is found interspersed throughout the book, Ramachandra cannot be the composer. Because no copy of this rare book is now to be found in the Bāvda Duftar, the author cannot belong to the Amātya family : As Sanskrt verses are found quoted in the Ājnā-patra and in an order of Rajaram Chhatrapati bearing the seal of the Peshwa Nilkanth Moreshwar, the surmise is that the said Peshwa is more likely to be the composer ! Because

12. *Ibid*—page 33.
13. *Shiva-Charitra-Pradeep*—Jedhe Shakavali—page 36.
14. *Ibid*—Jedhe Shakavali, page 37.
15. Sen—*Śiva Chhatrapati*—page 108.
16. *Sardesai Smāraka-Grantha* (Marathi)—pages 65-79.

an order of Shambhu Chhatrapati contains the seal impressions of ministers who call themselves servants of Shiva Chhatrapati, Shiva must have been styled Shambhu for the purposes of this order! Can historical research run more mad than is to be found in these arguments, surmises and hypotheses?

Even an ordinary acquaintance with research in Maratha history would point out that the only person who could write with the knowledge, observation, experience, feeling and forceful inimitable style of the Ājnā-patra would be Ramachandrapant Amātya and no one else, because there was none who had seen the Maratha kingdom grow from the very beginning under Shivaji, had passed through the stress and strain under Sambhaji and Rajaram, had experienced the travails of a new order in the Maratha State, had first-hand information of the working of the various departments of the *krieg*-State during exceptionally turbulent times, had both the heavy burden of the State with all the responsibilities it entailed. Only such a person could have framed the Ājnā-patra, a unique document every line of which bears the impress of a master-hand, where nothing seems to be written which had not been tested by personal experience, nothing expressed which had not been sometime felt and had not moved the writer to inmost recesses of the heart. There is no other piece of such concentrated merit in the whole range of Marathi historical documents, from whatever point you look at it.

This is not an encomium. Everything in this statement can be proved by references to the original document. It has convinced scholars of such different types of mind as Rao Bahadur G. S. SERDESAI, Prof. D. V. POTDAR and the late Rao Bahadur K. N. SANE, who have contributed forewords to the new edition of the Ājnā-patra. The history of the various editions of this Ājnā-patra is also an independent proof of the gradual conviction of scholars as to its authenticity. It was first published in the now defunct scholarly magazine *Vividha-Jnana-Vistar* in 1875-6. It does not seem to have been pointedly noticed by the students of Maratha History, because at that time no other Marathi original material had seen the light of publication. But after the *Kāvyetihāsa* magazine had published many Marathi Chronicles, lives and original letters during the period of 1878-88, people remembered the old document and so it was again published serially in the issues of the same *Vividha-Jnana-Vistar* during 1890-91. Though the importance of the document was thus acknowledged, scholars had still no inkling as to its authorship, because the place of Ramachandra Amātya and

his life-work had not been understood. So in 1898 RAJWADE mentions it as the work of king Sambhaji in the critical introduction to his first volume. But when in 1903 original letters of both Shivaji and the Amātyas were published in the eighth volume of RAJWADE, scholars began to understand the importance of the work of the Amātya family in the early life of the Maratha State. Deeper scholars also began to notice the striking resemblance between the tone of the language, close attention to the smallest details of administration and the general principles enunciated in both the Ājnā-patra and the few almost orally dictated letters of Shivaji. As these copies of the personal orders[17] of Shivaji are found only in the papers of the Amātya family, it is a proof positive of the fact of either these documents being originally written by the Amātya himself or else of his being a particular student of Shivaji's orders. Later on when other documents of Shivaji's time were published, people found original material to compare and judge. Then only the conviction dawned upon the scholars that the Ājnā-patra depicted the ideals, the principles, the rules for guidance conceived, enunciated and issued by Shivaji, tested under Sambhaji and Rajaram, brought to perfection and put down on paper by the old veteran statesman Ramachandrapant Amātya, for the edification of Shivaji's direct descendents and the education of future Maratha politicians. A general demand for its publication in the book-form led to its being brought out with critical forewords and a vocabulary of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words found in it. Since then it has been prescribed as a text-book in the various universities for its beautiful forceful stylish Marathi, not to say of its weighty subject-matter. This is what has led the professors of the language to write upon it and to discuss its genuineness, with woeful results narrated above.

For the information of these professors it can be pointed out that all the references to Ramachandrapant in the Ājnā-patra are correctly descriptive of that statesman; the honorific titles like Samasta-Rājakārya-Dhurandhar Viśwāsanidhi are appended not only to exceptionally high politicians like Ramachandrapant Amātya but are found prefixed to the names of ordinary, even incompetent, ministers like Bahiropant[18] Pingle or the Commandant of a fort like Vithoji Ghātge,[19] a man otherwise unknown to history; mention of one's merits and achievements is common in certain

17. RAJWADE—*Marathyanchya Itihāsāchin Sadhamne*, Vol. VIII, Letters 28, 31.
18. *Bavda Daftar*, Nos. 66-67.
19. *Ibid*, No. 95.

types of documents; no copy of the Ājnā-patra is found in the Bāvda Daftar because probably the copy in the said Daftar was placed in the hands of *Vividha-Jnana-Vistar* by some one interested in historical matters; Sanskṛt verses (but not Subhāṣitas) of the type quoted at the end of No. 24 of the Bāvda Daftar are found inscribed at the end of copper-plate[20] land grants and title-deeds in many cases (e. g. in No. 100 of the same Daftar) and therefore no argument as to the composer of the Ājnā-patra or any analogy can be deduced from such a fact; deviation in practice from a principle enunciated by oneself can prove that the person was morally weak, but it cannot disprove the authorship of the person enunciating the said principle; and lastly that no correct statement as to the reigning monarch or the date of a document can validly or invariably be made from the descriptive legends on the seals affixed to a document, at least not in Marathi documents.

Though this unique document was put down on a paper by the veteran statesman in his ripe old age, it does not seem—from the dearth of copies of the same—to have left the house of Amātya or the Kolhapur Darbar at the most. It lay smouldering in some bundle, nobody caring for it in particular, except Bhagvantrao Amātya, son and successor to the writer. It seems that the old statesman had tutored his son well in this princely lore. But the son, though well-versed in the theory of politics, was incapable of following it in practice. In his letters he repeats the word *rājanīti*[21] so often that he seems to be obsessed with it. He wails over the fact of none caring for the science of politics or trying to follow the old[22] paths and principles formulated by Shivaji and handed down in his family. He is well-nigh mad to see Rāmarāja not utilizing his store-house of political lore, though the said king had been saved from infantile death, and afterwards secretly brought up by his family.[23] He definitely mentions that original notes on various political matters, containing the ancient wisdom followed from Shivaji onwards, to be still in his possession. All this is ample proof for the fact of the Ājnā-patra, together with other rough notes on various topics, to bring an heirloom in the Amātya family.

Leaving aside this outer circumstantial evidence, if we look in for internal proof, there is more than enough to convince any

20. *History of the Athalye' Family*, Vol. I—pages 9-10-13-17.

21. E. g. *Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVI—Nos. 83, 124, 127, 129, 131, 132, 135, 136, 138, 147.

22. *Ibid*, 124, 129, 131, 135.

23. *Ibid*, 132, 140, 141, 148. Also Rajwade, VIII, 184.

fair-minded critic of historical matters. The full pen-portrait of Shivaji drawn on pages 3-4 of the Ājnā-patra is unique in Marāṭhi literature. Every sentence in that portraiture describes some event in Shivaji's life in the manner of a man who could not but have been a contemporary and intimate observer of Shivaji at close quarters. Following it the succinct opinion on Sambhaji is equally remarkable. Further on when we come to the period of the War of Independence in the reign of Rajaram,[24] we get a still graphic picture of the ideals, methods, principles and hopes of the Marathas during that glorious epoch of Maratha History, though outwardly it was a dark period. Certain unintelligible passages in this vivid description have now been made intelligible by the publication of a most important original letter issued by Rajaram from Jinji on 4th June 1691. This letter,[25] sent to Vazāratmāba Haṇamantrao Ghorpade, contains a systematic plan for the conquest of the whole Indian continent. It reiterates the ideal of the Maratha State viz. the Defence of Mahārāṣṭra-Dharma. The steps leading to the consummation of this desired goal have been enumerated. They are the conquest of the Rajgad province (i. e. Shivaji's Swaraj), Bijapur, Golconda, Aurangabad, one after the other. This is half the piece of intended work. The full work is supposed to be complete only after the conquest of Delhi, i. e. the whole north. Now Rajaram, a fugitive king away from his native kingdom, barely defending himself against overwhelming imperial forces, coolly writing such a letter, would be taken as simply imbecile by most historians. But this work of the conquest of the peninsular India south of the Narmadā is taken as well nigh accomplished in the description of the same in the Ājnā-patra. It had been thought as a gross exaggeration by most critics of the Ājnā-patra, merely a figment of the brain. But wait. Sir Jadunath SARKAR can be produced as a witness in this case. The fifth volume of his *History of Aurangzib* describes the State of the Deccan during the period of King Rājarām and after. He cannot be using 'forged royal letters' or 'worthless laudatory poems' or 'utterly modern concoction' as the sources of his history. In the particular passages which we are citing from his work, he is translating verbatim from two men on the spot, eye-witnesses of many of the events they narrate. Say they, 'The Marathas have made *a distribution of the whole empire among their generals*. The local zamindars, the peasants, have joined the Marathas. Many of the Mughal mansabdars went into shares

24. *Ājṇā-patra*, (1926 edition), pages 5-8.

25. *Shiva-Charitra-Sāhitya*, Vol. V, No. 6.

with the Maratha raiders. Thoughtful people of Northern India serving in the Deccan began to send away their wives and children for safety to their homes in Hindustan.' (Page 240). 'They even attacked walled cities like Hayderabad, Bijapur, Aurangabad and Burhanpur. (P. 239).' 'After 1703, the Marathas were masters of tho situation all over the Deccan and even in parts of Northern India. Maratha leaders and their troops move with much confidence because they have cowed the Mughal commanders....They possess artillery, musketry, bow and arrows, with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents,—just like the armies of the Mughal. Only a few years ago they did not march in this fashion.—At present they move like conquerors, showing no fear of any Mughal troops.' (Pp. 242-43). 'Wherever they arrived they engaged in a regular revenue collection of the place and passed months and years there with wife and children in peace of mind. They divided the parganās among themselves, and in imitation of the imperial Government they appointed their own subahdars,[26] kamavish-dars and rahdars.—In each subah the Marathas built one or two forts. (P. 241). So on and on.

What do these passages show? They tell the same tale as the graphically described pages of the Ājnā-patra (5-8). The order of conquest thought out in the Royal Order of 1691 from Jinji seems to have been meticulously followed later on under and by Rāmachandra Amātya. This cannot be taken now as a flamboyant description of the events of his times, after independent corroboration of the same through different channels. The statement in the Ājnā-patra that the king's dominion stretching from the Narmada to Rameśwar become free from thorns (enemies) becomes intelligible in the light of the Persion sources quoted above. The policy of going to the north after and for securing the south was then formulated and it is clearly argued out in the Ājnā-patra. That the ideal of establishing Mahārāṣṭra-Dharma is to be reached and can only be reached by the complete subjugation of the whole of India, was well understood by the ministers of Rajaram. With that aim Rajaram had crossed the Narmada, so says the Ājnā-patra. The crown of the whole edifice of Mahārāṣṭra-Dharma was the re-establishment of the temple of Viśweśwara at Benares destroyed by Aurangzib. It is not mentioned in the Ājnā-patra whether this establishment was to take place on the original site, in which case

26. Balaji Viśwanath the first Peshwa Sar-Subahdar of Daulatabad from 1704-7 (Itihasa-Sangraha-Peshwe Daftaratil Mahiti, p. 124), similarly Avadhut Tubaji was Sar Subahdar (in 1691) of Bhaganagar or Haidarabad (Rajwade VIII, No. 42).

the grand Masjid built by Aurangzib on the site would have had to be pulled down. But looking to the temper of the Marathas during those times, even after the sudden demise of Rajaram, they would certainly not have desisted from such a step. At least the poets had begun to talk of the break-up of Mosques and suppression of the Koran.[27] Even Muslim astrologers had begun to predict the overthrow of the Delhi Empire and the establishment of Hindu Emperors at Delhi [28] as early as 1697. All this clearly proves that the contents of the Ājnā-patra are genuine reproductions of the times with first-hand information of the working of the Maratha State with its ideals, principles and methods.

We have seen above that Ramachandrapant was a contemporary of four successive sovereigns, Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and his son Shivaji II. He was the only person who could have the ripe experience expressed in the Ājnā-patra. His language seems to have been copied after the manner of Sivaji. Some phrases in the Ājnā-patra are identical with those in the royal orders. The contents thereof are also historically true. The two chapters in the Ājnā-patra, viz. those on the navy and the capitalist merchants including those of the European nations, could not have been written by any other Maratha Statesman, as none else had direct touch with the coastal affairs. None else had also the close contact with the administration of the forts to write a chapter on the same in the manner of the Ājnā-patra. The constant remembrance of Shivaji's mode is also possible in no one else's case. The lines on the hereditary Vatandars seems beyond the power of others to write with such deep insight. The prince for whose benefit the Ājnā-patra is written can be none else but Shambhu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur who was in fact the only prince free to be taught by Ramachandrapant Amātya. With all this evidence before us, can we say that the work is not the work of a contemporary, that it is not genuine, that it sheds no light on the affairs of the Maratha State, its ideals, its basic principles, its working, its system, its guiding rules based on direct experience? Let the students of history decide for themselves.

27. *Sardesai Smāraka Grantha* (Marathi) page 184.
28. RAJWADE, VIII, No. 49, page 66.

The Maratha Occupation of Gingee and the Early Years of Their Rule therein

By

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, Annamalainagar

After his conquest of Gingee in the summer of 1677,[1] Maharaja Shivaji improved its ramparts, constructed wells, raised towers, built bastions and converted it into an impregnable fortress.[2] The Maharaja applied all the energy of his mind, and all his resources to the fortification of several strategic places in the Gingee country. He constucted new ramparts around Gingee, dug ditches, erected towers and executed all the works "with a perfection that Europeans would be ashamed of". The Madras Council's Consultations of April 1678 contain a reference to the fortifications erected by Shivaji :—" Santaji with his army returned to Gingee castle, a great part of which is very strongly built since Shivaji took it (in the previous year) and there is a great store of grain and all things necessary for a long siege already laid in and he has a good stock of money, besides the rent of the country he had taken." The *Memoirs* of Francois Martin inform us that "Shivaji after having examined the site of Gingee which offered great protection, gave orders to cut off a part and erected new fortifications". By February 1678, a large body of workmen had been vigorously "labouring at Gingee for demolishing a portion of the wall and to fortify the area enclosed by it".[3]

An indigenous Tamil chronicler, Narayana Kone, who was a native of Gingee and wrote from materials then available to him,

1. ORME dates the capture of Gingee in July 1677 · *Fragments*, p. 64; MARTIN dates it as 31st May 1677 SEN *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, p. 272. The Jedhe Chronology puts it to have taken place between 24th March and 21st April 1677. (PATWARDHAN and RAWLINSON *Sources of Maratha History*, p. 39.)

2. R. Satyanatha IYER *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 282.

3. The Gingee fortress was in reality a cluster of three strongly fortified hills (Rajagiri, Krishnagiri and Chandrayandrug) surrounded by a strong enclosing casemated and battlemented wall and by a deep ditch, while tier after tier of battlements ran up to the steep height of Rajagiri, the principal fort, on the top of which was the citadel, cut off from all approach by a deep chasm and capable of being held by ten men against ten thousand.—For a plan of this great fortress, see the illustration of the fortress, as it was at the commencement of the 18th century; in *Histoire de Gingi* par C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, traduite de l'anglais et annotè par Edmond Gaudart, Governour en retraite, Pondicherry, 1940.

a comprehensive history of the lower Karnataka country with particular reference to the kingdom of Gingee, about 1803, and whose account so far as the annals of the Gingee region are considered, has been held to be fairly trustworthy, thus tells us of the way in which Shivaji conquered the fortress and strengthened it.[4]

"The Killedar of Gingee, Nazar Khan, and the Faujdar, Siddi Ambar Khan, defended the place and gave battle to the invader. But the army of the Marathas showed itself to be much the stronger. The battle was violent and the Chandrayandrug fort was first taken. Both parties suffered considerable losses. Then Shivaji took by assault the main fortress (of Rajagiri) whose bastions he strengthened and entrusted the kingdom of Gingee to his brother.

"All round the fortress of Gingee, there were then four encircling walls built by the Kovalan or (shepherd) dynasty and (the succeeding) Naicker rulers. Shivaji preserved the inner fortress which was at the foot of the Rajagiri hill and had the three outer walls, called Adaya Vaḷaṇjān, demolished. He raised a strong wall in the form of a triangle, of which one side was to the right of the small forts, Chandrayandrug and Krishnagiri, the second near those of Krishnagiri and Rajagiri and the third towards Raiagiri, Chandrayandrug and the fort of Muthialu Naicker. King Shivaji established thus his rule which enforced respect for justice".

The real purpose of Shivaji in getting possession of the fortress of Gingee and the surrounding region of the lower Carnatic seems to have been previously discussed and defined by him with his advisers as early as 1675, because we learn from a letter of Baron de la Haye, dated December 1675, that he met Annaji Pant, one of

4. It is an important item of the History section of the Mackenzie Manuscripts Collection and claims to be a general history of peninsular India, Hindu and Muhammodan, down to A.D. 1798, with particular reference to the Carnatic and the Tondamandalam country. The author was a descendant of one of the former lines of rulers of Gingee and was, according to the standards of those days, particularly well informed about the history of this place. The eighth section of his Chronicle, dealing with the lower Karnataka country, is deserving of particular attention, having been recognised in its value quite early in the history of the accumulation and utilisation of the Mackenzie Collection by MACKENZIE himself and later by WILSON. An English translation of this portion is now under preparation by the author of this paper, while a translation by M. Gnana DIAGOU, Avocat, into the French, on the basis of a copy obtained from the India Office Collection, was published under the title 'Histoire Détaillée des Rois du Carnatic' was brought out in 1939 at Pondicherry. The account that Narayana gives of the circumstances antecedent to and concerning the Maratha occupation of Gingee is very interesting as a commentary that might really be authentic and an improvement, in very many places, on the version or versions now prevailing.

the ministers of Shivaji, who admitted to him that if the Mughals were engaged in the north, his master would carry his arms on to the east coast and that he had already taken measures to minimise the difficulties attendant on such an expedition.

Madanna Pant, the chief minister of Golkonda, had been revolving in his mind, according to the account of Martin, very clever plans to recover a part of the Carnatic at least for Hindu rule. It was in the beginning of the sixties of the 17th century that Gingee had come effectively under Bijapur occupation and Sriranga Raya IV (o Chandragiri) had given up his last hopes of restoring his rule. Madanna feared that if his master, the Kutb Shah, should personally undertake the proposed expedition against Gingee, it would excite the jealousy of the Mughal power; and he therefore cunningly suggested that Shivaji should be induced to take up this plan of conquest, while outwardly appearances were to be maintained that the Maratha king would ostensibly act in the interests of Golconda. Martin's *Memoirs* give us a clear indication of the motive which prompted Madanna and Shivaji in preparing for this Carnatic expedition under the command of the latter. Madanna Pant had, even within two years of his accession to the *wazirship* of Golconda in 1674 (according to the testimony of Baron's *Letters* and Martin's *Memoirs*), succeeded in getting the whole administration centred in his hands and the revenues of the state farmed out to himself and only allowing a monthly stipend for the expenses of the Sultan. He had effectively changed the *personnel* of the administration to a considerable extent and removed many Pathan, Persian and Deccani grandees from their charges and put his own creatures into the chief offices. One of the most important features of Madanna's foreign policy was his co-operation with Shivaji in the conquest of the Carnatic.

Shivaji's refusal to entrust the fort after its capture to the officers of Golconda, as was asked for by the Sultan, in the words of Martin, "opened Abul Hasan's eyes to the deception which had been practised upon him and made him realise that Shivaji and Madanna had come to a secret understanding with each other to the prejudice of his own interest". Martin further adds that 'Madanna's views were to place this part of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus, and by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make him a powerful protector".

Madanna had, even from 1675, made up his mind to subsidize Shivaji with Golconda help and money, in order to enable him to conquer the Carnatic for himself. Only a pretext for letting the

Maratha army loose into the Carnatic was wanting and the pretext had opportunely arrived in the request of Nazir Mahomed, the Bijapuri governor of Gingee who was wholly animated by a hatred of the party then triumphant at the Adil Shahi court and entirely oblivious of the consequences.[5] When Shivaji finally set out on his mission as Golconda's accredited agent, and with the sinews of war which Golconda had supplied, nobody knew better than Madanna that Shivaji would never give Abul Hasan the territories he had promised to give him. As Martin observed :—"Madanna knew Shivaji too well not to realize that he would never keep the promise that he had made." The whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abul Hasan into pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Maratha chieftain.[6]

The alliance with Shivaji was Madanna's greatest diplomatic achievement. Abul Hasan had his eyes fully awakened to the deception practised on him by his minister only when the Maratha officers bluntly refused to hand over the administration of Gingee to his lieutenants.[7]

5. "Nasirmamet who only sought the means of preventing Chircan (Sher Khan Lodi, governor of Valikondapuram and an adherent of the Afghan faction) from rendering himself the master of Gingy, did not make any alteration to the terms and got ready to receive Sivagy to whom he sent ambassadors as soon as he learnt that he was in the Carnatic." (Martin) (quoted by S..N. SEN p. 264).

6. It will be interesting to infer whether Shivaji was motivated by the idea of mere plunder or effective conquest and annexation. Sir Jadunath SARKAR has maintained that he was motivated to plunder alone. He says "He could not have intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras Coast, separated by two powerful and potential States, Bijapur and Golconda, and situated more than 700 miles from his capital. His aim was merely to squeeze the country of its wealth and that a partition of his father's jaghir was only a plea to give a show of legality to the campaign of plunder." Dr. S. N. SEN, in his "Studies in Indian History", maintains the contrary view that "there would be no difficulty in maintaining an empire situated some hundred miles away from the capital, provided the communications were safe and good."

7. "Madanna doubtless favoured the existence in Central and Southern India of a community of Hindu and semi-Hindu states as a defensive bulwark against the ever pressing encroachment of Moghul India from the North and West. Nothing short of such a theory can satisfy the facts of Madanna's rule since his accession to power in 1674. He had imposed himself and a Brahman bureaucracy on the Golconda state and one of the clauses of the Treaty of Kulburga stipulated this his brother Akkanna should be wazir of the Bijapur state (SARKAR *History of Aurangzib*, p. 150) he had helped to establish Hindu rule in Central India, and use it as a defensive weapon against the constant menance of Mahomedan India from the north. These, doubtless, were the "vast designs which Martin is always hinting at in his comments on Madanna's policy in the Memoirs." (Adriad DUARTE—An Estimate of Madanna from the French Records—*Journal of Indian History*, Volume XI, pp. 298-313).

Santaji,[8] an illegitimate brother of Shivaji, was appointed to the chief command of Gingee and its dependencies and was assisted by Raghunath Narayan Hanumante who was nominated *mazumdar* and by Hambir Rao Mohite, both of whom were commissioned to assist in the general management of the affairs of the Carnatic. Havildars were appointed for the districts of Pondicherry, Kunimedu and Porto Novo. Shivaji futher gave instructions for the destruction of many small forts in the plains and for the construction of some fortresses on the mountains and heights he had noticed.[9]

Martin's *Memoirs* give ample testimony to the fortifications of Shivaji. The Marathas were said to have built ramparts about twenty feet thick behind the original enclosing walls and equipped them with barracks and guard-rooms built into them as intervals. Such ramparts were more probably the result of the work of the lieutenants left behind by Shivaji rather than of his own effort, as he was very busy during his short stay in the Carnatic. The *Sabhasad* also says that Shivaji took several other forts beside Vellore, built new ones and conquered a territory yielding 12 lakhs of hons. It further goes into a very significant point. "Chandi (Gingee) was a place well situated to be a capital like Bijapur and Bhagnagar. The king might have stayed there. But there was a vast kingdom on the other side also and it was necessary to protect it. So he appointed Raghunath Narayan as mazumdar and stationed him at Chandi with a force under Hambir Rao Sarnobat; and himself started from Chandi with two sardars, Anand Rao and Mannaji Tore, together with their armies.'' The Gingee country was to be brought under the same regulations and discipline as Maharashtra and to have the same revenue system.

Thus the occupation of the Gingee country by Shivaji and his attempt to stabilise his authority were essentially based on the ground plan, originally conceived by the master-mind of Madanna, of effecting a restoration of Hindu power in the south and of helping in the revival and restoration of the Hindu rule in the Carnatic. This revival had been a dream, but, unfortunately, never

8. The *Sabhasad* says that "Santaji Raje a natural son of the late Maharaj (Shahaji) and a brave valiant man" met Shivaji (in his camp on the Coleroon) and was given a command of 1000 horse in the Carnatic and also allowances in land a money and took his departure after presents of elephants, horses, clothes and ornaments.

9. Shivaji is said to have entrusted the fort of Gingee to one of his most loyal Mavle captains, Ramji Nalage who was assisted by Timaji Keshav as *sabnis* and Rudraji Salvi as *kharkhannis* (superintendent of stores).

realised, though often attempted, by the last ruler of Chandragiri Sriranga IV, of the Aravidu dynasty, and this was well brought out by Narayanan in his Tamil Chronicle and by Maratha contemporary writers. Witness Shivaji's letter to Vyankoji in which he urged him to a mutual reconciliation of their claims, and in the course of which he expressed himself thus :—

"So I left Santaji Raje and Raghunath Pant and Hambi Rao there (in Gingi). I received news that, listening to the advice of the Mussalmans and thinking of fighting with my men, you had collected all your troops, and sent them against my men ; and they came to Volgondapur (Vālikandapuram). Secondly, you ought to have thought : 'He has won the full favour of the gods. He destroys the Mussalmans. When my army is full of Mussalmans what hope can I have of victory, and the Mussalmans surviving ?' Now some places, I have already taken ; others, which are still in your hands, *viz.* Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskot, Sirakot and other minor places and Tanjore—should be handed over to all our men and of the cash, jewellery, elephants and horses half should be given to me as my share. You shall be wise to make such an arrangement with me. If you do so with a clean mind, I shall give you a jaghir of 3 lakhs of *huns* in the district of Panhala to be held under myself. I shall make an application to the Kutbshab and procure a jaghir of three lakhs under him. Both alternatives I have suggested to you. One of them you should consider and accept. Do not leave it to be decided by obstinacy. Family discord is not a good thing."

On the death of Raghunath Pant, Harji Mahadik, a son-in-law of Shivaji (having married his daughter, Ambika Bai), was made the viceroy of the Gingee country with Shamji Nayak Punde as his adviser. A letter from the subhadar of Porto Novo to William Gyfford, the Madras Governor, speaks about the assumption of the governorship of Gingee by Harji Raja and the direction given by subhadar to all the subordinates to obey the viceroy.[10] The new viceroy was no ordinary man; and his activities at a place far removed from the centre of the Maratha governmental machinery, amounted to an attempt at establishing his own independence, wherein he was helped by the disharmony existing between Sambhaji and his nobles. Indeed, he was so successful in his attempt that he practically became the supreme master of Eastern Karnatak and was effectively enabled to interfere in the affairs of the indigenous chiefs of the country. So powerful was he that when the Nayak

10. *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1681-82, pp. 24-25.

of Trichinopoly sought his help against an attack from Mysore, he went with his army and defeated the Mysore general from whom he captured 2,000 horses.[11] Having thus secured his position and effectively imposed his authority over the neighbourhood, he had the audacity to assume the title of 'Maharaj' to which he had no right.[12]

Although the acquisition of Fort St. George by the English in 1639-40 had given them a trading settlement, yet it did not in any way grant them perfect facilities and immunity from threats of attack. The frequent disturbances to their trade due to the jealousy and intrigues of the Dutch and the French on the one hand, and the threatening attitude assumed by Golconda on the other, revealed to the English the hopeless position they endured and impelled them to seek a safer place for their trade activities lower down the coast.

It was not until 1673 that they fully realized the urgency of the need, and the suggestion given by the then Bijapuri governor of Gingee, Nasir Muhammad Khan, that a settlement might be selected on the coast of that region was taken up by them.[13] But nothing came out of the negotiations; and the subsequent invasion by Shivaji of the Carnatic in 1677-78, prevented, for the time, all possibilities for getting concessions in that part of the coast. However, where the English failed, the French succeeded, and the energetic and enterprising François Martin persuaded the Bijapur Governor to grant him permission to settle at Pondicherry in 1674, which he later on fortified.

The English at Madras felt their position increasingly irksome, as Lingappa, the deputy of the Golconda government in charge of the Poonamalle country, arbitrarily raised his exactions and impositions which greatly paralysed the trading activities of Madras. Hence, in 1681, the English became very anxious to treat with the Subhadar of Gingee and obtain permission to build factories at Cuddalore or Kunimedu and at Porto Novo.[14] They therefore

11. SARKAR *Aurangzib,* Vol V, p. 53.

12. ORME *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* (1805), pp. 300.

13. The Madras Diary and Consulation Book for aarnest 1672-78, p. 21.—"The Governor of Gingi, Nazir Muhammad Khan, having by his letter of 10th March and by his agent Hakim Ismail *alias* Manoel De Olivera, offered to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to give them leave to settle at Valudāvūr near Pondicherry and to make forts for their own defence with promises of great privileges and a very friendly invitation thereto and requested an Agent to be sent to him along with a present sent by him."

14. "Upon consideration of Poddela Lingappa's threat to stop trade and besiege Madras, by order of the court, it is resolved to be for the Company's

befriended Gopal Dadaji Pandit, the Brahman Subhadar of Porto Novo, and persuaded him to speak to Harji Raja on their behalf. Harji Rajah seems to have been much impressed by the favourable account given by Dadaji about the English and expressed his willingness to grant to the English the privilege of constructing settlement in his seaports.[15] On receiving a favourable reply in April 1681, Robert Freeman was sent to select suitable sites for factories in the Gingee country.[16] Robert Orme is of opinion that it was the endeavours of Elihu Yale which succeeded in obtaining from Hariji Mahadik permission to erect a factory at Cuddalore. They were not successful at Porto Novo, for when the English sent a ship, the Maratha officer of that place imposed such heavy duties that it had to turn back with the factors undisembarked and the cargo undischarged. " Even Harji Raja had imposed an additional duty on all the cloth provided for the Company within his immediate districts.—In consequence the Council of Madras requested the Presidency at Surat to procure a *phirmaund* from Sambhaji, for the abolition of the import, with his permission to build a fort somewhere near Cuddalore and his order for the punishment of the Governor at Porto Novo."[17]

At last the English succeeded in their attempts ; and Sambhaji himself, being persuaded from the Bombay side, granted them permission to build factories in the Gingee country. The destruction of the English ship ' President ' by the Arabs who were hired by Sambhaji, gave the English factors a decided advantage to press their demand. In 1684 Captain Gary was sent to Sambhaji's court to carry on the negotiations, " to require the completion of former agreements as well as the redress of the late violation and to solicit the phirmaunds which had been requested by the Government of Madras for the freedom and increase of their trade in the Gingi country."[18] Sambhaji was not prepared under the circumstances, to continue to ignore the request of the English any more, and so

---

interest to be at the charge of obtaining a cowle to settle a factory in the Gingi country—which is out of Golconda's dominions which is a matter of great security to the Company's investments. The settling of a factory in the Gingi country will keep them in greater respect to this place and secure large investments that being the best country for cloth. It is resolved that letters should be written to the Maratha Subhedar of Gingi to grant the English a cowle for factories at Cuddalore or Kunimedu and at Porto Novo. If we think fit a person may be sent to obtain the said cowle as soon as possible."

15. *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1681-82, pp 24-25.
16. *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1681.
17. ORME *Historical Fragments*, p. 116.
18. *Ibid*, p. 136.

he granted in the Gingee country "a factory at Cuddalore and Thēvanāmpatam (later, Fort St. David), with the ancient immunities allowed by Bijapur to the factory at Conimeed and allowed free trade at Porto Novo. Keigwin and his Council are named in the Patents as the parties to whom the grants are made."[19]

Harji Raja asserted his independence of his brother-in-law and would not send the surplus revenue to Raigarh. Added to the turbulent attitude of the Gingee Viceroy, Vyankoji, Shivaji's half-brother, who had established his rule at Tanjore, conquered back the regions that he had lost in his struggle with his brother[20] and refused to abide by the peace terms which he had made with the latter. To arrest the growing insubordination of his vassal,[21] Sambhaji sent in 1687 to the south a strong force of 12,000 horses under the command of Keshav Pingle and Santaji Ghorepade.[22] Indeed the whole plan had been engineered by Kavi Kulesh who, being greatly envious and apprehensive of Harji, advised Sambhaji to take such a course;[23] and Keshav Pingle was directed to depose Harji and declare himself viceroy.[24]

The fall of Bijapur into Mughal hands in September 1686 and the imminence of the coming siege of Golconda roused Śambhaji to a lively sense of the danger to his Gingee province that would ensue from the extension of Mughal dominion in that direction.

19. *Ibid*, p. 137.

20. Hambir Rao Sarnobat and Raghunath Narayan had to wage a bloody and decisive struggle with Vyankoji who had collected forces from the poligars that were four times as numerous as theirs; but they secured a victory over him and captured many of his horses and elephants and a great quantity of jewels and also Bhivji Raje, Pratapji Raje and many other men of note. Then they proceeded to 'Tanjore and concluded peace with Vyankoji, while Shivaji wrote to them Vyankoji Raje is my younger brother. He acted like a child. Still he is my brother. Protect him. Do not ruin his kingdom'.

Martin tells us that at this battle the troops of Vyankoji were not so numerous as those of the enemy, but his cavalry was much superior; and Raghunath Pant was depressed by the bad omen of the flight of a number of vultures over his camp "without ceasing for several days". Vyankoji began the battle; "the *mele* was severe for the people of these parts, many were killed and wounded, among those were some men of importance. The two parties retreated and the loss was almost equal." (November 1677).

21. ORME says that Sambhaji feared the hostile attitude of Harji Raja who wanted to overthrow his master and ally himself with the Mughals.—Vide *Fragments*, p. 155.

22. ORME *Historical Fragments*, p. 155.

23. KINCAID and PARASNIS. *A History of the Maratha People*, p. 142.

24. *The Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1687* says that Harji Raja was dismissed and that Keshav Pingle was to be the next Viceroy, pp. 50-51; see also Letters to Fort St. George, Vol. IV, 1686-87, p. 94, 22nd and 26th March 1687.

According to Orme, we learn that, in Octobor 1686, he sent Kesava Pingle and Santanji Ghorepade with 12,000 men. Orme further tells us that at the same time Harji Raja was probably suspected of an attempt to secure his own position by disowning Sambhaji's authority and declaring himself a tributary vassal of the Mughal. Kulash had persuaded his master to believe that Harji wished to make himself independent. The latter had in reality harboured no great disloyal feelings towards his brother-in-law ; but his agents in the Maratha capital had clearly warned him of the suspicions entertained of his loyalty and of the rumours as to his intended move at independence and going over to the Mughals and he was advised to be careful of how he should conduct himself towards Kesava Pingle and Santaji Ghorepade.

The despatch of the Maratha army to strengthen Gingee alarmed the Mughal Emperor Aurangzib who detached a large body of troops from the siege operations round Golconda to invest Bangalore which was still in Maratha hands, before the latter could concert measures for an attack on the besiegers of that place.

Kesava Pant, however, in his ecstasy of joy at the new appointment which he was given, revealed prematurely the object of his march to Gingee, as we find from a letter from Kunimedu addressed to Gyfford dated 26th March 1687, which says that "Harji Raja is out of employment and a new person has come down in his place ;" and a subsequent letter of April 1687 from the same factory says that "all the Subhadars had been to Gingee to give Kesava Pant, the new man, a visit."

Harji Raja, having learnt the real object of Kesava Pant's march to the south from his friends at the Maratha court, had effectively strengthened his hold over the Gingee fortress. Keshava Pant finding himself baffled in his object in his first talks with Harji Raja, cunningly contrived to show him outward respect and pretended to recognise his superior authority to all appearances. This removed from Harji Raja's mind all apprehensions of any direct attack on Gingee, and even induced him to lend his troops to Keshava Pant in his further aim of retaking Bangalore and marching into the Mysore country. The straits to which Bangalore had been reduced by the Mughals led Harji and Keshava to forget their quarrels and combine their resources for its relief.

But before Keshava Pant could reach his objective, the Mughal troops had already taken Bangalore and the Maratha army had to return quietly to Gingee. Harji Raja is held to have accompanied Keshava on the march to Bangalore. He returned to Gingee and sent

18,000 horse under his two new allies to invade the Mysore country again. Shortly afterwards occurred the capture of Golconda by Aurangzib who reorganised the administration of that state and the control of its dependencies and systematically appointed Mughal officers in the place of those of the deposed Sultan. Kasim Khan was nominated to be the Faujdar of the Carnatic and directed to march against the Marathas, while Asad Khan harried all the coast from Masulipatam to the Palar river. The Madras Diary of 1687 refers to the unsettled condition of this region at this period in these words :—"10,000 horse having come into the Gingee country commanded by Kasim Khan to war against the Marathas." Another English letter from Kunimedu, dated 18th November, refers to the Mughal danger threatening the Maratha hold over the Gingee country which has "so much discouraged all trade that the merchants ceased to invest". These disturbances necessarily compelled the English factors to fortify Kunimedu, Porto Novo and other local factories in their possession. Harji Raja had hoped to reduce the Mysore country before Aurangzib could seize Golconda; but the Mughal advance had been too quick for him. Kasim Khan and Asad Khan were already in the field in Northern Carnatic with large armies; the Golconda governor of Cuddapah had even accepted service under the Mughals; and the Hindu officials in charge of Conjeevaram and Poonamalle were ready to follow his example. The latter held in justification of his *volte face* that "the world was constantly turning on its axis and altering the side which it presented to the sun" and that "it was not strange that an inhabitant of the world should follow so excellent an example." Harji Raja recalled Keshav Pant from the Mysore country and ordered him to attack and devastate the coast districts occupied by the Mughal generals between the North Pennar and the Palar rivers; and when Keshav refused to obey this order, Harji Raja detached a portion of his own garrison troops from Gingee and managed, with their help to reimpose his authority again on the governors of Poonamalle, Arcot and Conjeevaram. Ashamed and humiliated at Harji's success, Keshav and Santaji displayed fresh energy and contrived to occupy all this country with their own troops and thus enabled Harji to recall his own men to Gingee.

On Kesava Pant's return from the campaign to the head-quarters at Gingee, fresh quarrels arose between him and Harji Raja and thereupon he demanded the surrender of Gingee to himself in obedience to his master's orders. Harji Raja had, however, carefully secured in 1688 a shelter at Dēvanāmpatṇam where he could fly for shelter. Then he sent out a detachment of his own army

to plunder and conquer on his account some districts, belonging to Golconda and lying north of the Palar river, which had submitted to the Mughals.

The Madras 'Diary and Consultations' for December 1687 thus describe the consequent activities of the Marathas in harrassing these regions:—"Having advice that the Maratha forces in the Gingee country under the command of Harji Maharaja were upon their march with 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot with great number of pioneers and scaling ladders, that they had plundered and taken several towns belonging lately to the kingdom of Golconda and committed various other atrocities that most of the inhabitants left Conjeevaram and other places to secure their persons and estates."

Thus the Marathas contrived to keep the whole land in a perpetual turmoil by their ravages; and a year passed without any definite victory for either party and with both sides watching each other plundering the country. "No regular battle was fought. Skirmishes and alarms were frequent. Trade was ruined, industry ceased and men flocked to the European settlements of the coast."[25]

The year 1689 proved to be as troubled as 1688. The roads were unsafe for travellers, for both the Mughals and the Maratha troopers plundered the country impartially; and the English had to close down their factory at Porto Novo and move their goods from that place to Kunimedu and Cuddalore, which were better protected against the ravages of marauding troops.

Sambhaji who had obtained a great accession of troops after the fall of Bijapur and had reduced all the country south of Panhala, now began an intensive war against the Mughals. Keshav Pingle, who was now ashamed of his recent behaviour, but continued to be bitterly jealous of Harji Mahadik's easy successes on the coast,

25. ORME thus remarks on Harji Raja's behaviour during this crisis —"On his (Keshav's) return the grudge between him and Harji Raja broke out openly; the surrender of Gingee to the orders of Sambhaji was publicly demanded and refused; but Harji fearing that respect to his sovereign might at length predominate amongst the troops of his own command, secured the fort of Thevanampatam, near Cuddalore, as a retreat on emergency; but to keep up their attachment to himself by an exertion of national loyalty and the hope of plunder, he summoned Keisswa Puntolox to march and reduce the countries to the north of the Palar, which had just submitted to the Moghul. Keisswa Puntalo seems to have refused any connection with him; on which Harji sent forward a detachment under the command of two officers, in whom he had special trust, who met with no resistance of any consequence from the new converts to the Moghul government, and in a fortnight were in quiet possession of Arcot, Conjeevaram, and Poonamalle with their districts of which they set about collecting the revenues, favoured by the season, for it was the end of December."

began a policy of co-operation with the latter. Early in 1688, twelve thousand Mughal cavalry and a large body of local levies entered the east coast territory under Muhammad Sadik in order to drive out the Marathas from that region. The latter immediately retired to Conjeevaram behind the line of forts standing on both sides of the Palar river and allowed the enemy to get hold of both Poonamalle and Wandiwash; but the latter did not venture to attack the inner strong-holds, while on their own side the Marathas carefully avoided any decisive encounter with the Mughal cavalry. "So both armies avoided each other and contended themselves with ravaging the country side and robbing and torturing the unfortunate peasantry."

In 1689 Sambhaji was captured by the Mughals.[26] Harji Raja then seized the opportunity and managed to capture Kesava Pant and his followers at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai; he now made himself an openly independent ruler; strengthened his army and improved the defences of the Gingee against the expected attack by the Mughals. Some weeks later he released Kesava Pant (the 19th August); but himself died a month afterwards. His wife Ambika Bai continued for some months to rule the fort of Gingee and the province in the name of her minor sons. Shortly, however, the situation at Gingee was unexpectedly reversed by the arrival of Raja Ram who began thus a new and glorious epoch of Maratha defence.

26. For a discussion of the date of his execution, see appendix to Chapter XXVIII of Kincaid and Parasnis—*A History of the Maratha People*, Vol. II.

The Vāhlikas of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription

By

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, Calcutta

In a paper read before the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, 1940, I have tried to show that very often in inscriptions and literary works we get, in connection with the description of a powerful king's *digvijaya* (conquest of the four quarters, or conquest of "the whole earth"), the traditional boundaries of the conventional *cakravartti-kṣetra*. These boundaries are generally : (1) The Himālaya, Vadarikāśrama on the Gandhamādana, the country near the Vaṃkṣu (Oxus), or the like, in the north ; (2) Udaya mountain (mythical) the eastern sea (Bay of Bengal), the Lauhitya, Vaṅga, or the like, in the east ; (3) the Malaya mountain, the Mahendra mountain, the southern sea (Indian Ocean), Ceylon, or the like, in the south ; and (4) the Asta mountain (mythical), the Mandara mountain (mythical), the Western sea (Arabian sea), the Pārasika country, or the like, in the west. In that paper I have also tried to prove that the Meharauli Pillar inscription describes the *digvijaya* of a king named Candra (= Candragupta II?) in the verses :—

यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागता—
न्वङ्गेष्वाहववर्त्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भुजे ।
तीर्त्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्ज्जिता वाह्लिका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्व्वीर्य्यानिलैर्द्दक्षिणः ॥

(*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 141, verse 1)

which gives the following boundaries of the *Cakravartti-kṣetra* : (1) Vāhlika or Bāhlika (near the Oxus) in the north ; (2) Vaṅga in the east ; (3) Southern sea in the south and (4) The seven mouths of the Indus (all falling in the western or Arabian sea) in the west.

My attention has recently been drawn to a paper by Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 86 ff., where the country of the Vāhlikas mentioned in the Meharauli Pillar inscription has been placed on the Beas (Vipāśā) on the strength of a verse quoted from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The learned Doctor says :—

" yayur = madhyena Vālhīkān Sudāmānaṃ ca parvatam ।
Viṣṇoḥ padaṃ preṣamāṇā Vipāśāṃ c = āpi Śālmalīm ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, II, 68, vv. 18–19.

" They went through the Vālhīka country to Mount Sudāman, viewing Viṣṇupada and also the Vipāśā and the Śālmalī.

" It will be seen from this verse that Viṣṇupada, Vipāśā and Śālmalī, if not even Sudāman, were all in the Vālhīka country and close to one another. * * * these places were in the close proximity of the Vipāśā, which we know is the modern Beas, where it is joined by another river, the Śālmalī." (*op. cit.*, p. 87)

The suggestion that the country watered by the Beas was called Vāhlika or Bālhika is however certainly wrong. Numerous passages can be quoted from the epic, Puranic and classical Sanskrit literature to prove that the Punjab = Pañcanada, "the land of the Five Rivers" (one of the five being the Beas), was in ancient times called the Vāhīka country, and there is absolutely no doubt that the reading *Vālhīkān* in the passage quoted from the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a mistake for *Vāhīkān*. A flood of light on the ancient Vāhīka country and its people is thrown by several chapters of the Karṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. We have there (Ch. 44) the following verses regarding the geography of this country :—

पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठाणां नदीनां येऽन्तरा स्थिताः ।
तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ 7

* * *

साकलं नाम नगरमापगा नाम निम्नगा ।
जार्तिका नाम वाहीकास्तेषां वृत्तं सुनिन्दितम् ॥ 10

* * *

पञ्चनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र पीलुवनान्युत ।
शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ॥ 31
चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुषष्ठा बहिर्गिरेः ।
आरट्टा नाम ते देशा नष्टधर्मा न तान्व्रजेत् ॥ 32

* * *

पञ्चनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःसृत्य पर्वतात् ।
आरट्टा नाम वाहीका नतेष्वार्यो द्व्यहं वसेत् ॥ 40

The above verses and several others from the Karṇaparvan (Chs. 44-45) prove that the kingdom or the people over which Śalya ruled was generally referred to as Pañcanada or Vāhīka and specifically as Madraka, Jārttika and Āraṭṭa. In other words, the Madrakas, Jārttikas and the Āraṭṭas were generally designated Pañcanada and Vāhīka. There is however one verse which suggests that Vāhīka was orginally the name of a country or people on the Beas (Vipāśā).

वहिश्च नाम हीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ।
तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥

Mahābhārata, Karṇaparvan, Ch. 44. v. 10.

"In the Vipāśā, there were two Piśācas named Vahi and Hīka; their descendants are called the Vāhīkas who are not the creation of Prajāpati."

The geography of this well-known Vāhīka country has been discussed by a number of scholars. Reference may be made to CUNNINGHAM's *Geography of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 247, 686-87, and V. S. AGRAWALA's "Patañjali and the Vāhīka-grāmas" in *Indian Culture*, October, 1939, p. 129 ff. In view of the numerous evidences regarding the existence of a Vāhīka country near the Vipāśā, no Vālhīka (which is no doubt a mistake for Vāhīka) country can be located in the same region on the strength of a solitary passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

If the Vāhīkas were originally a people living on the Beas, we have to explain how the sense of the word *Vāhīka* expanded so as to indicate all the tribes living in the Pañcanada (i.e., Punjab). It is interesting in this connection to note that the *Mahābhārata* sometimes uses the terms Vāhīka, Madra, Jārtika, Āraṭṭa and Pañcanada synonymously. It therefore appears that the lands of the tribes which lived close to one another in the Punjab became in course of time moulded into a big kingdom under the powerful kings of Śākala (Sialkot). As Vāhīka was (*Mbh.*, VII, 44, 6) beyond the Kurukṣetra and therefore was outside the boundary of the Brahmāvartta, its analogical connection with the word *bahis* may have been another cause of the expansion of its geographical sense.

Epic Studies

By

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, Poona

VIII. The Rāma Episode (Rāmopākhyāna) and the Rāmāyaṇa

SLUSZKIEWICZ's elaborate dissertation[1] on the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa has revived the interest in the question of the relationship between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāma Episode of the Mahābhārata, a question which appears to have been first mooted by WEBER.[2] WEBER had contented himself with formulating the four logical alternatives: (1) the Rāmopākhyāna is the source of the Rāmāyaṇa; (2) the Rāmopākhyāna constitutes an epitome of the Rāmāyaṇa, but of a Rāmāyaṇa more primitive than the epic in its present form; (3) the Rāmopākhyāna represents an epitome of the Rāmāyaṇa, but an epitome modified somewhat by the compiler of the Episode himself; and lastly; (4) the two poems are derived independently from a lost common source. The alternatives worked out by WEBER may be admitted; but then logical possibilities, unfortunately, do not carry us very far in historical investigations.

JACOBI, who has dealt with the question at great length in *Das Râmâyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt* (Bonn 1893), held firmly to the opinion that the Rāmopākhyāna was based on the Rāmāyaṇa, on *our* Rāmāyaṇa, on the Rāma Epic as we have it,—the episode forming a rather careless abridgment of Vālmiki's epic (*op. cit.* p. 70). In discussing the question he has drawn attention to certain passages in the Rāmopākhyāna which presuppose a knowledge of the Rāmāyana, and which would be indeed unintelligible if the reader did not know certain facts and circumstances which were detailed in the Epic but omitted in the Episode. This argument

* For the first instalment of the series, cf. *JBBRAS.* (*NS.*) 4. 157. ff.; the following six have appeared in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 11, pp. 165-191, 259-283; Vol. 16, pp. 90-113; Vol. 17, pp. 185-202; Vol. 18, pp. 1-76; Vol. 19, pp. 201-262.

1. Eugenius SLUSZKIEWICZ, *Przyczynki do badan' nad dziejami Redakcyj Rāmāyaṇy* (*Contributions à l'histoire des recensions du Rāmāyana*) = Polska Akademia Umiejetności Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej Nr. 30 (Kraków 1938), pp. 1-86.

2. "Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa", *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil-hist. Klasse, 1870, 1-88 (see especially, p. 36 f). Referred to by JACOBI, *Das Râmâyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt*, p. 71 f.—Cf. also E. W. HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920²), pp. 58 ff.

seems to be not quite as sound as it appears at first sight; because, for the allusions in question, the compiler of the Episode might have been indebted to any other source or sources which likewise contained those explanatory allusions which happen to be omitted in the Episode. The allusions do not point unequivocally to any one single definite source.

But JACOBI did not of course base his case on this fact alone. He strengthened it from another side. He pointed out (*op. cit.* pp. 72 ff.) about a dozen passages which the Episode had in common with the Epic. These parallelisms carry naturally far greater weight than the allusions mentioned above. Exact verbal agreement between the works of two poets, even though they may be working on the same theme, are always suspicious. The human mind is not easily duplicated. Similar *ideas* may arise independently: but the *words* in which they become clothed are still something personal and characteristic, varying with each individual.

JACOBI attached special importance to one particular stanza in the Episode,—a veritable doggerel which, (according to JACOBI) was evidently a copy of the perfect Rāmāyana stanza—once heard never forgotten :[3]

सागरं चाम्बरप्रख्यमम्बरं सागरोपमम् ।
रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव ॥

The Mbh. caricature of this stanza, according to JACOBI, was :

दशकन्धरराजसून्वोस्तथा युद्धमभून्महत् ।
अलब्धोपममन्यत्र तयोरेव तथाभवत् ॥

JACOBI was of opinion that this stanza of inferior form proves borrowing because it is inferior. This unquestionably proved also, JACOBI argued, that the Episode is merely an epitome of our Rāmāyana. The argument is again not quite conclusive, and the point has been contended by HOPKINS. "A great poet," says HOPKINS, "is more apt to take a weak verse and make it strong than is a copyist to ruin a verse already excellent" (*Great Epic*, p. 63). Whatever the merits of this latter contention, JACOBI's *conclusion* appears to be correct in the main, though his argument is certainly fallacious. JACOBI should have stopped short with the stanza. The Mahābhārata stanza appears to be—and very probably is— a weak

3. *Op. cit.* p. 74 : "Sollte aber noch Jemand davon Zweifeln, so verweisen wir auf den schon oben p. 14 citierten Vers sâgaram câ 'mbaraprakhyam . . . Dieser wirklich grossartige Vers, der einmal gehört nicht wieder vergessen' wird, wird in MBh folgendermassen wiedergegeben : Daśakandhara-rājasūnvos . . . Nach Inhalt und Form eine klägliche Umschreibung, die sich auf den ersten Blick als Nachahmung verrät."

imitation of the Rāmāyaṇa stanza. The fallacy lies in the extension that the Rāmopākhyāna is therefore a weak imitation of the Rāmāyaṇa. The relation between the two stanzas does not necessarily prove anything about the relationship between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāmopākhyāna *as wholes*.

WINTERNITZ[4] has already warned us that each stanza of the Mbh. must be judged on its own merits,—it may be added, *when we want to use the stanza for historical and comparative purposes*. We could not find a better example of this dictum than the stanza on which JACOBI has relied for establishing the posteriority of the Rāmopākhyāna. The stanza has an intricate history. Though found in all our old printed editions, the MS. support for it is surprisingly meagre. Of the two lines comprising the stanza, the second was found only in Bengali MSS. in addition to some stray Nāgarī MSS.; but the first line is itself known in two variant versions ! The form known to and cited by JACOBI, namely,

दशकन्धरराजसून्वोस्तथा युद्धमभून्महत् ।

alternates with another :

ततः प्रववृते युद्धं रामरावणयोर्महत् ।,

which appears to be an attempt at remedying the awkwardness of the former, which was the subject of JACOBI's strictures.[5] *Both lines are however completely missing in Kaśmīrī and Southern MSS. (besides many old Nāgarī MSS.*[6]*)* ! This fact leaves no room now for doubting that the stanza in question is but a very late addition to the Great Epic. It can therefore naturally prove nothing whatsoever about the age or the character of the original Episode to which it has been secondarily appended by a recent interpolator. All disquisitions based on this stanza from the Rāmopākhyāna have consequently become futile. We must look for other criteria.

This only shows how very precarious are the conclusions that are based on the Vulgate text of the Mbh. And it is very remarkable that many of those very passages that have been used in the past for literary-historical purposes have turned out to be unhappily but also unquestionably spurious.[7]

4. *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta 1927), p. 469 : "the date of each section, nay sometimes of each single verse, must be determined separately, . . ."

5. *Op. cit.* p. 74. Cf. footnote on p. 473 above.

6. For instance, in the fragmentary Devanāgarī MS. of the Āraṇyakaparvan belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bhau Daji Collection, No. 245.

7. I cannot give a better instance than that of a passage which was cited by H. OLDENBERG to illustrate his Ākhyāna theory. It is well known that OLDENBERG always maintained that the oldest form of epic poetry in India was a mixture of

However the fact that one particular stanza cited by JACOBI has turned out to be unauthentic does not affect his general conclusion about the relationship between the Rāmopākhyāna and the Rāmāyaṇa which, in my opinion, is quite well-founded and can be supported on other grounds.

As far as I can judge, the minute *differences* in the details of the story, which have been pointed out and exaggerated by some critics of JACOBI's theory, tell us nothing whatsoever about the matter which is the subject of discussion. The verbal *agreements* have, on the other hand, an unusually great probative force. To strengthen the case of JACOBI, we need therefore a large number of *agreements*. I had this fact in mind when I was studying the Rāmopākhyāna for my edition of Vanaparvan or—to give it its correct name—Āraṇyakaparvan.

JACOBI had found just twelve concordances. They are obviously too few. But their actual number should be very much greater, even if we exclude the epic *iterata* and standing phrases, which are the common heritage of the epic bards and which have been listed separately by HOPKINS in an Appendix to his *Great Epic*. It would be premature, it seems to me, to discuss the question which of the existing versions of the Rāmāyana our Episode stands closest to. That question can be taken up only when we have a really critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, which is promised by my friend and colleague Professor RAGHU VIRA of Lahore from his International Academy of Indian Culture. In the meantime, I shall just register the concordances which I have been able to find, irrespective of the versions of the Rāmāyaṇa to which they may belong.[8] A scholar who knows his Rāmāyaṇa better than I do would naturally be able to handle the question with more com-

prose and verse, the speeches being in verses, while the events were narrated in prose. In this connection he drew attention to the story of Śibi in the Vanaparvan (adhy. 199 of the Bombay ed.). This adhyāya which OLDENBERG (*Das Mahabharata*, p. 23) regarded as a survival from the oldest form of our great epic can now on manuscript authority be proved to be one of the latest interpolations in the epic. We are not concerned with the date of this passage. The passage may be of hoary antiquity—though I doubt it personally—, but it certainly never formed a part of the oldest strata of the Mahābhārata : that much we can now say with confidence. One sees how even a scholar like OLDENBERG can make abysmal blunders in the estimation of the age and character of passages of the Mahābhārata.

8. I must acknowledge here the help I have received from Mr. M. V. VAIDYA, M.A., and Pandit KRISHNAMURTI SASTRI, two of my assistants in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, in tracing out and identifying the parallel passages listed below.

petence and find more concordances. But in the absence of such an exhaustive study by a *savant* who has mastered both the poems, the following table which I have prepared may be found useful. I have consulted only the Bombay edition (published in 1888 by the Nirnaya Sagar Press) and GORRESIO's edition (1843-1867). Of the latter edition, moreover, the last volume (Uttarakāṇḍa) was not available to me and therefore could not be utilized.

Concordance of Parallel Passages in the Mbh. (Rāmopākhyāna) and the Rāmāyaṇa[9]

Mbh. Āraṇyakaparvan (Rāmopākhyāna), Crit Ed. (B. = Bombay Ed.)	Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay Ed. (= B.) (G. = GORRESIO's Ed.)
(1) 258. 2^{d} (B. 274. 2^{d}) हत्वा गृध्रं जटायुषम्	B. 1. 1. 53^{b} (G. 1. 1. 58^{d}) गृध्रं हत्वा जटायुषम् (G, like Mbh., हत्वा गृध्रं ज°.)
(2) 258. 4^{b} (B. 274. 4^{b}) किंवीर्यः किंपराक्रमः	B. 3. 34. 2^{b} (G. 3. 38. 2^{b}) किंरूपः किंपराक्रमः (G, like Mbh., किंवीर्यः किं°.)
(3) 258. 5^{d} (B. 274. 5^{d}) रामस्याक्लिष्टकर्मणः	B. 5. 42. 34^{b} : 43. 9^{b}; 6. 41. 77^{b}; etc. (G. 5. 38. 31^{b}; 6. 16. 79^{b}; etc., etc.) रामस्याक्लिष्टकर्मणः
(4) 258. 9^{d} (B. 274. 9^{d}) रामस्य महिषीं प्रियाम्	B. 3. 50. 26^{d} (G. 4. 49. 24^{d}) रामस्य महिषीं प्रियाम्
(5) 259. 13^{ab} (B. 275. 13^{ab}) सर्वे वेदविदः शूराः सर्वे सुचरितव्रताः ।	B. 1. 18. 25^{cd} सर्वे वेदविदः शूराः सर्वे लोकहिते रताः ।

9. Stanzas identified by JACOBI have been marked in the list with "J" : thus [J]. A few of the other passages have been noted by SLUSZKIEWICZ also, and have been marked with "S" in the list. SLUSZKIEWICZ's arrangement seemed to me rather complicated and confusing. From his various lists it is difficult to estimate the actual range and extent of the similarities.

(6) 259. 30 (B. 275. 30) यस्मापन्नतस्यापि नाधर्मे मे मतिर्भवेत्। अशिक्षितं च भगवन् ब्रह्मास्त्रं प्रतिभातु मे ॥ [J]	B. 7. 10. 30^{cd}-31^{ab} (G. 7. 10. 30) परमापन्नतस्यापि धर्मे मम मतिर्भवेत्। अशिक्षितं च ब्रह्मास्त्रं भगवन्प्रतिभातु मे ॥ (G, like Mbh., transp. ब्रह्मास्त्रं and भगवन्.)
(7) 259. 31 (B. 275. 31) यस्माद्राक्षसयोनौ ते जातस्यामित्रकर्शन । नाधर्मे रमते बुद्धि- रमरत्वं ददामि ते ॥ [JS] (B धीयते for रमते and ददानि for ददामि.)	B. 7. 10. 34^{cd}-35^{ab} (G. 7. 10. 34) यस्माद्राक्षसयोनौ ते जातस्यामित्रनाशन । नाधर्मे जायते बुद्धि- रमरत्वं ददामि ते ॥ (G, like Mbh., °कर्शन for °नाशन, and वर्तते for जायते.)
(8) 259. 36^{ab} (B. 275. 36^{ab}) विभीषणस्तु धर्मात्मा सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् । (B मार्गमनु° for धर्ममनु°.)	B. 7. 10. 6^{ab} विभीषणस्तु धर्मात्मा नित्यं धर्मपरः शुचिः ।
(9) 260. 7^{d} (B. 276. 7^{d}) कामरूपबलान्वितान्	G. 1. 20. 14^{b} कामरूपा बलान्विताः
(10) 261. 6^{b} (B. 277. 6^{b}) रमयामास हि प्रजाः [S]	G. 1. 19. 28^{b} रञ्जयामास हि प्रजाः
(11) 261. 9^{b} (B. 277. 9^{b}) मत्तमातङ्गगामिनम्	B. 2. 3. 28^{b} (G. 2. 2. 13^{d}) मत्तमातङ्गगामिनम्
(12) 261. 15^{c} (B. 277. 15^{c}) संभाराः संभ्रियन्तां मे	B. 1. 8. 14^{c} [cf. 1. 8. 11^{c}; 12.3^{c}] (G. 1. 11. 15^{a}) संभाराः संभ्रियन्तां मे (G च for मे.)
(13) 261. 17^{cd} (B. 277. 17^{cd}) आशीविषस्त्वां संक्रुद्ध- श्चण्डो दशति दुर्मते । [S] (B दशतु for दशति.)	G. 2.7. 3^{ab} आशीविषस्त्वां दशतु मदे मन्दितमानिनि ।

(14) 261. 18*ab* (B. 277. 18*ab*) सुभगा खलु कौसल्या यस्याः पुत्रोऽभिषेक्ष्यते ।	B. 2. 8. 9*ab* (G. 2. 7. 4*ab*) सुभगा किल कौसल्या यस्याः पुत्रोऽभिषेक्ष्यते । (G कौशल्या सुभगां मन्ये and °षिच्यते for ° षेक्ष्यते.)
(15) 261. 22*cd* (B. 277. 22*cd*) अवध्यो वध्यतां कोऽद्य वध्यः कोऽद्य विमुच्यताम् । [JS]	B. 2. 10. 33*ab* (G. 2. 9. 11 *cd*) अवध्यो वध्यतां को वा वध्यः को वा विमुच्यताम् । (G अबध्यो बध्यतां कोऽद्य and बध्यः for वध्यः.)
(16) 1245* (line 1) (B. 277. 24*a*) पृथिव्यां राजराजोऽस्मि [S]	G. 2. 9. 13*c* पृथिव्यां राजराजोऽस्मि
(17) 261. 25*ab* (B. 277. 26*ab*) आभिषेचनिकं यत्ते रामार्थमुपकल्पितम् । [S]	G. 2. 12. 3*cd* आभिषेचनिकं द्रव्यं रामार्थमुपकल्पितं ।
(18) 261. 25*d* (B. 277. 27*d*) वनं गच्छतु राघवः	B. 5. 33. 21*d* (G. 5. 31. 15*d*) वनं गच्छतु राघवः
(19) 261. 33*ab* (B. 277. 34*ab*) अयशः पातयित्वा मे मूर्ध्नि त्वं कुलपांसने । [S]	G. 2. 76. 7*cd* मम चाप्ययशो मूर्ध्नि पातितं लुब्धया त्वया ।
(20) 261. 39*d* (B. 277. 40*d*) शरभङ्गाश्रमं प्रति	B. 3. 5. 20*d* (G. 3. 9. 15*d*) शरभङ्गाश्रमं प्रति
(21) 261. 40*c* (B. 277. 41*c*) नदीं गोदावरीं रम्याम्	B. 3. 64. 3*a* (G. 3. 68. 30*c*) नदीं गोदावरीं रम्यां
(22) 261. 42*cd* (B. 277. 43*cd*) चतुर्दश सहस्राणि जघान भुवि रक्षसाम् । (B राक्षसान् for रक्ष°).	B. 5. 37. 16*ab* (G. 5. 35. 17*ab*) चतुर्दश सहस्राणि राक्षसानां जघान यः ।

(23)	262. 3^{b} (B. 278. 3^{b}) कच्चित्क्षेमं पुरे तव [JS]	B. 3. 35. 41 ^{ab} कच्चित्ते कुशलं राजल्लँङ्कायां राक्षसेश्वर ।
(24)	262. 12^{c} (B. 278. 13^{a}) अपक्रान्ते च काकुत्स्थे	B. 3. 40. 20^{a}, 22^{a} (G. 3. 44. 18^{a}) . अपक्रान्ते च काकुत्स्थे
(25)	262. 22^{cd} (B. 278. 23^{ab}) हा सीते लक्ष्मणेत्येवं चुक्रोशार्तस्वरेण ह । [JS]	B. 3. 44. 24^{ab} (G. 3. 50. 22 ^{cd} हा सीते लक्ष्मणेत्येव माक्रुश्य तु महास्वनम् । (G हा लक्ष्मणेति चुक्रोश त्रायस्वेति महावने।)
(26)	262. 27^{d} (B. 278. 28^{b}) विशेयं वा हुताशनम्	G. 3. 51. 41^{b} प्रविशेयं हुताशनं
(27)	262. 30^{c} (B. 278. 32^{a}) अभक्ष्यो भक्ष्यरूपेण [JS]	B. 3. 46. 9^{c} (G. 3. 52. 14^{c}) अभक्ष्यो भक्ष्यरूपेण (G °रूपां तां for °रूपेण.)
(28)	262. 33^{cd} (B. 278. 35 ^{cd}) मम लङ्का पुरी नाम्ना	B. 3. 47. 29^{ab} ; 48. 10 ^{ab} (G. 3. 53. 35^{ab} ; 54. 14^{ab}) लङ्का नाम समुद्रस्य (B and G both second time नम पारे समुद्रस्य.)
	रम्या पारे महोदधेः । [J]	मध्ये मम महापुरी । (B second time लङ्का नाम पुरी शुभा; G second time लङ्का नाम महापुरी.)
(29)	263. 8^{ab} (B. 279. 9^{ab}) सा ददर्श गिरिप्रस्थे पञ्च वानरपुंगवान् ।	B. 3. 54. 1^{cd} (G. 3. 60. 5^{cd}) ददर्श गिरिशृङ्गस्थान् पञ्च वानरपुंगवान् ।
(30)	263. 11^{b} (B. 279. 14^{b}) वने राक्षससेविते	B. 3. 57. 16^{b} (G. 3. 64. 18^{d}; 66. 2^{d}) वने राक्षससेविते
(31)	263. 22^{b} (B. 279. 25^{b}) व्यपविद्धबृसीघटम् (B ° मठम्.)	B. 3. 60. 7^{b} विप्रविद्धबृसीकटम्

(32)	263. 39a (B. 279. 43a) रावणेन हृता सीता	B. 3. 71. 21c (G. 3. 75. 37a) रावणेन हृता भार्या (G, like Mbh., सीता for भार्या.)
(33)	263. 40b (B. 279. 44b) हंसकारण्डवायुता	G. 3. 79. 40d हंसकारण्डवायुतां
(34)	263. 41ab (B. 279. 45ab) संवसत्यत्र सुग्रीव- श्चतुर्भिः सचिवैः सह । [J] (B वसते तत्र for संवसत्यत्र.)	B. 3. 72. 12cd (G. 3. 76. 36cd) निवसत्यात्मवान्वीर- श्चतुर्भिः सह वानरैः । (G तस्मिन्वसति सुग्रीवश्चतुर्भिः सचिवैः सह।)
(35)	264. 2d (B. 280. 2d) जगाम मनसा प्रियाम्	B. 4. 30.6d (G. 4. 29. 5d) जगाम मनसा प्रियाम्
(36)	264. 23ab (B. 280. 23ab) मैन्दश्च द्विविदश्चैव हनूमांश्चानिलात्मजः । (B द्विविदश्चापि.)	B. 4. 50. 6ab (G. 4. 50. 6ab) मैन्दश्च द्विविदश्चैव हनूमाञ्जाम्बवानपि । (G द्विविधश्चैव, and जाम्बवान्नलः.)
(37)	264. 27d (B. 280. 27d) का त्वरा मरणे पुनः [S]	G. 4. 15. 21b का त्वरा मरणे पुनः
(38)	264. 32d (B. 280. 32d) पुष्पिताविव किंशुकौ	B. 6. 90. 37d (G. 6. 70. 11d) पुष्पिताविव किंशुकौ
(39)	264. 34ab (B. 280. 34ab) स मालया तदा वीरः शुशुभे कण्ठसक्तया ।	B. 4. 12. 41ab (G. 4. 12. 47ab) स तया शुशुभे श्रीमान् लतया कण्ठसक्तया । (G, like Mbh., वीरः for श्रीमान्, and मालया for लतया.)
(40)	264. 37b (B. 280. 37b) वक्त्राच्छोणितमुद्वमन्	B. 4. 48. 20d (G. 4. 48. 22c) वक्त्राच्छोणितमुद्वमन्

	(G °मुद्गिरन्.)
(41) 264. 42^{b} (B. 280. 42^{d}) तापसीवेषधारिणी	G. 5. 18. 21^{b} तापसीवेषधारिणीं
(42) 264. 55^{ab} (B. 280. 56^{ab}) अविन्ध्यो नाम मेधावी वृद्धो राक्षसपुंगवः । [S]	B. 5. 37.12^{ab} (G. 5. 35. 13^{ab}) अविन्ध्यो नाम मेधावी विद्वान्राक्षसपुंगवः । (G तेजस्वी for मेधावी)
(43) 264. 64^{c}–65^{a}, 65^{d} (B. 280. 65^{c}–66^{a}, 66^{d}) असकृत्स्वरयुक्ते तु रथे नृत्यन्निव स्थितः । कुम्भकर्णावृथश्चेमे रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनाः [S]	B. 5. 27. 21^{cd}, 33^{a} (G. 5.27. 16^{ab}, 22^{a}) रथेन खरयुक्तेन रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनः । कुम्भकर्णावृथश्चेमे
(44) 264. 66^{cd} (B. 280. 67^{cd}) श्वेतपर्वतमारूढ एक एव विभीषणः । [S]	G. 5. 27. 23$_{ab}$ श्वेतपर्वतमारूढ एक एव विभी°णः ।
(45) 265. 4^{d}–5^{d} (B. 281. 4^{d}–5^{d}) वसन्त इव मूर्तिमान् स कल्पवृक्षसदृशो यत्नादपि विभूषितः । श्मशानचैत्यद्रुमवद्- भूषितोऽपि भयंकरः ॥ [S]	B. 5. 22. 29 (G. 5. 20. 24^{cd}) स कल्पवृक्षप्रतिमो वसन्त इव मूर्तिमान् । श्मशानचैत्यप्रतिमो भूषितोऽपि भयंकरः ॥ (G which has only the latter half, °द्रुमवद् for °प्रतिमो, like Mbh.)
(46) 265. 8^{ab} (B. 281. 8^{ab}) सीते पर्याप्तमेतावत्- कृतो भर्तुरनुग्रहः ।	B. 5. 24. 21^{ab} (G. 5. 25. 20^{cd}) सीते पर्याप्तमेतावद्- भर्तुः स्नेहः प्रदर्शितः । (G भर्तृस्नेहनिदर्शनं for the posterior half.)

(47)	265. 17cd (B. 281. 17cd) तृणमन्तरतः कृत्वा तमुवाच निशाचरम् । [JS]	B. 3. 56. 1cd : 5. 21. 3ab (G. 3. 62. 1cd) तृणमन्तरतः कृत्वा रावणं प्रत्यभाषत । (B second time शुचिस्मिता. G वाक्यमब्रवीत् for °प्रत्य.)
(48)	265. 21a (B. 281. 21c) न चैवौपयिकी भार्या	B. 5. 21. 6c (G. 5. 23. 4a) नाहमौपयिकी भार्या
(49)	266. 1c (B. 282. 1c) वसन्माल्यवतः पृष्ठे	B. 4. 28. 1c (G. 4. 27. 1c) वसन्माल्यवतः पृष्ठे
(50)	266. 49c (B. 282. 51a) निर्दग्धपक्षः पतितो [S]	B. 4. 58. 7a (G. 4. 58. 8a) निर्दग्धपत्रः पतितो (G, like Mbh., °पक्षः for पत्रः)
(51)	266. 58ab (B. 282. 60ab) तत्र सीता मया दृष्टा रावणान्तःपुरे सती।	B. 5. 65. 11cd (G. 5. 66. 10ab) तत्र सीता मया दृष्टा रावणान्तःपुरे सती ।
(52)	266. 67c (B. 282. 70a) क्षिप्तामिषीकां काकस्य [S] (B काकाय far काकस्य)	B. 5. 40. 4c (G. 5. 37. 4c) क्षिप्तामिषीकां काकस्य
(53)	266. 67d (B. 282. 70b) चित्रकूटे महागिरौ	G. 1. 4. 35b चित्रकूटे महागिरौ
(54)	267. 2ab (B. 283. 2ac) वृतः कोटिसहस्रेण वानराणां तरस्विनाम् ।	B. 4. 39. 19cd; 40. 18cd (G. 4. 39. 27cd; 40. 17cd) वृतः कोटिसहस्रेण वानराणामदृश्यत । (B second time शतसहस्रेण for कोटि°, and तरस्विनाम् for अदृश्यत. G, first time कोटी°, and गोलाङ्गूलैर् for वानराणाम्; G second time कोटी° and like Mbh. तरस्विनाम् for अदृश्यत.)

(55)	267. 4^{cd} (B. 283. 4^{cd}) गोलाङ्गूलो महाराज गवाक्षो भीमदर्शनः ।	B. 4. 39. 19^{ab} : 6. 42. 28^{ab} (G. 4. 39. 27^{ab} : 6. 17.20^{ab}) गोलाङ्गूलमहाराजो गवाक्षो भीमविक्रमः । (B second time गोलाङ्गूलो महाकायो गवाक्षो भीमदर्शनः. G first time गोलाङ्गुल°, and नाम नामतः for भीम°; G second time गोलाङ्गूलो महाराजो गवाक्षो भीमदर्शनः.)
(56)	267. 44^{cd} (B. 283. 44^{cd}) दशयोजनविस्तार- मायतं शतयोजनम् । [S]	B. 6. 22. 72^{ab} (G. 5. 95. 12^{ab}) दशयोजनविस्तीर्णं शतयोजनमायतम् । (G, like Mbh., आयतं शतयोजनं for शत°.)
(57)	267. 46^{d} (B. 283. 46^{d}) चतुर्भिः सचिवैः सह [S]	B. 6. 16. 17^{d}; 17. 7^{b} (G. 5. 88. 14^{d}; 89. 3^{c}) चतुर्भिः सह राक्षसैः (G first time सचिवैः : सह [like Mbh.], and second time सचिवैः सार्द्धं for सह रा°.)
(58)	267. 49^{b} (B. 283. 49^{b}) [अ]भ्यधिकाद्रिभीषणम्	B. 6. 19. 26^{b} (G. 5. 92. 3^{d}) अभ्यधिकाद्रिभीषणम्
(59)	267. 52^{b} (B. 283. 52^{b}) राक्षसौ शुकसारणौ (B मन्त्रिणौ for राक्षसौ.)	B. 6. 25. 9^{b}, 26^{b} (G. 6. 1. 12^{d}, 36^{d}) राक्षसौ शुकसारणौ
(60)	268. 10^{a} (B. 284. 10^{a}) आह त्वां राघवो राजन्	B. 6. 41. 78^{a} (G. 6. 16. 80^{a}) आह त्वां राघवो रामः
(61)	268. 11. (B. 284. 11.) अकृतात्मानमासाद्य राजानमनये रतम् । विनश्यन्त्यनयाविष्टा देशाश्च नगराणि च ॥	B. 5. 21. 11 (G. 5. 23. 9) अकृतात्मानमासाद्य राजानमनये रतम् । समृद्धानि विनश्यन्ति राष्ट्राणि नगराणि च ॥ (G भर्तारम् for राजानम् ; and सुसमृद्धा विनङ्क्ष्यन्ति देशाश्च नग°.)

(62)	268. 15[a] (B. 284. 15[a]) हन्तास्मि त्वां सहामात्यं (B सहामात्यैर्)	B. 6. 41. 79[a] (G. 6. 16. 81[a]) हन्तास्मि त्वां सहामात्यं (G अहं हन्ता सहा°.)
(63)	268. 16[cd] (B. 284. 16[cd]) अराक्षसमिमं लोकं कर्तास्मि निशितैः शरैः । [JS]	B. 6. 41. 67[ab] (G. 6. 16. 68[ab]) अराक्षसमिमं लोकं कर्तास्मि निशितैः शरैः । (G करोमि for कर्तास्मि.)
(64)	268. 17[d] (B. 284. 17[d]) रावणः क्रोधमूर्छितः	B. 6. 26. 6[b] (G. 5. 47. 36[d]) रावणः क्रोधमूर्छितः
(65)	268. 18[b] (B. 284. 18[b]) चत्वारो रजनीचराः	B. 6. 41. 84[d] (G. 6. 16. 86[d]) चत्वारो रजनीचराः
(66)	268. 36[c] (B. 284. 37[c]) नखैर्दन्तैश्च वीराणां	G. 6. 65. 22[c] नखैर्दन्तैश्च वीराणां
(67)	270. 13[d] (B. 286. 13[d]) सस्कन्धविटपैर्द्रुमैः	B. 6. 52. 30[d] (G. 6. 28. 32[d]) सस्कन्धविटपैर्द्रुमैः
(68)	270. 14[d] (B. 286. 14[d]) हनूमान्मारुतात्मजः	B. 6. 52. 30[b], 32[b] (G. 6. 28. 32[b], 34[b]) हनूमान्मारुतात्मजः
(69)	270. 17[b] (B. 286. 17[b]) हतशेषा निशाचराः	B. 6. 52. 37[d] (G. 6. 28. 40[b]) हतशेषा निशाचराः
(70)	271. 4[b] (B. 287. 5[d]) भक्षयामास वानरान्	B. 6. 67. 96[d] (G. 6. 46. 79[d]) भक्षयामास वानरान्
(71)	271. 21[ab] (B. 287. 23[ab]) ततः सुतुमुलं युद्ध- मभवल्लोमहर्षणम् । [J]	B. 3. 25. 34[cd] (G. 3. 31. 44[cd]; 6. 18. 23[ab]) तद्बभूवाद्भुतं युद्धं तुमुलं रोमहर्षणम् । (G first time लोम°. G second time तत्रासीत्सुमहद्युद्धं तुमुलं लोम°).

(72)	272. 1^{ab} (B. 288. 1^{ab}) ततः श्रुत्वा हतं संख्ये कुम्भकर्णं सहानुगम् ।	B. 6. 68. 6^{ab} (G. 6. 47. 2 ^{ab}) श्रुत्वा विनिहतं संख्ये कुम्भकर्णं महाबलम् । (G स श्रुत्वा नि° for श्रुत्वा विनि°).
(73)	272. 26^{b} (B. 288. 26^{d}) भ्रातरौ रामलक्ष्मणौ	B. 6. 44. 36^{d}; 45. 13^{b}; 46. 1^{d} etc. (G. 6. 19. 54^{b}; 20. 13^{b}; 21. 1^{d}, 29^{b} etc.) भ्रातरौ रामलक्ष्मणौ
(74)	273. 5^{b} (B. 289. 5^{b}) कृतकर्मा विभीषणः	G. 6. 24. 42^{d} कृतकर्मा विभीषणः
(75)	273. 20^{b} (B. 289. 20^{b}) रावणिः क्रोधमूर्छितः	G. 6. 70. 19^{b} रावणिः क्रोधमूर्च्छितः
(76)	273. 20^{d} (B. 289. 20^{d}) शरानाशीविषोपमान्	B. 6. 88. 41^{b} (G. 6. 68. 5^{b}) शरानाशीविषोपमान्
(77)	274. 5^{d} (B. 290. 5^{d}) रावणो राक्षसेश्वरः (B राक्षसाधिपः)	B. 6. 95. 32^{d}; 97. 2^{d}; 100. 10^{b}; 102. 2^{d}, 27^{b}; etc. (G. 6. 80. 10^{b}) रावणो राक्षसेश्वरः (B राक्षसाधिपः in 97. 2^{d} and ff.)
(78)	274. 12^{d} (B. 290. 12^{d}) मातलिः शक्रसारथिः	B. 6. 112. 5^{d} (G. 6. 97. 6^{b}) मातलिः शक्रसारथिः
(79)	1298*, 1299* (B. 290. 19^{c}–20^{b}) दशकन्धरराजसून्वो- स्तथा युद्धमभून्महत् । अलब्धोपममन्यत्र तयोरेव तथाभवत् ॥ [J] (MSS. v. l. for the first line ततः प्रववृते युद्धं रामरावणयोर्महत् ।)	B. 6. 107. 51^{c}–52^{b} सागरं चाम्बरप्रख्य- मम्बरं सागरोपमम् । रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव ॥
(80)	274. 21^{d} (B. 290. 23^{b}) शस्त्राणि विविधानि च	B. 6. 103. 29^{b} (G. 6. 88. 35^{b}) शस्त्राणि विविधानि च

(81)	$275.\ 25^{d}$ (B. 291. 26^{d}) वानराणां महात्मनाम्	G. 1. 4. 72^{b} वानराणां महात्मनां
(82)	275. 33 (B. 291. 34) यदि ह्यकामामासेवे- स्त्रियमन्यामपि ध्रुवम् । शतधास्य फलेद्देह इत्युक्तः सोऽभवत्पुरा ॥ [S] (B मूर्धा for देह.)	B. 7. 26. 55^{c}–56^{b} यदा ह्यकामां कामार्तो धर्षयिष्यति योषितम् । मूर्धा तु सप्तधा तस्य शकलीभविता तदा ॥
(83)	275. 48^{d} (B. 291. 50^{b}) यावद् भूमिर्धरिष्यति	B. 6. 100. 56^{d} (G. 6. 81.22^{d}; 112. 102^{d}) यावद् भूमिर्धरिष्यति
(84)	275. 52^{ab} (B. 291. 53^{cd}) पुष्पकेण विमानेन खेचरेण विराजता । [S]	B. 6. 122. 26^{ab} (G. 6. 107. 25^{ab}) खगतेन विमानेन हंसयुक्तेन भास्वता । (G खेचरेण विमानेन कामगेन विराजता.)
(85)	275. 65^{c} (B. 291. 66^{c}) वसिष्ठो वामदेवश्च	B. 1. 7. 4^{c} (G. 1. 7. 1^{c} : 2. 69. 2^{a}) वसिष्ठो वामदेवश्च (G वशिष्ठो)
(86)	275. 69^{cd} (B. 291. 70^{cd}) दशाश्वमेधानाजह्रे जारूथ्यान्स निरर्गलान् ।	B. 6. 128. 95^{cd} (G. 6. 113. 10^{ab}) दशाश्वमेधानाजह्रे सदश्वान्भूरिदक्षिणान् । (G [like Mbh.] जारूथ्यान् for सदश्वान्.)

This cannot be considered as an exhaustive list.[10] In fact I must frankly confess that my study of the Rāmāyaṇa has been rather

10. In the above list Nos. 5, 8, 21, 31, 79 and 82 were traceable to the Bombay ed. only; Nos. 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 19, 26, 33, 37, 41, 44, 53, 66, 74, 75 and 81 were traceable to GORRESIO's edition only; while the remaining 64 are common to the two editions of the Rāmāyaṇa.—*En passant* I may add that even from these figures one can see that text of GORRESIO's edition is nearer to the Critical Edition of the Rāmopākhyāna than that of the Bombay Edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, a conclusion which is confirmed by the numerous agreements in individual readings between GORRESIO and our text as against the tradition represented by the Bombay text.

perfunctory, and moreover it is difficult to identify passages in a work like the Rāmāyaṇa in the absence of a verse-index. A closer study of the Epic and Episode, I am confident, would result in the tracing of many more parallelisms in diction and phraseology. I must here add that I have intentionally excluded such passages as show merely parallelisms in *ideas*, and I have strictly confined myself to exact *verbal* similarities. The greater the number of such verbal similarities the weaker becomes the case for HOPKINS. He, relying on the many minor differences in detail, argues that the fact that the subject-matter of the Epic and the Episode is treated differently in several particulars "points to different workings-over of older matter rather than to copying or condensing" (HOPKINS, *op. cit.* p. 63). HOPKINS loses sight of the fact that differences like those pointed out by him do not prove anything in such cases. Differences are natural and may be expected; nay, they could scarcely be avoided—as far as I can judge—when one is condensing a work of about 25,000 stanzas. But agreements in the bulk can never be casual or accidental; they show invariably identity of source. And the source, as already pointed out by JACOBI,[11] was not a manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa, but a memorized version of it, current in the time of the adapter and in his locality. Then, I expect, the compilers of such works could hardly avoid the influence from oral tradition which existed then. In this restricted sense we must understand the statement that the Rāmopākhyāna is an epitome of our Rāmāyaṇa, a fact which we may regard as established on account of the numerous *verbal* agreements which have been shown to exist between the two poems.[12]

---

11. *Op. cit.* p. 72.

12. For my views on the relationship between the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, see my paper entitled "The Nala Episode and the Rāmāyaṇa" in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas*, pp. 300 ff.

Abhiniṣṭhāna or Abhiniṣṭāna?

By

SŪRYA KĀNTA, Lahore

The Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra (17. 2.) lays down in the name-bestowing ceremony :—

"*pitā nāma karoti dvyakṣaraṃ caturakṣaraṃ vā ghoṣavadādy antarantasthaṃ dīrghābhiniṣṭhānaṃ kṛtaṃ kuryān na taddhitam.*"

"*dīrghābhiniṣṭhānam*" is explained by Karka as "*niṣṭhānaṃ samāptir ucyate sā dīrghā kartavyā*" and by Jayarāma as "*dīrghaṃ dvimātram abhiniṣṭhānaṃ niṣṭhā samāptir yasya tat.*" With this explanation agree the other three commentators i. e. Hasihasa, Gadādhara and Viśvanātha.

The author of Saṃskāra-Ganapati, while commenting on the above-quoted sūtra (p. 554) says :—

"*dīrgham ahrasvaṃ gurv ity arthaḥ* । *abhiniṣṭhānam avasānaṃ samāptir yasya tad dīrghābhiniṣṭhānam* । *dīrghābhiniṣṭhānaṃ visargaḥ* । *yathā Devaḥ* ।"

He quotes thereupon the following kārikā :—

tac ca ghoṣavadādy antarantasthaṃ caturakṣaram ।
dvyakṣaraṃ kṛtpratyayāntaṃ visargāntam ataddhitam ॥

The point is clear. All agree in the reading "*abhiniṣṭhāna.*" But, while the five commentators[1] on the Pāraskara explain "*dīrghābhiniṣṭhāna* "by "*dīrghāvadāna*" the author of Saṃskāra-Gaṇapati explains it by "*Visargānta*" and "*visarga*" alone is mentioned in the kārikā quoted hy him.

On this point the Kārikā agrees with :—

(*a*) Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya (I. 13.5).

"*ghoṣavadādy antarantastham abhiniṣṭhānāntaṃ dvyakṣaram*"

The sūtra has dropped "*dīrgha*" retaining only "*abhiniṣṭhānāntam*" which is glossed by Gārgya-Nārāyaṇa as :—

"*abhiniṣṭhāno visarjanīyaḥ* । *saḥ ante yasya tat*"

Haradatta, another commentator on the same work, agrees with it and confirms it by quoting "*abhinisaḥ stanaḥ śabdasaṃjñāyām*" (Pāṇini 8.3.86).

---

1. It may be noted that none of the five commentators cites an example, while Saṃskāra-Gaṇapati cites "Devaḥ".

(*b*) Kauśītaki-Gṛhya :—

"*ghoṣavadādy antarantastham abhiniṣṭhānāntam*"

This is explained by Bhavatrāta[2] as :—

"*abhiniṣṭhāno visarjanīyaḥ* I *abhinisaḥ stanaḥ śabdasaṃjñāyām*" *iti* II

It may be noted that, while the Pāraskara-Gṛhya has "*dīrghābhiniṣṭhāna*" (explained by the commentators as "*dīrghāntam*" or "*visargāntam*") the Āśvalāyana and Kauśītaki-Gṛhyas have only "*abhiniṣṭhānāntam*", and if "*abhiniṣṭhānāntam*" means "*visargāntam*", "*dīrghābhiniṣṭhānam*" should mean something more than that.

Yet another reading is found in the following Gṛhya-sūtras : —

(*a*) Gobhila-Gṛhya (II. 8.14) :—

"*ghoṣavadādy antarantasthaṃ dīrghābhiniṣṭhānāntaṃ kṛtaṃ nāma dadhyāt*"

This is glossed by Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa as :—

"*abhiniṣṭhānaṃ visarjanīyam akṣaram* I *Rāṇāyanīyānām*[3] *Ṛk-tantre—prasiddhā visarjanīyasyābhiniṣṭhānākhyā iti* I *arthād dvayor asaṃbhave vikalpaḥ* I *dīrgham akṣaram ante yasya tad dīrghāntam* I *yathā Govindaśarmā iti* I *abhiniṣṭhānaṃ visarjanīyam ante yasya tad abhiniṣṭhānāntam* I *yathā Govindaḥ iti* I"

"*anye tv evaṃ paṭhanti* I *dīrghābhiniṣṭhānaṃ kṛtaṃ nāma dadhyād īti* I *teṣām arthaḥ* I *dīrgheṇākṣareṇābhinitiṣṭhate parisamāpyate yan nāma tad dīrghābhiniṣṭhānam* I *yathā Govindaśarmā iti* I"

Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa knows both the traditions. He explains both "*dīrghābhiniṣṭhānāntām*" as well as "*dīrghābhiniṣṭhānam*" the reading found in the Pāraskara. But, while the commentators on Pāraskara explain it as "*visargāntam*" and cite "*Devaḥ*" as an instance, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyana explains it as "*dīrghāntam*" and quotes "*Govindaśarmā*" as an example. The conflict between the two is clear.

(*b*) Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhya (II. 4. 10):—

"*ghoṣavadādy antarantasthaṃ dīrghābhiniṣṭhānāntam.*"

On this Mātṛdatta says:—

"*abhiniṣṭhānāntaḥ pramādapāṭha ity eke* I *visarjanīya ityarthaḥ* I *dirghaś cābhiniṣṭhānaś ca dīrghābhiniṣṭhānau tav ante yasya tat* I *yaugapadyenāmnātatvād dīrghāntaṃ visarjanīyāntaṃ vety arthaḥ*"

---

2. Bhavatrāta, based on a single manuscript will be shortly available.

3. The available Rk—Tantra does not mention "abhiniṣṭhāna" or—ṣṭāna ; cp. my note on "Mixture of Prātiśākhya A and B in the light of the Sāma-Pariśiṣṭa in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, p. 319.

(*c*) Āpastamba-Gṛhya (VI. 15. 9):—

. . . *dīrghābhiniṣṭānāntam* . . . . .

This is explained by Haradatta as :—

"*dīrghāt paro' bhiniṣṭānaḥ visarjanīyo' nto yasya tat tathā* ।
Godhūḥ, Goptrīḥ ity ādi".[4]

Sudarśanācārya, another commentator on the same work writes :—

"*abhiniṣṭhāna iti visargasya pūrvācāryāṇāṃ saṃjñā* ।
udāharaṇāni : Vārdāḥ, Gīrdāḥ, Draviṇodāḥ, Varivodāḥ iti"

With this interpretation seems to agree the author of Gobhila-Gṛhya-Karma-prakāśikā (p. 226):—

"*madhyākṣaraṃ yaralavānyatamaṃ (read—antaram) visargottaradīrghāntaṃ nāma kuryāt*"

Both the Gobhila-Gṛhya and Āpastamba-Gṛhya read "*dīrghā*-bhiniṣṭhānāntam". But, while Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, the commentator on Gobhila explains it as "*dīrghāntam*" and "*visargāntam*" citing "*Govindaśarmā*" and "*Govindaḥ*" as examples, Haradatta and Sudarśanācārya, the commentators on Āpaatamba mean "*dīrghāt paro visarjanīyo yasya*" and cite "*Godhūḥ*" and "*Gīrdāḥ*" as examples. The conflict between the two is patent.

The Vārāha-Gṛhya (III. 7,), Bhāradvāja-Gṛhya (I. 26) and Baudhāyana-Gṛhya (II. 1. 25. 26) all have "*dirghābhiniṣṭhānāntam*" or "*—ṣṭāntam*", but there being no comment available on them the issue remains obscure.

Baffled by the diversity of views regarding the end of a name the compiler or compilers of the Mānava-Gṛhya have dropped the expression altogether and while they prescribe that a name should begin with a sonant letter and should have in the middle a semi-vowel they are silent about its end, the sūtra in question being:—

"*ghoṣavadādy antarantasthaṃ dvyakṣaraṃ caturakṣaraṃ vā*" (*I.18.1*)

The same omission may be noted in Jaiminīya-Gṛhya (I. 9).

The Gṛhyasūtra of Khādira (II. 3. 10) and Kauthumas[5] omit all references to the beginning, middle and end of a name, implying thereby a free choice in the matter.

The confusion of " *abhiniṣṭhāna* " and "*abhiniṣṭāna*" and the diversity of interpretations offered by the commentators on various

---

4 Cp. also Garga :—
' ādau ghoṣavad akṣarān yaralavān madhye punaḥ sthāpayet ।
ante dīrghavisarjanīyasahitaṃ nāma prayatnāt kṛtam ।।

5. The edition, based on a single corrupt manuscript will be shortly available.

Gṛhyasūtras may be attributed to the confusion of *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh*, so frequently met with both in the Sanskrit manuscripts as well as printed works. That the correct reading is " *abhiniṣṭāna* " (and not—*ṣṭhā*)- and this we should have in all the Gṛhyasūtras—is insured by *abhiniṣaḥ stanaḥ śabdasaṃjñāyām*" (Pāṇini 8. 3. 86), which definitely prescribes " *abhiniṣṭāna*" from √*stan* as a name of a Varṇa; and the fact that it means visarjanīya and not a varṇa[6] in general (as is implied by Vāmana[7] and others) is testified by *abhiniṣṭhāno visarjanīyaḥ* (so all the mss. of Caturadhyāyikā I. 2. 1) which clearly describes visarjanīya varṇa as *abhiniṣṭāna*".

General usage allows a name to have at its end either Visarjanīya (cp. *Devaḥ*) or a long letter (cp. —*śarmā*), and this lends support to the explanation "*dīrghāntam*" or "*Visarjanīyāntam*" offered for *dīrghābhiniṣṭānāntam*" by Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa on Gobhila (II. 8. 14) and Mātṛdatta on Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhya (II. 4. 10) and it is just possible that the original reading of the Pāraskara also was *dīrghābhiniṣṭānāntam*", and not—*ṣṭhānam*, where the word "*abhiniṣṭhāna*" if correct is not quotable from Sanskrit literature in the sense of " end."

The confusion of -*ṣṭ*- and -*ṣṭh*- is so strong that even under Pāṇini (8. 3. 86), which unmistakably prescribes *abhiniṣṭāna* from √*stan* the manuscripts and some of the printed works also read-*ṣṭhā* —besides—*ṣṭā*— ; and so sticking is the impression of-*niṣṭhāna*, due perhaps to "*niṣṭhā*', of Pāṇini (I. 1. 26) that even in those cases where the commentators on Gṛhyasūtras cite "*abhinisaḥ stanaḥ śabdasaṃjñāyām* (Pāṇini VIII. 3.86) for explaining *abhiniṣṭāna*, the scribes of the manuscripts and editors of the printed works unwittingly give —niṣṭhāna ; and this tendency has reached extremes int Caturadhyāyikā *abhiniṣṭāno visarjanīyaḥ*" (I. 2.1) where almost all the manuscripts, which I consulted at Oxford (and also WHITNEY in his edition) read -*niṣṭhāna* instead of the correct *niṣṭāna*.

Abhiniṣṭhāna or *ṣṭāna* is the type of perplexities with which the Gṛhyasūtras, the latest production of the Vedic period abound ; their solution requires years of discretion and mature judgment : it requires a comparative study to which only a few of the Vedic works have been subjected as yet. And although there is a great and pressing need of a new Sanskrit Thesaurus on the scale of the Oxford English Dictionary or the Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ, the time for its compilation has not, as yet, come.

---

6. Cp. also Kramadīśvara "abhinisaḥ stano visarge" (Saṃdhi 273) with Goyīcandra "visarge vācye iti Bhāgavṛttikṛto matam | virarge varṇe ca vācye iti Vāmanasya matam | abhiniṣṭhāno varṇa iti Candramatam | tathā ca Māghaḥ "vacaḥ apaṣṭānabhiṣṭānam idam ādāya mādhavah".

7. Cp. Kāśikā on its "abhiniṣṭāno varṇaḥ, abhiniṣṭāno visarjanīyah."

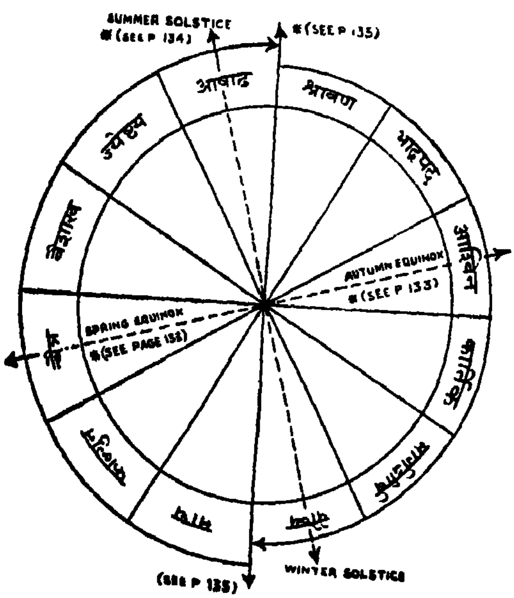
8. The confusion of —ṣṭ— and —ṣṭh— is not infrequent even in Aśokan inscription ; cp. THOMAS, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 363.

Some Observations on Kauṭilya's Measures of Time

By

G. D. TAMASKAR, Jubbulpore

All societies, primitive or civilized, require measures to guage time and space. The measures of space which obtain in various countries today, are different; so is the case with the measures of time. This much can however be said that there is more uniformity in the measures of time in the world than in the measures of space. And the reason is plain enough. People do not need measures of space as much as they need measures of time. These days most of the societies have some uniform measures of time such as 'week', 'hour', 'minute', 'second', 'day', etc. The meaning of a 'year' and a 'month' varies in different countries. The Hindus generally observe a lunar month. Therefore, the number of days in a month varies and is not uniform in all the months. The Hindus' year also is lunar, but by the addition of a leap month from time to time, it is adjusted with the solar year. Even amongst the Hindus there is no perfect uniformity. In Bengal they observe the solar month and the solar year. Even the new year's day is not the same



* Note—The reference to pages, are to those of Dr. Sham SHASTRI's translation of *Kautiliya Artha Shastra.*

amongst the Hindus. Somewhere it coincides with the 1st of the bright fortnight of *Caitra* of each year, while in other parts or communities it occurs on the 1st of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*. The month begins somewhere with the day following the new-moon day, while in some parts it commences with the day following the full-moon day. In short, there is today a great variety in the measures of time in the different parts and communities of India.

It will therefore not be uninteresting to see what measures of time obtained in the time of Kauṭilya, i. e. about 2250 years ago.

Kuaṭilya says in the second book of his famous *Arthaśāstra* :—

Truṭi, *lava*, *nimeśa*, *kāṣṭhā*, *kāla*, *nālikā*, *muhūrta*, forenoon, afternoon, day, night, fortnight, month, season, solstice, *ayana*, *Samvatsara* and *yuga* are the measures of time.

2 *truṭis* make one	*lava*
2 *lavas*	*nimeṣa*
5 *nimeṣas*	*kāṣṭhā*
30 *kāṣṭhās*	*kāla*
40 *kālas*	*nālika* (now generally called *ghaṭikā*)
2 *nālikas*	*muhūrta*
15 *muhūrtas*	day or night

Such a day and such a night happen in the months of Caitra and Aśvayuj. Then after the period of six months it increases or diminishes by three muhūrtas[1].

In ch. VI of Book II, Kauṭilya says:—

"The royal year, the dawn (*Vyuṣṭas*), the third and seventh *pakṣas* of (the seasons such as) the rainy season, the winter season, and the summer short[2] of their days, the rest complete, and a separate intercalary month are (divisions of time)."

1. Ch. XX, Book II.
2. Dr. SHAMSHASTRI interprets this, as shown below ·—

1.	The bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa	15 days
2.	The dark.	14 days
3	The bright fortnight of Bhādrapada	14 days
4.	The dark...	15 days
5.	The bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa	15 days
6.	The dark..	14 days
7.	The bright ....Puṣya	14 days
8.	The dark......	15 days
9.	The bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha	14 days
10.	The dark...........	15 days
11.	The bright......... .... Aṣāḍha	14 days
12.	The dark.............	14 days
		174 days

For the sake of comparison, we shall cite the description of the measures as given in the Atharvajyotiṣa and as cited in Mr. Shankar Balkrishna DIKSHIT's *History of Indian Astronomy*. He says that the measures of time, namely, *muhūrta*, *kāla* and *kāṣṭhā*, obtain in the Vedas also. The *muhūrta* there has exactly the same measure as is mentioned by Kauṭilya, but the *kāla* and the *kāṣṭhā* of the Vedas do not agree exactly with those of Kauṭilya. In the *Ṛgveda-Jyotiṣa*, the *muhūrta* is mentioned as equal to two *Nāḍikās*, but the other measures mentioned in that work do not obtain in Kauṭilya's work. The names of measures of time in the *Atharva Jyotiṣa* agree with those of Kautilya, but their durations do not agree. In some cases the discrepancy is rather appreciably great. The measures of time as mentioned in the *Atharva-Jyotiṣa* are these :—

12 *nimeṣas*	1 *lava*
30 *lavas*	1 *kāla*
30 *kālas*	1 *truṭi*
30 *truṭis*	1 *muhūrta*
30 *muhūrtas*	1 day-night

In those days the modern instruments to measure time did not obtain The question therefore arises 'How was time measured then?' There were two methods: one was the shadow method, and the other the *ghaṭikā* method. The passage of the day can be to some extent measured in terms of the shadow of an object. In those days also, this method was used. The measures of shadows in relation to the passage of the day, according to Kauṭilya, are as follows :

8 *Puruṣa*	1/18
6 *Puruṣa*	1/14
2 *Puruṣa*	1/ 5
1 *Puruṣa*	1/ 4
8 Fingers	3/10
4 Fingers	3/ 8
0 ?	1/ 2

The dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa is made to consist of 14 days, as it is the second seventh of the bright fortnight of Puṣya, the first seventh. This with the 180 days of the other three seasons makes the lunar year consist of 354 days.

The solar year consists of twelve months, each of 30½ days, i e., of 366 days in all. In the 20th chapter of Book II it has been mentioned that five years make one yuga, and that at the end of each thirty months there is one *Adhimāsa* (leap month) i.e., one at the end of the first thirty months and the other at the end of the next thirty months. Thus the lunar year gets adjusted with the solar year, for a yuga thus comes to consist of 1830 days. Thus Dr. SHAMSHASTRI's interpertation seems to be correct.

The afternoon has to be calculated similarly, but in the reverse order.

The measures of time in terms of the lengths of shadows, as mentioned in the *Atharva-Jyotiṣa*, are given below:—

Muhūrta	Shadow in fingers
1	96
2	60
3	12
4	6
5	5
6	4
7	3
8	0

Neither Mr. DIKSHIT, while describing the measures of time as mentioned in *Atharva-Jyotiṣa*, nor Kauṭilya has mentioned on what day the above-mentioned measures are true. But Kauṭilya has mentioned this much that in Āṣāḍha the shadow is zero at the time of noon. While describing the daily routine life of the king, Kauṭilya has mentioned the measures quoted above with this difference that instead of mentioning the time-equivalents for 96 and 72 fingers, he has mentioned 36 fingers of shadow as equivalent to 1/8 of day-time. In the reverse order, the afternoon time can be known. We may therefore surmise that the above measures relate to some day of Āṣāḍha. They cannot therefore be compared with those of the *Atharva-Jyotiṣa*, and we cannot say with certainty if they are correct or not. Probably, they might be applicable to the days following the summer solstice. This is however clear that they are not very useful for all on account of two reasons. Firstly, the relation of shadow to the passage of the day depends upon latitude. Secondly, it depends upon the seasons, for the altitude of the sun varies according to the seasons. Even Kauṭilya knew this. He says: "At the time of the noon in Āṣāḍha the shadow is zero. After Āṣāḍha, with effect from Śrāvaṇa the shadow increases two fingers for six months and with effect from Māgha it decreases two fingers."[3]

I am inclined to think that Kauṭilya did not calculate the lengths of shadows in relation to the passage of the day in accordance with latitude. All the places do not have zero shadow at the time of noon. This is true of the tropics only and not of other latitudes. It is not clearly given by Kauṭilya how we are to

3. Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, ch. 20; sutra 50.

interpret his measures on other days. His suggestions, if followed literally, will create several difficulties, but all these need not be considered here. To illustrate them, I shall mention only one here. Shall we deduct the length of two fingers even from the shadow of the noon-time? This will give us a strange result: some time the shadow will be to the north and sometime to the south. It must, however, be remembered that all the places to the north of 23½° N. will have the shadows always to the north as the sun will always be passing by the south. Moreover, the length of the gnomon is not mentioned anywhere in the *Arthaśāstra*. From the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* it seems, however, that it used to be twelve fingers in length. In short, the measures of time in terms of shadow are not very useful practically.

The other method of measuring time was the *Ghaṭikā*. Those who perform thread and marriage ceremonies strictly in accordance with the old methods, use the *Ghaṭikā* even now on those occasions. It is called *Nālikā* in Kautilya's book. In order to know time in terms of *Nālikā*, Kautilya suggests the following: take four *māśas* of gold and turn it in a wire four fingers in length. The hole in the *Nālikā* vessel should be as thick as this wire. The time in which one *Āḍhaka* of water will flow out of that kind of vessel will be one *Nālikā*. It is, therefore, necessary to describe the measure of *Āḍhaka*. From Kautilya's statement in ch. XIX, it follows that one *Āḍhaka* is equal to 50 *palas*. This very relationship is mentioned in the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* But Mr. DIKSHIT maintains that there is some discrepancy about it and further shows that one *Nāḍikā* is equal to the time taken by 190 ¾ *palas* of water to flow out of a vessel. He has there stated that one *pala* is equal to four *karṣa* or four *tolās*. It thus follows that one *Nāḍikā* is a little more than the time taken by nine and a half seers of water to flow out of a vessel. In the *Veḍāṅga-Jyotiṣa*, the dimension of the hole of the *Nāḍikā* vessel has not been mentioned, but it is clear that it must have been larger than that mentioned by Kautilya. Later on, Nādikā came to be equal to the time taken by 60 *palas* of water to flow out of a vessel. So it follows that the dimension of the hole in the vessel must have again varied. That the *pala* denoting time was measured in terms of 60 *palas* of water in weight is quite certain from the various references to '*pānīya* (water) *Pala*' in the astronomical books.

Later on, the *Nāḍika* came to be called *Ghaṭikā* or *Ghaṭī* which corrupted into *Ghaḍī*, which now means a time-piece or clock or watch, an instrument of denoting time.

Here some digression is necessary. The reference to *Nālikā* is to be found in the *Arthaśāstra* in three different contexts. And, we think, in each place it has been used in the sense of a device to measure time, and denotes exactly the same measure. Dr. SHAMASHASTRI has, however, mentioned this opinion of Dr. FLEET that at p. 107 of the text *Nālikā* has been used in the sense of measure of time, but at p. 37 just like that at p. 13 *Nāḷikā* has been used in the sense of *chhāyā-nālikā*. We humbly beg to say that Dr. FLEET has grossly erred in interpreting *Nālikā*. At p. 107 it has been clearly mentioned that time taken by a certain measure of water is a *nālikā* of *Nāḍikā* and this has been silently accepted by the said learned scholar; but, where this meaning has not been mentioned so clearly, the Doctor has tried to read into it a meaning of his own. And we think that Dr. SHAMSHASTRI is also responsible for lending his help in this interpretation. At p. 13, the words are :—

"मर्यादां स्थापयेदाचार्यानमात्यान्वा । य एनमपायस्थानेभ्यो वारयेयुः, छाया-नालिकाप्रतोदेन वा रहसि प्रमाद्यन्तमभितुदेयुः ।"

Dr. SHAMSASTRI has translated this thus :—"Those teachers and ministers who keep him from following a prey to dangers, and who by striking the hours of the day determined by measuring shadows (*chāyānālikā pratodena*) warn him of his careless proceedings even in secret shall invariably be respected." The sentence at p. 37 runs thus:—"नालिकाभिरहरष्टधा रात्रिं च विभजेत् । छायाप्रमाणेन वा ।"

Dr. SHAMSHASTRI has translated this thus :—" He shall divide both the day and the night in eight *nālikās* (1½ hours), or according to the length of the shadow (cast by a gnomon standing in the sun)." By accepting the interpretation of Dr. SHAMSHASTRI and the opinion of Dr. FLEET, we ascribe inconsistency to Kautilya. The first is that he has used the word, *Nālikā* or *Nāḍikā*, in two different senses in three contexts. At one place it comes to denote 24 minutes, while at other places it stands for 90 minutes. At one place it is a measure of time by means of water, while at other places it is a measure of time by means of shadow. We think that a learned man as Kautilya was, is not likely to be guilty of this inconsistency. Can he forget that, having used it at one place in one sense, he cannot consistently use it at other places in a different sense ? Dr. FLEET and Dr. SHAMSHASTRI ought to have found out if there is any historical evidence to support their interpretation. The History of Hindu Astonomy nowhere shows that a *Nālikā* used to be equal to 90 minutes of this day or that it was a measure by means of shadow; there also, a *nālikā* always denoted 24 minutes and is definitely a

measure of time by means of water. Secondly, they ought to have paid attention to backward and forward references while interpreting the sentences of p. 107 and p. 37. A measure by means of shadow can be useful during the day, but not at night. There must have, however, been some device for the night too and in those ancient times this was clearly the *Nālikā*. How can it be then a measure by means of shadow? It is apparent that it must be a water measure. At p. 37, the routine of the king's life of the day and the night has been described. Therefore, the day-time was divided into eight parts which we have already mentioned above. But how was his life at night to be guided? By the *Nālikā* of course. In short the *Nālikā* was a time measure by means of water and not by means of shadow. How did then these learned men come to commit such mistakes in their interpretation of the above-quoted sentences? There seem to be two answers to this. The *pratoda* of the phrase *chāyānālikā-pratodena* has, it seems, confused them. The dictionary meaning of the word is 'goad', 'long whip', 'pricking instrument', etc.; but we think that it has been used here in a figurative sense. If we accept the literal sense of the word, we shall have to say that the priest and the ministers used to prick the king with *chāyā-nālikā-pratoda*. It is clear, however, that such a statement would be awkward and vulgar. Kauṭilya cannot be expected to give such instruction to the priest and the ministers. It can have here only a figurative sense and we should interpret the above-quoted sentence of p. 13 to mean that the priests and ministers should from time to time remind the king of his duties by the time goad of *chāyā-nālikā*, i. e., they should tell him from time to time, 'now is the time to do this work, next, this other work will have to be done,' etc. Probably, the singular form *pratodena* might have confused them. They might have thought that in case *chāyā-nālikā* were two things, *pratoda* ought to have been used in the dual number; but as it is used in the singular, *chāyā-nālikā* ought to mean only one thing and not two. But we think that it is not necessary that *pratoda* must be in the dual instrumental in order that *chāyā-nālikā* may carry the sense of two things Two singular words can be quite correctly joined with a third singular word in order to make a *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. There can, therefore, be no objection in interpreting *chāyā-nālikā* to mean two things. But Dr. SHAMSHASTRI interpreted *chāyā-nālikā* to mean only one thing. and thought of it to have been quite a new thing. This very interpretation was accepted by Dr. FLEET, who got further confused by the words of p. 37 and thought of *Nālikā* to have been equal to 90 minutes. After the sentence "नालिकाभिरहरष्टधा रात्रिं च विभजेत्"

four shadow measures of the forenoon have been given. Therefore, it should be possible to divide the day or the nighi into eight divisions by the *Nālikā* also: And, as Kauṭilya has supposed the day and the night to be equal, the *Nālikā* must necessarily be equal to $\frac{12}{8}$ hours, i. e., 1½ hours. But as the *nālikā* of p. 107 is equal to 24 minutes, the *nāḍika* of p. 37 must be some other measure and must be the same (according to Dr SHAMSASTRI), as that of p. 13. Therefore, 'नाडिकाभि...विभजेत्' must mean "should divide into nāḍikās". Therefore, a *nāḍikā* must be equal to 1½ hours. Dr. FLEET has one serious objection to interpreting these words to mean "should be divided by means of *Nāḍikās*". This difficulty of his may be described in his own words here :—" The passage on text p. 37 is an interesting one. The king is directed to divide the day-time and the night into eight (equal) parts by the *Nālikās* or by the measure of the shadow (of a gnomon). The text then states the shadow-lengths which give the eight divisions. That is all right for the day time. But what about the night, when the gnomon gives no shadow ? Are the divisions to be reckoned at night by the *Nālikā* of 24 minutes, which is referred to at the bottom of p. 107 ? That would be rather difficult because one-eighth of the day-time of the night = 90 minutes, 3¾ *Nālikās*: and how are ¾ ths of a *nālikā* to be marked by the water bowl ? I am inclined to think that the *Nālikā* of p. 37 has nothing to do with the *nālikā* of p. 107 and that its full name is *chhāyānālikā*, which occurs on p. 13, line 2. This period of 90 minutes is, as far as I know, quite an exceptional Indian division of time, and the more remarkable because it is not commensurable without fractions, with either *nālikā* as usually known or the *Muhūrta* ". The learned doctor accepted Dr. SHAMSHASTRI's translation of the sentence of p. 13 to be correct, and used it to interpret the sentence of p. 37. So the mistake in one case was repeated in another. While interpreting the *Nālikā* of p. 37 the doctor had to face the difficulty that as the eighth part of the day-time or the night-time cannot be measured by an integer number of *Nālıkās*, each part being equal to 3¾ *nālikās*, the fraction ¾ cannot be measured by any measure of time, by means of water. So he thought that the eighth part of the day-time or the night-time must denote an integer number of *Nālikās* and it must be equal to 1½ hours. May we however question him : On what basis should Kauṭilya have given the standards of "*truṭi*, *lava*, *nimeṣa*, *kāṣṭhā* and *Kāla*?" Can we not mention ¾ *nāḍikā* i. e. 30 *kālas* in the same way ? Are not the different degrees of measures shown on the sides of the measuring vessels by means of marks ? In fact a learned man of the scientific age should not

think it to be difficult. But we think that the *nālikā* or *nāḍikā* of pp. 13, 37 and 107 are all the same—they denote a bowl to measure time by means of water, which was to contain one *Āḍhaka* of water which was to issue out of it through a hole of a dimension given by Kauṭilya and, thus, to indicate a certain measure of time. Now this digression must be brought to an end here.

Having given the various shadows (to indicate different parts of a day) according to seasons, Kauṭilya says : " fifteen days and nights make a *pakṣa* (fortnight). The fortnight, in which the phases of the moon wax, is called bright, and that, in which it wanes, is called dark. Two fortnights make one month. Thirty days and nights make one work month *prakarmamāsa*. 30½ days make one solar month. 27 days make one lunar month. There is one siderial month. There is one *malamāsa* (profane month, i. e., leap month) in thirty-two months. There is one *malamāsa* in thirty-five months for the *Aśvavāhas* and there is one *malamāsa* in forty months for the *Hastivāhas* ". Now let us see how far these facts agree with the facts of those ancient times or of these times.

These days also, excepting the requiremests of religio-scientific occasions, the fortnight usually consists of 15 days and the month of thirty days. The Christian months, however, reckoned for official purposes, :consist sometimes of 31 days and sometimes of 28 or 29 days. These days, a siderial month is thought to consist of 27 days, 7 hours, 43 minutes, 11.461 seconds, i. e., roughly of 27 days, 7¾ hours, or, more roughly, 27⅓ days. We can say that the length of the siderial days given by Kautilya does not substantially differ from the modern one. His measure of the lunar month more closely agrees with the modern measure of it. According to him it consists of 29½ days while its modern length is 12 hours, 44 minutes and 2·87 seconds. It is clear that the difference between the two is very small. This small difference can be reasonably expected when we remember that the modern fine scientific instruments of measurements did not obtain in those days. Moreover, it has to be remembered that the *Arthaśāstra* is not a book of astronomy. As his statements are meant for practical purposes of official work, it was not necessary for him to give in it the minute details. The solar month, according to Kautilya, consists of 30½ days, and the solar year of 366:days. The *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* also mentions these very measures. Even the *yuga* measure of Kauṭilya agrees with that of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*. According to both it is said to consist of 1830 days. The lunar month was and is the current measure of a month in the calendar. A lunar month consists of 29½ days and the lunar

year of 354 days. The *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* says that in one *yuga* (i. e. five years) two additional months (each of thirty days) have to be added. Thus five lunar years ($354 \times 5 + 60 = 1830$ days) were made to agree with five solar years (366×5 days). The solar and lunar years were thus adjusted. This very calculation has been mentioned by Kauṭilya. This fact has been thus described by him :

दिवसस्य हरत्यर्कः षष्टिभागमृतौ ततः ।
करोत्येकमहश्छेदं तथैवैकं च चन्द्रमाः ॥

"The sun carries off $\frac{1}{60}$th of a whole every day, and thus takes away one complete day in every two months. Likewise, the moon (falls behind by $\frac{1}{60}$th of a whole day every day and falls behind one day in every two months)".

This gives a clear difference of two days between the lunar and solar calculations every two months, i. e., of one day every month, or of 12 days every year, i. e., of 60 days in five years. So if two months (i. e., 60 days) are added to the lunar calculation of five years (1770 days), they become adjusted to five solar years (1830 days). This very fact has been said by Kautılya ın the following verse :—

एवमर्धतृतीयानामब्दानामधिमासकम् ।
ग्रीष्मे जनयतः पूर्वं पञ्चाब्दान्ते च पश्चिमम् ॥

"Thus in the middle of every third year, they (the sun and the moon) make one *Adhimāsa*, additional month, the first in the summer season and the second at the end of five years."

This statement becomes inconsistent with one previous statement where a *malamāsa* is said to occur at the end of 32 months. It may however be pointed that the just-quoted statement of Kauṭilya agrees with the following statement of the *Vedānga Jyotiṣa* :—

द्यूनं द्विषष्टिभागेन हेयं सूर्यात् सपार्वणम् ।
यत्कृतावुपजायेते मध्ये चान्ते चाधिमासकौ ॥

From this it seems that Kauṭilya has borrowed his facts from the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*. Mr. DIKSHIT has however to say that this arrangement of a *malamāsa* after 30 months soon got changed into one of a *malamāsa* after 32 months, i. e., people soon after the *Vedaṅga Jyotiṣa* began to observe a *malamāsa* after thirty-two months. Some might say that we do not now have a solar year of 366 days—it at present consists of 365 days $5\frac{5}{6}$ hours. To this Mr. DIKSHIT has to say that the year has been gradually becoming shorter and shorter. It was very probable that in those days the year was as long as 366 days.

We have now to offer an explanation for the three arrangements of *malamāsa*. Dr. FLEET says about them :—" I retain my opinion that *malamāsa* is a corrupt reading for *Mallamāsa*, and that the passage means wrestlers were hired by a month of 32 days, horse carriages by a month of 35 days and elephant-carriages by a month of 40 days." It seems that Dr. FLEET has been very fond of appearing original, and wants to put forward something new. It is however, apparent that his interpretation is palpably wrong. It is not necessary for us to place a forced interpretation upon this word. It is clearly composed of *mala* (impure) *māsa* (month) and this meaning has been current all over India from very early times. Probably, the statements " पञ्चत्रिंशदश्ववाहायाः " and " चत्वारिंशद्धस्तिवाहायाः " might have led him to interpret the word " *Malamāsa*" in the above way. It is, however, clear that he has misinterpreted these statements also. Months of 35 days or 40 days have never been heard of in India and Mr. DIKSHIT has not been able to see such a statement anywhere. He says, however, that the *malamāsa* used to be in some parts after 28 months and in some others after 35 months. It is therefore most probable that during Kautilya's time in some parts the *malamāsa* was observed after 32 months, in some others after 35 months and in some others still after 40 months. It is probable that Hastivāhas and Aśvavāhas should have been the names of classes of people or tribes, and that the *malamāsa* used to be variously observed amongst them. Horse-carriages there were and there are, but hackney elephant-carriages do not seem to have existed during Kautilya's time even. So, the learned Doctor's interpretation is clearly unacceptable. He did not pay attention to existing facts, the context and history and, therefore, misread the above statement of Kauṭilya.

Having described the *malamāsas*, Kauṭilya says that each season consists of two months. Śrāvaṇa and Prauṣṭhapada (Bhādrapada) are the months of the rainy season, Aśvayuj (Aśvin) and Kārtika are the months of the Śarad (Autumn), Mārgaśīrśa and Pauṣa are the months of the Hemanta, Māgha and Phālguna are the months of Śiśir, Caitra and Vaiśākha are the months of the spring and Jyeṣṭhāmulīya (Jyeṣṭh) and Āṣāḍha are the months of the summer. The north-ward movement of the sun begins with the Śiśir and the south-ward movement with the rainy-season. These two movements (*Ayana*) make a *saṁvatsara* (year).

On comparison with the *Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa*, it will be found that the above facts agree with it very much. There also, the names of the seasons are the same and their months are the same.

There also, it has been said that the sun moves north-ward and south-ward in Māgha and Śrāvaṇa :—

प्रपद्यते श्रविष्ठादौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुदक् ।
सार्पार्धे दक्षिणार्कस्तु माघश्रावणयोः सदा ॥

This means that *Ayanas* (solstices) of Kauṭilya and the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* agree fully. It will not be, therefore, wrong to infer that the above statements of Kauṭilya were based on and borrowed from the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* and do not necessarily indicate the actual facts of his time. It will be clear to any one that the solstices have come very much backward since Kauṭilya's times. And there should have been a similar difference between the solstices of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* and Kautilya's times. These actual facts are to be found not in his formal statements of seasons, which he borrowed from the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*, but in his casual statements of other facts connected with or dependent on seasons. In the seventh chapter of the second book he says-"गाणनिक्यान्याषाढीमागच्छेयुः" (the accounts should be submitted about the full-moon of Āṣāḍha). The reason for this was that by this time the rainy season was already in progress and, therefore, the persons submitting accounts should come to the capital and go away before the rivers were flooded. From a statement, that we shall soon quote hereafter, it is clear that after about a week the rivers were expected to be in floods as the boats were expected to be plied after this. A little further he says—"त्रिशतं चतुःपञ्चाशच्चाहोरात्राणां कर्म संवत्सरः । तमाषाढीपर्यवसानमूनं पूर्णं वा दद्यात् ।". (A work-year consists of 354 days; payment short of the full or in full (in proportion to the work done) shall be made about the full moon of Āṣāḍha.) It is clear that for yearly accounts the year was lunar and consisted of 354 days, and was in due course adjusted with the solar year by the addition of *Malamāsa* as described above. Work was, however, separately paid for this month. The new year began with Śrāvan. It has not been said anywhere if the months began after the new moon or after the full-moon. But, as most of Kauṭilya's statements agree with those of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* and as this treatise mentions the commencement of the months after the new moon, it can be safely presumed that in Kauṭilya's times also the months began after the new-moon. "सप्ताहवृत्तामाषाढीं कार्तिकीं चान्तरातरम्" is a positive proof of the fact that the months began after the new moon. Āṣāḍhī (आषाढी) means the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha, and Kārtikī (कार्तिकी) means the full-moon day of Kartika. Had the months begun after the full moon, Kauṭilya should have referred to the week after the Āṣāḍha and Kārtika full-moon as the first week of

Śrāvaṇa and Mṛgaśirṣa respectively and should not have said "one week after the full moon of Āṣādha and Kārtika." Another fact that has to be remembered in this connection is that, though the rainy season was said to coincide with Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada, it cannot be said that there were no rains at all before Śrāvaṇa or after Bhādrapada. Rains generally last in India for three months. Therefore it can be safely inferred that rains began at least 15 days before Śrāvaṇa and lasted for 15 days after Bhādrapada. That rains began at least 15 days before Śrāvaṇa can be inferred also from the statement "सप्ताहवृत्तामाषाढीं कार्तिकीं चान्तरातरन्" which has been already quoted above and of which this interpretation we have pointed out also. Somebody might draw our attention to the state 'आषाढीपर्यवसान-मूनं वा पूर्णं दद्यात्' and say that as the payments were to be made just after the full moon of the Āṣāḍha for the past year, the year began after that day. At this we have to say that men are engaged generally 15 days before the commencement of the new agricultural year even now. If the old men are engaged again for the new year, no deduction is made from their dues. If the men refuse to serve the next year or are not again engaged by the master, their accounts can be settled for their work done till the day of the settlement of accounts and payment of their dues. We believe this has been an old practice of the Indian village life. Nobody waits to engage servants till the new agricultural year has begun—generally it is done a fortnight before that. Therefore arises the question of payment in full or less than that according to work. Fourthly, whenever the two fortnights have been mentioned by Kauṭilya, he has mentioned the bright first and the dark afterwards. This shows that the bright was the first part of a month and the dark fortnight the second part.

Now it will have to be conceded, as we have said above, that the solstices must have travelled backward since the times of the *Vedānga-Jyotiṣa* to the times of Kauṭilya. This is well-shown in one statement while describing the duties of the superintendent of the boats. Kauṭilya says :—'सप्ताहवृत्तामाषाढीं कार्त्तिकीं चान्तरातरन्। कार्तिकप्रत्ययं दद्यान्नित्यं चाह्निक माहवेत्॥ "(after the lapse of a week, after the full-moon of Āṣāḍha till a week after the full-moon of Kārtika, daily work should be reported and the daily taxes should be remitted.) This means that by the end of the first week after the full-moon of Āṣāḍha the rivers were generally full on account of the commencement of rains before that. In other words, the rainy season actually began in the time of Kauṭilya about the middle of Āṣāḍha and not about the beginning of Śrāvaṇa, as we might be led to

think by his formal statements based on the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa.* These days the rainy season certainly begins about the middle of June, which month generally coincides with Jyeṣṭha of the Hindu year. There is a similar statement in another place. He says—"आषाढे मासि नष्टच्छायो मध्याह्नो भवति।" (In the month of Āṣāḍha the shadow becomes zero at the time of moon.) It means only this much that there was no east-west shadow ; to the north of the tropic of cancer or to the south of the tropic of capricorn there will certainly he a north-south shadow any day even at the time of noon. This shows that the summer solstice occurred in the time of Kauṭilya in Āṣāḍha and not in Śrāvaṇa as he has formally stated on the basis of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*. So it seems there was a difference of about a month in the time of Kauṭilya since the times of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*. This will mean that solstice had gone backward by obout 30°. As the backward march of the solstices is said to occur at the rate of 48 vikalas, 2250 years will be necessary to bring about a difference of 30°. In any case this difference does not seem to be less than half of this and the distance of time between the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* and Kauṭilya does not seem to be less than 1225 years (see the accompanying diagram). Since the time of Kauṭilya the solstices have travelled back-wards by at least one month. So, about 2250 years seem to have passed till now from the time of Kauṭilya. It is, therefore, clear that Kauṭilya did live in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, as the tradition says.

Some people have made systematic attempts to drag the time of Kauṭilya backward by about six centuries. But they forget certain points. There are no references to zodiacs (राशि) in Kauṭilya's book anywhere. All the astronomical references agree with the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* or, at the latest, with the *Atharva Jyotiṣa.* There is no reference to show that Kauṭilya meant to write his manual for a big state as an empire. Had the book been written in the third century A.D., the manual should have been meant for a large Kingdom and not for a small one. The description of the coins, given by Kanṭilya, agrees with those that have been described and that were made by Chandragupta Maurya. This fact has already been shown by the late Dr. K. P. JAISWAL.

It is thus clear that the attempts to draw backward the time of Kauṭilya are in vain.

The Exact Date of the Arrival of the Parsis in India

By

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA, Poona

The Parsis of India are by no means the only Zoroastrians who srrived in this land from Iran and made this country their home. So far no specific historical evidence of such emigrations other than that of the Parsis has been known, but still there is a lot of what might be called 'indirect evidence' of the presence in India of large colonies of Iranians from the very earliest period throughout the history of both these lands.

It would be, indeed, a very fruitful and fascinating task to investigate and follow up all such evidences that imply a contact between these two peoples. There are ample references of this sort in literature, history, archaeology and religious thought. Indeed a clearly defined and well-recognised common substratum of Indo-Iranian culture has always been recognised by all. A great part of this has been common knowledge among all well-educated people, but a great deal more yet remains unexplored. A careful and critical comparison of the proper names found in both lands—such as those of human and divine heroes, of tribes, cities, lands etc. has yet to be undertaken and worked out systematically. The *Mahābhārata* and the epic and *Purāṇa* literature of India is a very important field for such research. As obvious names we may mention: Gāndhārī and probably Mādrī also.[1] Husravah[2] (Kay-Khusrav) the great Iranian epic hero, is Suśravas of India, and when we find that this is an epithet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, we are also struck with the phonetic resemblance between Guśnasp and Vṛṣṇi, also. The late G. K. NARIMAN had worked out many years ago an extremely interesting parallel between the usages of certain Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇa clans mentioned in the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* and those of the ancient Iranians and he proved more or less satis-

* The subject of this paper constituted part of a lecture delivered by me before the Gujarāt Vernacular Society on the 27th of July, 1936. The lecture was subsequently published in the *Buddhiprakāśa*.

1. See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. xxi (New series), pp. 205 ff.

2. See Paul HORN, *Grundriss der neupersichen Etymologie* No. 925 (p. 206); also JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v. *Waresna*.

factorily, that these Brāhmaṇas were Iranians by race and culture.[3] The *Arthaśāstra* too contains a good number of Iranian words and names, like, for instance, *śeraka* and *hārahūraka*.[4] There are excellent reasons for asserting that a considerable Iranian population had settled down in northern India at various periods of history and that in the course of generations they were ultimately absorbed in the indigenous population and had virtually become Hindus themselves.

All this has been mentioned here to indicate that the Parsis chose India as their land of refuge not by mere hazard, but that they did so deliberately; for they knew quite well that Hind was the land of their brother Aryans, and that they would be welcome there. This band of Iranians have survived even today as a distinct community and have managed to preserve their Iranian heritage so long because of two main reasons. In the first place the region where they finally settled down in India was mainly inhabited by the aboriginal tribes of India, who had necessarily a much lower standard of life than that of the Iranian emigrants. Even while the latter adopted a great many of the superstitious practices of these semi-civilised tribes, still they always regarded themselves as their superiors. The second reason why these emigrants were not absorbed was that though they had arrived in Gujarāt before the Moslems, the latter had certainly been in Sindh by the time the Parsis had arrived. The encroachments of Islam had practically closed the doors of Hindu society against all foreigners, and this practice of keeping out strangers had already commenced when the Parsis first arrived and by the time they spread far and wide over Gujarāt the country was already in the hands of the Moslems.[5]

There is a Persian poem, composed by Bahman Kaykobād SANJĀNĀ about the year 1600 A. D., which recounts the tale

---

3. This part of NARIMAN's writings is to be found scattered in various newspapers and magazines. These ought to be collected together in a handy volume. Reference to the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas, and to the work of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād ŚĀSTRI in this connection, may be found in a paper by Dr. D. B. SPOONER entitled "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" in *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 63–89 and 405–455. Although one need not agree with all that SPOONER says in that paper, it is very interesting and suggestive in regard to the innumerable contacts between Irān and India in the past.

4. Iranian *Shēr* originally means "lion", but in India the word is used fo "tiger" or "panther"; *hārahūraka* in the *Arthaśāstra* refers to a sort of wine—*sārasurā*.

5. The Parsis themselves must have helped to spread this distrust and fear of the Moslems.

of the wandering of this band of Iranians and their arrival at Sanjān on the western coast of India.[6] The work is known as the *Qissa-i-Sanjān*. Many Parsi scholars of repute have refused to accept this work as anything but a pure figment of the writer's fancy, and they deny to it all value as a document of history. But Professor S. H. HODIVALA has very skilfully proved its true worth as a valuable historical document preserving more or less accurately the sequence of events as regards the coming of the Parsis to India.

As literature the *Qissa* is not a grand work; as an *accurate* chronicle it has not much value, because it does not give a single definite date, nor, except in a few cases, does it mention any fixed period of years between any two events. Generally it says "after about 100 years more or less", and so forth, in round numbers. But in spite of these defects the *Qissa* gives us more or less *the correct sequence of events*, which is the chief merit of this narrative.

When we come to the question of actual dates we get a table of events given in a collection of manuscripts. This table was apparently drawn up about 1750 A.D. and is based, as pointed out by HODIVALA, on the sequence of events described in the *Qissa*. This table gives the following number of years, beginning with the Arab conquest of Iran :

50 years of "living in a scattered condition"[7]
100 years in Kohistān
15 years in Hormazd[8]
10 years in Dīv (Kāthiāwār).

This makes 184 years in all. Calculating from 641 A. D., when the Sasanian empire was shattered at Nehāvand, we get the date 825 A. D. as the approximate date of the arrival at Sanjān.[9]

In this table the first 150 years are practically of no value, they are mere "round numbers". Professor S. H. HODIWALA in his *Studies in Parsi History* has critically analysed this table[10] and

6. The town of Sanjān is situated some 90 miles to the north of Bombay. The name seems to have been given to the place by the Parsi emigrants.

7. The word used in the table (which is in Gujarati) is the Arabic *mutafarraq* which is a translation of the word *parāgandeh* (scattered) used in the *Qissa*.

8. This is a city on the northern shores of the Iranian Gulf about 30 miles to the east of Bandar 'Abbās (HODIVALA, *Studies in Parsi History*, p. 100, footnote 19).

9. The table given here has been taken from HODIVALA's book (p. 5). I am deeply indebted to this excellent work for a great deal of the information contained in this essay.

10. Pp. 8 ff.

concludes that it is " delightfully vague " and that from the words we might understand " a period of almost any length or brevity ". He also notes : "What more natural than to suppose that a certain period intervened between the loss of the monarchy and the beginning of the concealment in Kohistān and then to take this initial period to have been about half as long as the Kohistān century ? "[11] The last two entries, however, are quite definite and hence might be accepted.

There exists another very definite record giving the exact date of the arrival of the Parsis at Sanjān. It is a statement by Dastur Aspandiārjī KĀMDĪNJĪ in his small book, *Kadīm Tārīkh Pārsīonī Kasar* (published 1826 A. D.), where he states that the Parsis landed on the shores of Sanjān on Friday, Rōz Bahman, Māh Tīr ; Śrāvaṇa *Śud* 9, Vikrama Saṃvat 772.[12] HODIVALA has discovered an earlier entry of this same date in a manuscript which he thinks " is at least 150 years old."[13] This latter has, besides, the year 85 of the Anno Yazdagardi added. HODIVALA thinks that this addition has been *made by the person who copied the original record.*

If this record is accepted the 100 years in Kohistān should entirely disappear, for the Anno Yazdagardi began with the accession of Yazdagard III of Iran in 631 A. D. But tradition is unanimous about some stay, fairly long, in Kohistān. A very ingenious explanation has been given by Dastur Aspandiārjī about this discrepancy. He says that the Zoroastrian priests, being very proficient in astrology, had long been aware of the approaching downfall of the Sasanian empire, and they prepared for all eventualities, collected all their sacred books and started for Kohistān during the reign of Khusrav Parvez, quite fifty years before the accession of Yazdazard III.[14]

Of course this exact record in Gujarati, giving the Hindu date as well, must have been preserved a long time as tradition before being actually written down. It is also quite certain that at the

11. The century passed in Kohistān is specifically mentioned in the *Qissa*.

12. Rōz Bahman is the second day of the Parsi month and Māh Tīr is the fourth month of the year. It is very noteworthy that the Vikrama Saṃvat has been given. The Parsi era is the Yazdagardi era commencing with the accession of Yazdagard in 631 A.D. But all the earlier Parsi documents give the Vikrama (or the Śaka) era of the Hindus even when the Parsi Rōz-Māh (day and month) are given. The Anno Yazdagardi came into general use comparatively recently.

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

14. Khusrav Parvez (Khusrav II) reigned from 590 to 628 A.D. HODIVALA has quoted the whole passage from Dastur Aspandiārjī and has discussed it (*op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff).

period when this record was put into writing, it did not contain any mention of the Yazdagardi year.[15] The great Parsi scholar, K. R. CAMAJI was the first among us who set about trying to verify this record and the truth of this date. He found, however, to his surprise that in Vikrama Saṃvat 772 there were two Śrāvaṇas and that in neither did the *śud* 9 fall on Friday, nor did the Parsi *Rōz-Māh* correspond. CAMAJI thought that by some carelessness in the Parsi dates the *Rōz* and the *Māh* had got interchanged,[16] and that the entry should have been Rōz Tīr (13th) and Māh Bahman (11th). Even then the day did not correspond to the Hindu date mentioned in either Śrāvaṇa; there was still a difference of four days.[17] To an accurate scholar like CAMAJI it was unthinkable to pass over even this small difference; so he started looking through all the ancient tables of dates[18] trying to find out the year in which the Parsi and the Hindu dates did correspond. He was at last successful in discovering that in the year V. S. 992 (936 A. D.) the Hindu date, the Parsi Rōz-Māh, and the day of the week (Friday), *all three* corresponded exactly as indicated in the traditional record. This was indeed very astonishing, but in the V.S. year the difference was 220 years. CAMAJI merely published the result of his investigation and left it at that.[19]

HODIVALA pointed out that if we accept the year V. S. 772 (716 A. D.) as the year of the arrival at Sanjān, the details of the tradition and a great many other points become entirely inexplicable. The date is far too close to the Arab conquest. Besides, the "perfect agreement" of both the Parsi and the Hindu dates as also of the day of the week in V. S. 992 is a point of immense significance to HODIVALA. So the only legitimate conclusion to arrive at is that the year given, viz., V. S. 772, is wrong, and CAMAJI's investigations tend to show that the date V. S. 992 is very probably correct. It was since the days of CAMAJI's labours that Parsi scholars began to take an interest in Indian epigraphy and kindred subjects. HODIVALA being himself a keen student

15. The very mention of the Yazdagardi year (85) in this manuscript is a proof of its being comparatively recent.

16. The Parsi days of the month (rōz) are named after 30 of the divine beings, and for the *Māhs* (months) twelve out of these 30 have been chosen.

17. The Hindu date corresponding was Śrāvana *śud* 13.

18. In 1866 A.D. Cawasjee Sorabjee PATELL published his *Chronology* giving tables of dates for all the various eras used in Oriental countries, together with simple rules for converting the dates of one era into another. These Tables cover a period of several thousand years. CAMAJI had used this book.

19. B. B. PATEL, *Pārsi Prakāśa*, Vol. I, p. 1 footnote 2; also HODIVALA, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

of Indian antiquities and inscriptions knew that the figure for "nine" would be written in ancient inscriptions in two ways—sometimes as ९ and sometimes as ७. In other words, the lower curve of the figure might be twisted to the right as in the modern *devanāgari* "nine", or to the left as in the modern *devanāgari* "seven".[20] So he concludes that the true date of the arrival at Sanjān was Friday, Śrāvaṇa *śud* 9, Vikrama Saṃvat 992; Parsi Rōz Bahman (2nd), Māh Tir (4th), Anno Yazdagardi 305; the 1st of July, 936 A.D.

So far the arguments advanced by HODIVALA seem quite reasonable. But the true test of the correctness of the date would be to find out if it fits in with well established facts of history both in India and in Iran.

In the first place our Parsi tradition mentions that the ruler who gave them permission to settle down in Sanjān was named "Jādi Rāṇā". This name is also found in the *Qissa*. There was a great deal of speculation as to who this Jādi Rāṇā was. WILSON thought that he was Vanarāja Cāvḍā of Gujarāt, who was also known as Jayadeva. He reigned from 746 to 806 A. D., and the traditional date V. S. 772 (716 A. D.) would not fit this. Others not quite sure took refuge in supposing that he was "some Yādava chief of South Gujarāt". Here too HODIVALA has given us the correct solution.

The *Qissa* describing Jādi Rāṇā speaks of him as

za nasl-i Shāhrāyān i nīk-kār ast

"He is of the race of the *Shāhrāyas* of virtuous conduct."

Here the word *Shāhrāyān* (in the plural) is a puzzle. Apparently it is a hybrid made up of Iranian *shāh* and Indian *rāya* and both the words mean the same thing—"king". The first translater of the *Qissa* into English, EASTWICK, had rendered it "the kingly Rāyas". HODIVALA points out that the word as it stands makes no clear sense and so he suggests that the original word was *Shilhārāyān* (the Shilaharas). He points out that in the Persian script the word *Shilharāyān* might very well be read as *Shāhrāyān*, especially if written in the cursive style.[22] This suggestion at once gives us

20. HODIVALA (*op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff) discusses the point in detail and gives an instance of an inscription in which the date has been given *both* in figures and in words, and where the words indicate "nine" while the figure looks like the modern *devanāgari* "seven".

21. My lecture on "The Parsis in India" before the Gujarat Vernacular Society in Ahmedabad was delivered on Śrāvaṇa, *śud* 9, V. S. 1992, the day of the millionary of the landing at Sanjān.

22. The whole of this question is treated by HODIVALA in a masterly fashion in his book (pp. 74 ff). I have merely given a summary of the more salient points here.

a clue to the identity of Jādi Rāṇā. The Shilaharas were the ruling family in that region at the period we are considering, i. e., 936 A.D. In that year specially the Shilahara ruler was very probably the prince "famed for outstanding and enchanting deeds, the illusrious...Vajjadadeva, a chief of Kings".[23] The name Vijjadadeva can, as HODIVALA points out, easily become Jadda and then Jādi; and of course the Iranian refugees, especially those fresh from Irān, would never have addressed their benefactor as *deva*, and hence the *Rāṇā*.

Three other bits of archaeological evidence might be adduced here in support of this date. Each may be slight in itself but the cumulative effect of all three is certainly worth considering. In the Kanheri caves are found two inscriptions *in Pahlavi*. These merely record the names of two parties of Iranian tourists who had visited the caves and had, like all tourists, sought to leave behind them a record of their visit. They did so in a manner that has made them verily "immortal"—they have chiselled their names on the rock. And what is more, they have left the exact dates also. The inscriptions have been described and translated in the *Zarathoshtī Abhyāsa*.[24] The first inscription is dated 368 A. Y. (999 A. D.) and gives the names of seventeen men who had visited the caves. The second is dated 390 A. Y. (1021 A. D.) and gives the names of ten men, of whom four are also found in the first.[25] The main point about both these is that the script as well as the language of both is Pahlavi and that the names are, without exception, purely Iranian. Parsis in India, as is well known, have freely adopted Hindu names both for men as well as for women. But this adoption of foreign names must necessarily have been a slow process for the emigrants, because names are always associated with hallowed memories of the mother country. The finding of pure Iranian names only indicates that the arrival in India could not have been very ancient at that date. The date of the first inscription is within three generations of the date HODIVALA has fixed, and therefore these inscriptions are further proof in support of his contention.

A third bit of archæologieal evidence is found in a Shilahara grant, inscribed on a stone. This grant was made by King Ananta-

23. It is also quite possible that some later copyist of the *Qissa* might have stumbled over the name *Shilharāyān* and might have in his ignorance "corrected" it according to his own lights.

24. ,III. 160 and IV. 212. This was a very scholarly journal edited by K. R. CAMAJI and it contained very learned contributions by CAMAJI and his brilliant band of pupils.

25. See also *Pārsī Prakāśa*, Vol. I, p. 2, footnotes 2 and 3.

deva in Śaka 1003 (1081 A. D.) to the "Kharāsān Maṇḍalī". Pandit Bhagvanlal INDRAJI and other older scholars were puzzled about this "Maṇḍalī". HODIVALA rightly considers this to have reference to the Parsi settlement at Sanjān.[26] The Parsi records have always spoken of the first emigrants as having "come from Khorāsān". It is but natural that for some time after their arrival they were known as the "Khorāsān Maṇḍalī".

Turning now to Iranian history we may consider the period when the conditions in that country made residence there intolerable to the Zoroastrains. The prevalent belief amongst Parsis has always been that the Arabs arrived in Iran "with the sword in one hand and the *Qur'an* in the other". But facts of history do not bear out this popular view. In spite of the burning zeal for their own faith, the early leaders of Islam were men of wide tolerance. We know for a fact that non-Moslems were quite free to follow their own faith provided that they paid the poll-tax. Also it has been recorded that when some over-zealous leaders requested the Khalif for permission to convert forcibly all unbelievers, the answer was that there would then be none to pay the taxes and so the conduct of all government would be made impossible. Of course the advantages accruing to a convert were sufficient to induce many Zoroastrians to become Moslems, but by far the greater number willingly paid the poll-tax and remained true to the faith of their fathers. The main thing to remember is that there was no *mass persecution* of the Zoroastrians as such throughout the whole period of the early Khalifs.[27] The rescue of the daughter of Yazdagard III and her subsequent marriage to Husayn the son of 'Alī did much to reconcile Iran to one section at least of the conquerors. The later tragedy of Kerbalā rivetted more firmly the bonds which united Iran to the house of 'Alī. The 'Umayyads were almost universally hated in Iran and on the whole it was the good fortune of Iran that they shifted their capital to Damascus. The 'Abbasids got into power by the whole-hearted support of Iran and their rise to power marks the beginning of the renaissance of Iranian culture. This renaissance represented the triumph of the spirit of Iran over the Semitic Arab. A wide tolerance in religious matters marked this

26. *Op. cit.* p. 80. Mr. S. K. HODIVALA—another fine student of Parsi history and a good Sanskritist—has also mentioned this inscription in his *Parsis in Ancient India* (p. 53).

27. This matter has been very fully and very ably dealt with by E. G. BROWNE in his *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 200 ff, and also in his magnificent section on "The Golden Age" (*op. cit.*, pp. 251–336); see also R. LEVY, *The Sociology of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 334 ff.

period of early 'Abbasids. The "golden age of Hārūn ar-Rashīd" marks the climax of this splendid period. Al-Ma'mūn, the son of this great ruler, who reigned from 813 to 833 A. D., was a confirmed Iranophil, because both his mother and his wife were full-blooded Iranis. What is most important from our point of view is that it was at the request of al-Ma'mūn that the greatest work of Zoroastrian Pahlavi literature, the *Dīnkart*, was written. The author of this work was Atur Farnbag, a highly respected Dastur at the court of the Khalif. The contents of this work clearly show that the author had the full texts of the Zoroastrian scriptures before him.[28] Not merely the *Dīnkart* but several of the more important Zoroastrian works in Pahlavi were written in Iran *long after* the Arab conquest. Belonging to the same group as the *Dīnkart* might be mentioned the *Būndahisn*, the *Dātistān*, and the writings of Mānuścihr and of Zātsparam. All these form important texts of Zoroastrian theology[29], and Pahlavi literature continued to be produced in Iran certainly up to the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

After the death of al-Ma'mūn (833 A.D.) the tolerance that had so long marked the court of Baghdād gradually began to disappear and with the accession of al-Mutawakkil (847–861 A.D.) religious fanaticism in its worst form broke out all over Iran. Not merely non-Moslems but even Moslems suspected of heretical thinking were subject to terrible persecutions. The central authority at Baghdād was greatly weakened and independent Sultans set up their authority in various parts of Iran. And what the intolerant and fanatical Khalifs did at Baghdād was copied with even greater vehemence at these provincial courts. The worst feature of all these persecutions was that the Zoroastrians of Iran had to suffer most from *Iranians* who had been quite recent converts to Islam. The age of persecutions really began from the accession of al-Mutawakkil (847 A. D.). This would give about one century for the wanderings of the Parsi Pilgrim Fathers before they found security at Sanjān under that prince of illustrious memory, Jādi Rāṇā.

---

28. This at once gives a lie to the myth of the burning of all Zoroastrian books by Khalif Omar.

29. HAUG, *Essays on the Parsis*, pp. 93 ff; also WEST in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, pp. 80 ff.

Five Thousand Years ago—the Mahābhārata War[*]

By

D. S. TRIVEDA, Patna

ŚRī P. V. KĀNE belongs to the noble rank of Jnāñeśvara, TILAK, BHANDARKAR and RANADE. His contributions in the field of Indology in general and Dharmaśāstra in particular have rightly given him his due place. The Dharmaśāstra forms an important part of the Mahābhārata, hence this article on the date of the Great War.

1. *Indian traditions and their historical value.*—Much water has flown down the Ganges during the last 60 yeas when scholars began first to discuss the probable date of the Bhārata War. Some of them even tried to prove that the war was not fought at all and that the great epic going by that name developed out of a local war between the Kurus and the Pāñcālas, which could not have attained the dimensions of the Great War as described in the pages of the Epic known as the Mahābhārata. Principal N. V. THADANI is one of those who declare that the war was never fought. In his book he tries to show that the epic is of the nature of an allegory representing the disputations of the six systems of Indian philosophy ending with the final triumph of Vedānta. But the strong belief of the whole Indian people throughout the countless centuries could not have risen out of a mere local scuffle of which there might have been hundreds, and the very existence and persistence of the belief in the reality of this war goes to prove that it could not have been a baseless tradition. Some of the characters who are said to have fought in this epic struggle have been mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas,[2]

* N. B.—I am very highly indebted to MM. Pandit Gopi Nath KAVIRAJ—the wellknown scholar and ex-Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares, under whose learned guidance this article was written.

1. *The Mystery of the Mahābhārata*, by N. V. THADANI, I-IV volumes, Karachi, 1931–34.

2. अबघ्नादश्वं सारगं जनमेजय इति ॥ २ ॥ एतेऽएव पूर्वेऽहनि । ज्योतिरतिरात्रस्तेन भीमसेनमेते ऽ एव पूर्वे ऽ हनि गौरतिरात्रस्तेनोग्रसेनमेते ऽ एव पूर्वे ऽ हनि ऽ आयुरतिरात्रस्तेज श्रुतसेनमित्येते पारिक्षितियास्तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतं पारिक्षित यजमाना अश्वमेधैः परो ऽ वर-मजहुः कर्मपापकं पुण्याः पुण्येन कर्मणा ॥ ३ ॥ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 13. 5. 4.

Upaniṣads,[3] and such later literature as the sūtras of Pāṇini,[4] the Vārtikas[5] of Kātyāyana, and the *Mahābhāṣya*[6] of Patañjali. Kings referred to it in their inscriptions,[7] and there is a vast literature[8] built upon its occurrence and if the works of Homer, Sophocles, Aeschyllus, Euripides etc. go to establish the authenticity of the Trojan war there is no reason why the reality of the war should be questioned. Even occidental scholars have had to bend their heads down before the Indian tradition and forced to remark as follows :—'The Hindu statements have almost universally been regarded as very different from the fiction of an improved and credulous people and entitled to a very serious and profound investigation !'[9]

2. *Traditional date of the Bhārata War.*—According to the Indian tradition the Bhārata War was fought before the advent of the Kaliyuga, the initial year of which is known to be 3101 B. C. I shall try to show in the following pages on the basis of data the historical value of which can on no account be questioned that this represents the most correct view, although several scholars of the West as well as of India have held diverse opinions all in

---

3. तद्धैतद्घोर आङ्गिरसः कृष्णाय देवकीपुत्रायोक्त्वोवाचापिपास । Chāndogya, III. 17. 6.

कुरुपाञ्चालानां ब्राह्मणानत्यवादीः Bṛhadāraṇyak, III, 9. 19.

कुरुपाञ्चालानां ब्राह्मणा अभिसमेता बभूवुः *Ibid* III. 1. 1. क पारिक्षिता अभवन्निति क पारिक्षिता अभवन् सत्वा पृच्छामि याज्ञवल्क्य क पारिक्षिता अभवन्निति *Ibid* III. 3. 1.

4. भीमादयो ऽपादाने Pāṇini, III. 4. 74.
स्त्रियामवन्तीकुन्तीकुरुभ्यश्च ,, IV. 1 176.
कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ,, IV. 1. 172.
वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् ,, IV. 3. 98.
गवि युधिभ्यां स्थिरः ,, VIII. 3. 95.

5. व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानां चेतिवक्तव्यम् Vārtika on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 97 ; पाण्डो र्ड्यण् Vārtika on Pāṇini, V. 1. 168.

6. कंसवधमाचष्टे Bhāṣya on Pāṇini, III, 1. 26 ; साधुः कृष्णोमातरि, असाधुर्मातुले on p. II. 3. 36 ; यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः on p. III. 2. 118.

7. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, by J. F. FLEET, Calcutta, 1888.
(*a*) No. 26, L. 13 ; No. 27, L. 15 ; No. 28, L. 22 ; No. 30, L. 3.
उक्तं च महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन...
(*b*) No. 31. L. 19. उक्तं च महाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां परमर्षिणा पराशरसुतेन वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन...

8. Śākuntala, Bālacarita, Bālabhārata, Pāncarātra, Ūrubhanga, Naiṣadha, etc.

9. *Historian's History of the World*, Vol. II, p. 495.

opposition to one another and to the Indian tradition on this vexed problem.[10]'

3. *The divergent views of scholars and authorities on the subject.* (*a*) *Modern scholars.*—According to PARGITER[11] the reign of the nine Nandas began approximately at 402 B. C. (322 + 80). Take 20 years after the accession for the destruction of the contemporary kings and so fix the year 382 B. C. (402-20) for their mean termination. The duration of the ten temporary kingdoms then would be 468 (26 × 18) years. So 850 B. C. (382 + 468) is the beginning of the reign of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, Divākara and Senajit. To get the time of the Bhārata battle, we must add the kings who preceded these kings, namely the five Pauravas (for Yudhiṣṭhira's reign must be included). Hence we must add 100 years (5 × 20), and the date of the battle may be fixed approximately at 950 B. C. (850 + 100).

Dr. PRADHAN places the accession of Ripuñjaya to the throne in 563 B. C. He takes 28 years for each reigning king. Hence *according to him 1151* B. C. *[563 + 588 (28 × 21)]* is the date of the Mahābhārata War.

According to Sir Ramesh Chandra DUTT[12] 35 kings reigned between the Kuru-Pāñcāla war and the time of Buddha who lived in the sixth century B. C. Allowing 20 years to each reign, this would place the war in the 13th century B. C.

Shāma ŚĀSTRY says,[13] Bharata the son of Duṣyanta is stated to have performed Atirātra (Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra X. 5. 8). This gives 1488 (372 × 4) Kali Era or 1613 B.C. (3101–1488) as the date of Bharata. According to the list of kings given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira, the hero of the Mahābhārata and contemporary of Kṛṣṇa is the 25th descendant from Bharata and died in 1260 B. C. Accordingly the interval between Bharata and Yudhiṣṭhira is 248 years which, if the list is correct gives about 10 years on the average to each of the 25 reigns. Parīkṣita is the grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira. The interval between him and Nanda is according to the Matsya Purāṇa one thousand years less by one hundred and fifty (850). Nanda lived in the 4th century B.C. (1260–850) i. e. he ascended the throne in 410 B.C.

---

10. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by F. E. PARGITER, London, 1922, p. 179.

11. *Chronology of Ancient India*, by Sitānāth PRADHĀNA, Calcutta, 1927, p. 248.

12. *Civilisation in Ancient India*, by R. C. DUTT, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 10.

13. R. Shama SHASTRY's *Gavām Ayana, The Vedic Era*, p. 155, quoted by M. Krishnamacharya in his *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937.

H. H. WILSON writes,[14] 'According to Col. WILFORD's computations (*Asiatic Researches* Vol IX, Chronological Tables p. 116) the conclusion of the great war took place in 1370 B.C. BUCHANAN conjectures it to have occurred in the 13th century B.C. COLBROOKE infers from astronomical data that the arrangement of the Vedas attributed to Vyāsa took place in the 14th century B.C.; M. BENTLEY brings the date of Yudhiṣṭhira, the chief of the Pāṇḍavas to 575 B. C., but the weight of authority is in favour of the 13th or the 14th century B. C. for the date of the Mahābhārata war and the reputed commencement of the Kali Age.

According to Dr. RAICHOUDHARI,[15] Parīkṣita's birth must be dated about 1412 B.C. (322 + 40 + 1050); but Dr. JAISWAL[16] concludes that the accession of Mahānanda—the father of Mahāpadma falls in 409 B.C. The birth of Parīkṣita or the end of the Mahā bhārata War will be thus dated in 1424 B.C. (409 + 1015). But on the other hand MM. Dr. S. C. VIDYĀBHŪSHAṆA and Sjt. L. M. KAR[17] place the war in 1922 B. C. (322 + 100 + 1500) as the date of the great war fought on the field of the Kuru'.

(*b*) *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Pandit S. S. BHATTĀCHĀRYA[18a] and P. C. SENGUPTA[18b] would place the war in B. C. 2400 and 2448 respectively on the authority of Kalhaṇa who says[19] 'the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas flourished 653 years after the Kali in 2448 B. C. (3101–653).'

4. *The war not a myth*—It would appear from the above that conflicting opinions have been entertained by scholars regarding this landmark in the annals of Indian History and it is clear that the question of the Mahābhārata war can no longer be dismissed as an exploded myth. And even a myth is not "without its background of fact".[20] "There is no smoke without some fire is a maxim which the historians should never overlook".[21] Mr. Michæl TEMPLE also saya,[22] "But we are getting to understand now that

14. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 232.

15. *The Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. RAICHOUDHARI, Calcutta, 1927. p. 15.

16. *JBORS*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 109 et seq.

17. Sacred Books of the Hindus, *Matsya Purāna*, Allahabad, 1916, introduction, p. XIV.

18. (*a*) *Nirukta*, edited by pt. Satyavrata, ŚAMĀŚRAMI Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1804 Śaka era, Vol. IV, p. (ghi) the introduction.
(*b*) *J.R.A.S.B.* Bhārata Battle Traditions by P. C. SENGUPTA, Vol. IV, (1938), pp. 393-413.

19. शतेषु षट्सु सार्द्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः ॥ Rājataraṅgiṇī, I. 51.

20. *Historian's History of the World*, Vol. II, p. 368.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Englishman*, Calcutta, 7th Feb. 1927.

whenever we have an ancient legend, there is always some sort of truth behind it. Legends do not grow from nothing any more than anything else; there must be a seed, though the plant, which has sprung from it, may have taken a strange and almost unrecognisable form".

5. *The divergent views criticised.* It would appear from the above that some scholars take a number of years at their fancy for the average reign of each king ranging from 10 years to 28 years and thus they determine the date of the Mahābhārata war. Similarly the period of the Nandas would vary from 40 years to 100 years according to their pleasures, although the Purāṇas give invariably 100 years for the reign of the Nandas. Mr. PARGITER would count 31 generations from Yudhiṣṭhira to Nanda's coronation and at one time he would take an average of 18 years and at another that of 20 years without assigning any reason whatsoever. Dr. PRADHAN counts 21 generations from the time of the Bhārata war to Ripuñjaya's accession the last of the Bṛihadrathas whereas Sir Romeshchandra DUTT takes 35 kings between the Great War and the time of Lord Buddha. Other scholars interpret a single stanza[23] to mean 850, 1015, 1050, 1115, or 1500 years to be the period that elapsed between Parīkṣita's birth and Nanda's coronation. It will not be out of place to point out in this connection that Indian chronology as it appears in modern historical works is based on the synchronism of Alexander-Sandracottus and on the false identification of the latter with Candragupta Maurya. The Indian Emperor contemporary with Alexander the Great was in fact, Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty and not of the Mauryan dynasty.[24] I have discussed separately the chronology of Magadhan kings and the Paurāṇika views on the length of the intervening age between Parīkṣita's birth and Nandas coronation for ascertaining the date of the Mahābhārata War.[25]

Kalhaṇa, the chronicler of Kāśmira, commited a Himalayna blunder when he stated expressedly as a comment on a verse[26] that

---

23. आरम्यभवतो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥ Śrimadbhāgavata, XII, 2. 26.

24. Did Alexander invade India in the time of the Mauryas, *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 29th June 1936.

25. (*a*) Magadha Rajaon ki Nayi Vaṁśāvali, SĀHITYA, (Patna), Vol. III, part II, pp. 37-52.
(*b*) The Intervening Age between Parikṣita and Nanda, *J. I. H.* Vol. XIX, pp. 1-16.

26. आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्यस्य ॥ Rājataraṅgiṇī, I. 59.

the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas flourished 653 years after the Kali in 2448 B. C. He quotes a stanza literally from his predecessors Gargācārya and Varāhamihira who stated that to get the time of Yudhiṣṭhira, we should add 2526 years to the Śaka-kāla. They used the Śaka-kāla for astronomical calculation with an initial year different from that of the present known Śālivāhana Era. According to Kalhaṇa 35 kings were submerged in the ocean of forgetfulness whom he could not restore. Moreover he was hardly aware of any Śaka Era except the Śalivāhana one and so to adjust his chronology he wrongly concluded that the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas flourished 653 years after Kali without assigning any definite reason for his statement and was forced to remark, 'people considered this time-limit false thinking that the Bhārata War happend at the end of Dvāpara'.[27] For a fuller discussion of the data of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* for the date of the Mahābhārata War, the learned readers should consult my papers.[28]

But shall we depend on mere tradition? No, we have got convincing proofs[29] that the war was fought in the 32nd century B.C. Having disposed off the arguments which seek to establish a date for the Great War other than the one accepted by Indian tradition, we proceed to discuss the various historical and literary evidences available to us in support of the orthodox view.

6. *Aihole Inscription*. The Aihole inscription[30] of Pulakesin II is dated 556 Śaka Era elasped corresponding to 634 A.D. (556 + 78). It is also stated in the inscription that at that time 3735 years of Kali (30 + 3000 + 700 + 5) had already passed away. Viewing the two together it would appear that the first year of Kali would correspond to 3179 (3735–634) before Śaka or 3101 B.C.

---

27. भारतं द्वापरान्तेऽभूद्वार्तयेति विमोहिताः ।
केचिदेता मृषा तेषां कालसंख्यां प्रचक्रिरे ॥ *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 49.

28. (*a*) Kaśmīra kī Saṁśodhitā Rājavaṁśāvali, *Vijnāna*, Allahabad, Kumbhārka, 1993 V. S.
(*b*) The Revised Chronology of Kāśmira Kings, *J. I. H.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 46–63.

29. *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1937.

30. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 241, et. seq.
त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।
सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥

(30 + 3000 + 700 + 5) = 3735.

पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

(50 + 6 + 500) = 556.

7. *Astronomical Books.* [That this epigraphic statement is correct is clear from a glance at the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*,[31] the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*[32] and the *Jyotirmakaranda*[33] which hold similar views regarding the initial year of the Kali Era.] According to the astronomical calculations of the Hindus, the present period of the world, Kaliyuga, commenced 3101 years before the birth of Christ on the 20th February at 2 hours 27 minutes 30 seconds. They say that a conjunction of the planets then took place, and their tables show this conjunction. BAILY states that Jupiter and Mercury were then in the same degree of the ecliptic, Mars at a distance of only eight, and Saturn of seven degrees; whence it follows that at the point of time given by the Brahmins as the commencement of the Kaliyuga, the four planets above mentioned must have been succeessively concealed by the rays of the Sun (first Saturn, then Mars, afterwards Jupiter and lastly Mercury). These then showed themselves in conjunction, and although Venus could not then be seen, it was natural to say that a conjunction of the planets then took place. The conclusion of the Brahmins is so exactly confirmed by our own astronomical tables that nothing but an actual observation could have given so corresponding a result.[34]

8. *Synchronous with the Transition of Kali and Dvāpara*—The general synchronism of the war with the beginning of the Kali is also supported by internal and external evidences. The above noted inscription also states that the Great War (Bhāratāhava) and the beginning of the Kali Age (Kalıkāla) are richly synchronous. The Mahābhārata says that the war took place during the transition period of Dvāpara and Kali.[35] Elsewhere in the work the recent advent of the Kaliyuga is clearly stated.[36]

---

9 7 1 3
31. नन्दाद्रीन्दुगुणास्तथा शकनृपस्यान्ते कलेर्वत्सरा: ।
Śiddhantaśiromani, Benares, 1917, p. 89.

9 7 1 3
32. गो ऽ गैक गुणा: शकान्ते ऽ ब्दा: *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta.*

9 7 1 3
33. शाको नवागेन्दुकृशानुयुक्त: कलेर्भवत्यब्दगणो युगस्य । *Jyotirmakaranda* by calculating from the left side (for अङ्कानां वामतो गति:) we have 3179 years passed at the beginning of the Śaka era.

34. Theogony of the Hındus, by Count Bjoinstarna, quoted by A. C. DAS in his *Ṛgvedic India*, Calcutta, 1920.

35. अन्तरे चैव सम्प्राप्ते कलिद्वापरयोरभूत् ।
समन्तपञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयो: *Mahābhārata*, I. V. 13.

36. (*a*) प्राप्तं कलियुगं विद्धि प्रतिज्ञा पाण्डवस्य च । *Mbh.*
(*b*) एतत्कलियुगं नाम अचिराद् यत्प्रवर्तते ॥ *Mbh.*

9. *36 years before the Kali*—But a more precise determination of the date of the war is possible. We learn from the Mahābhārata that 'Yudhiṣṭhira saw unfavourable circumstances in the 36th year.'[37] The Mahābhārata states that Kṛṣṇa was to come to an end in the 36th year, devoid of the neighbours, councillor, and sons, while wandering in the forest through foul means.[38] The event is described at length in the Śrimadbhāgavata as to how when Kṛṣṇa, wandering in a forest, sat under a tree for the practice of yoga, a fowler considering the disc of light from his feet emanating in all directions to be the eyes of a deer, shot an arrow which caused the end of Lord Kṛṣṇa. On the death of Kṛṣṇa,[39] the Pāṇḍavas started for pilgrimage. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says that the very moment the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, born in the family of Vasudeva, went to heaven, the Kali came down.[40] The *Śrimad-bhāgavata* says that Kali could not show its prowess so long as Kṛṣṇa was touching the earth.[41] The above show that Kṛṣṇa passed away 36 years after the war, that the Pāṇḍavas left shortly after and that when Kṛṣṇa left the earth, Kali had already appeared, but due to his influence could not show its prowess. The beginning of the Kali Era is 3101 B. C. This I take to be the date when Kali assumed power. Hence 3101 B. C. is the date of Kṛṣṇa's death so that the date of the war is 3137 B. C. (3101 + 36).

10. *Nidhanpur Plate.* The above date is generally confirmed by the Nidhanpur copper plate of Bhāskaravarman, a contemporary of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. The plate was inscribed in 590 A. D. and records the following genealogy.[42]

---

37. षट्त्रिंशेत्वथ सम्प्राप्ते वर्षे कौरवनन्दन।
दर्दर्श विपरीतानि निमित्तानि युधिष्ठिरः ॥ *Mbh.* Muṣala I. 2.

38. (*a*) त्वमप्युपस्थिते वर्षे षट्त्रिंशे मधुसूदन।
हतज्ञातिर्हतामात्यो हतपुत्रो वनेचरः।
कुत्सितेनाभ्युपायेन निधनं समवाप्स्यसि ॥ *Mbh.* Stri. XXV. 14.

(*b*) षट्त्रिंशे ऽथ ततो वर्षे वृष्णीनामनयो महान्।
अन्योन्यं मुषलैस्ते तु निजघ्नुः कालचोदिताः ॥ *Mbh.* Muṣala I. 13.

39. Śrikṛṣṇa, Kharibāta, Lahore, 13th Jan. 36.

40. यदैव भगवद्विष्णोरंशो यातो दिवं द्विज।
वसुदेवकुलोद्भूतस्तदैव कलिरागतः। *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* IV, XXIV. 14.

41. Cf. *Śrimadbhāgavata*, XII, 2. 29.
विष्णोर्भगवतो भानुः कृष्णाख्योऽसौ दिवंगतः।
तदा ऽविशत्कलिर्लोकं पापे यद्रमते जनः ॥

42. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. VII, p. 65, et. seq.

Naraka
|
Bhāgadatta—who fought with Arjuna
|
Vajradatta
|
Puṣyavarman—3000 years after Vajradatta
|
Bhāskarvarman—12th king from Puṣyavarman.

The copper plate says,[43] ' From that Naraka, by whom the hell was not seen, was born Bhāgadatta, the king and the friend of Indra, who fought in battle with Arjuna of famous victory. His- The son of the destroyer of enemies whose gait is like that of a thunderbolt, was called Vajradatta who, of great prowess always pleased the hundred-sacrificer (Indra) in battle. In this family of kings, when *three thousand years* had passed, was born Puṣyavarman.'

According to the *Mahābhārata*,[44] Bhāgadatta the King of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) was an ally of the Kauravas and was killed on the battle-field. He had two sons—Kṛtaprajña and Vajradatta. Bhāgadatta and Kṛtaprajña were slain by Arjuna and Nakula respectively. Hence it may be concluded that the Great Indian War was fought in 3137 B.C.

11. *Ain-i-Akbar*. Besides the inscriptions quoted above, the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal Alami—the great scholaı of Sanskrit and Persian and one of the nine jewels of Akbar the Great— is not less reliable. He says :—[45]

---

43. Cf. *Ibid*.
तस्माददृष्टनरकादजनिष्ट नृपतिरिन्द्रसखः ।
भागदत्तः ख्यातजयं विजयं युधियः समाह्वयत् ॥
तस्यात्मजः क्षतारेर्वज्र गतिवज्र नामाभूत् ।
शतमखमखण्डलवलगतिरतोषयद् यः सदा संख्ये ॥
वश्येषु तस्य नृपतिषु वर्षसहस्त्रयं पदमवाप्य ।
यातेषु देवभूयं क्षितीश्वरः पुष्यवमी ऽ भूत् ॥

44. ततः समभवद्युद्धं घोररूपं भयानकम् ।
पाण्डूनां भगदत्तेन—यमराष्ट्रविवर्धनम् ॥ Mbh. VI. 95. 25.
ततः प्राग्ज्योतिषः क्रुद्धस्तोमरान्वै चतुर्दश । Mbh. VI. 95. 46.

45. *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated from the original Rasian by Col. H. S. JANETT Calcutta, 1891, Vol. III. p. 15.

دوسر آغاز ایں راجہ جد ہشتر ہمکنی جہاں درکشاد و سراپاے تاریخ
فرا رسیدہ فرماں رواے خویش را سر آغاز گردانید - و دریں حال
چہلم الہی چہار ہزار و شش صد و نود و شش از وگزشتہ

' In the beginning of the present yuga Raja Yudhisthira conquered the universe and being at the completion of an epoch constituted his own reign an Era and since that time to the present which is the fortieth of the Divine Era 4696 years have elapsed.' |

It appears from the above that 40th year of the Divine Era (Din Elahi Era) founded by Akbar, of which the first year was the year of his accession commencing from 27-28 Rabi II 963 A. H. or 11th March 1556 A. D. (25 days from enthronement counted as part of a year.) or 1595 A. D. (1555 + 40). for the Elahi year was solar,[46] corresponds to 4696 Yudhiṣṭhira Era corresponding to the commencement of the Kaliyuga. This also proves the existence of the Pāṇḍavas and therefore of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war (by the beginning of the present yuga). Hence the date of the war calculated on this evidence too, agrees with our own view (viz. 3137 B.C.)

12. *Exact date determined*— We can also find out the exact date on which the war commenced. Bhīṣma, the commander of the Kauravas says :—[47]

' O Yudhiṣṭhira ! 58 nights of mine lying on the sharp ends of arrows passed away like hundreds of years. This beautiful month of Māgha (January) has arrived. It should be the bright fortnight whose three parts have passed away.'

Bhīṣma retired from the battlefield on the tenth day.[48] Hence 68 days (58 + 10) from the begnning of war had passed away when Bhīṣma uttered the above words. The word *pakṣah* should be taken to mean ' the bright half whose three parts have passed away'. According to the Hodācakra[49] a fortnight is divided into five parts, viz. Nandā, Bhadrā, Jayā, Riktā and Pūrṇā. So nine days [(15-5) × 3] in the bright half of Māgha had passed away. Calculating backward we may exactly find 68 days (9 + 15 + 30 + 14) if we take our start on the first day of the bright half of Mārgaśirar. This date falls on Tuesday.

13. *Conclusion*— Modern historians say that these inscriptions and literary evidences prove nothing beyond the fact that according to the traditions prevalent in those days the Great Bhārata War was

---

46. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, by Vincent A. SMITH, Oxford, 1919, pp. 448, 449.

47. अष्टपञ्चाशतं रात्र्यः शयानस्याद्यमे गताः ।
शरेषु निशिताग्रेषु यथा वर्षशतं तथा ॥ 27.
माघो ऽयं समनुप्राप्तो मासः सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर ।
त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोऽयं शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥ *Mbh.* XI. 273. 28.

48. अहानि युयुधे भीष्मो दशैव परमास्त्रवित् । *Mbh.* I. 2. 30.

49. नन्दाभद्राजयारिक्तापूर्णाश्चतिथयः क्रमात् ॥ *Hodācakra.*

supposed to have been fought about 5000 years from to-day, but that due to the advancement of critical study these evidences cannot be accepted as conclusive for ascertaining the date of such a remote event. As pointed out before the chronology of the present Indian history rests only on Alexander-Sandracottus synchronism which was first pointed out by Sir William JONES in 1793, about 150 years ago, whereas the date of the Bhārata War has been discussed for so many centuries and yet it rests where it stands traditionally unparalleled in the history of the world.

The evidences of the *Rājataranginī* and the Purāṇas have been discussed elsewhere as they form the subject of lengthy articles in themselves. It is often argued that the Aryan race as such did not exist in India and hence the war could not have been fought at so early a date. But it has been shown on definite evidences that the Aryans are not the invaders of India but they are the children of the soil.[50] Hence it is finally concluded that the war was fought in 3137 B. C. 3080 B.C. or 5078 years (3137 + 1941) ago. I hope the learned readers would oblige me with their criticisms.

---

50. *Annals, B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 48-67. "The Original Home of the Aryans."

N. B.—The Kumbhakoṇam edition of the Nirṇaya Sagara Press, Bombay, has been cited throughout for the reference of the Mahābhārata text.

Hastimalla and his Ādipurāṇa

By

A. N. UPADHYE, Kolhapur

AUFRECHT in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* (Leipzig 1891), p. 764, mentions an author Hastimallasena. He is described as a Jaina, and the following works are attributed to him: 1 *Arjunarājanāṭaka* (OPPERT II, 316), 2 *Udayanarājakāvya* (OPPERT II, 421), 3 *Bharatarājanāṭaka* (OPPERT II, 325), 4 *Meghesvaranāṭaka* (OPPERT II, 326) and 5 *Maithilīpariṇaya-nāṭaka* (OPPERT II, 327). Further we are informed that other poems and plays of his are in existence. He has drawn his information from OPPERT's 'Lists of Sanskrit Mss. in Private Libraries of Southern India, Vols. I.II, Madras 1880-85.' Against *Udayanarājakāvya* AUFRECHT mentions Mallasena, elsewhere Hastimallasena. M. KRISHNAMACHRIAR[2] writes, not without some hesitation, the name simply as Hastimalla, and attributes to him, besides the above works, some more compositions: 6 *Ādipurāṇa*, 7 *Purucarita*, 8 *Subhadrāharaṇa*, 9 *Añjanā-pavanañjaya* and 10 *Vikrāntakaurava*. R. NARASIMHACHARYA[3] has noted *Ādipurāṇa* of Hastimalla, composed in A. D. 1290, on the authority of K. B. PATHAK, but no exact reference to his article is given. Another work (11) *Śrīpurāṇa* is also attributed to Hastimalla; and the Mss. of this, I learn, exist in the Jaina Maṭhas of Mudabidri and Varanga in South Kanara.

Of these works Nos. 5 and 10 are already published,[4] and I have examined three Mss. of No. 9 and two Mss. of No. 8.[5] No. 5 is known by the names *Maithilīkalyāṇam* and *Sītānāṭaka*; No. 8 is known as *Subhadrānāṭakā* (*-nāṭikā?*); and No. 10 as *Sulocanānāṭakam*. From these four Sanskrit plays we get the following details about Hastimalla.

Hastimalla's spiritual lineage is traced back to Samantabhadra, the moon in the sky of Mūlasaṁgha, a future Tīrthakara, the author of *Gandhahasti*, a commentary on *Tattvārtha-sūtra* and of *Devāgama* and an unsurmountable disputant. He had two pupils, Śivakoṭi

1. This Paper is prepared during my tenure of the Springer Research Scholarship, University of Bombay.

2 *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, pp. 641, 1114.

3. *Kavicarite*, Vol. I, Bangalore, 1924, p. 399.

4. Mānikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay, Nos. 3 and 5. There is a short Introduction giving a few details about the author.

5. I am collating the Mss. of these two Sanskrit plays with a view to edit them.

and Śivāyana, that had studied the entire scripture at his feet. In that line was born Vīrasena, an outstanding personality free from internal impurities, well-versed in scriptures and a foremost logician. The great monk Jinasena received instructions from him and became his prominent pupil; and his Purāṇa is well-known in the world. His beloved pupil was the monk Guṇabhadra who glorified the Śalākāpuruṣas. Three verses are found at the end of a Ms. of *Subhadrā-nāṭikā* in which one Prabhendu or Prabhācandra is glorified; but his exact relation with Hastimalla's line is not at all clear.

Turning to the domestic details, as time passed on, in this succession of pupils of Guṇabhadra there was one Govindabhaṭṭa of Vatsa Gotra who came to be endowed with right faith [in Jainism] by hearing *Devāgamanasūtra*. He had six sons all staying in the South (*dākṣiṇātyāḥ*) and flourishing through the favour of Svarṇayakṣī (*Jayanty atra Svarṇa-yakṣī-prasādataḥ*); and their names are: Śrī Kumāra-kavi, Satyavākya, Devaravallabha, Udayabhūṣaṇa, Hastimalla and Vardhamāna. All these were poets. The last verse of the Praśasti, as I understand it, is a prayer offered to Vṛṣabhanātha, consecrated at Dvīpaṁguḍi, profusely respected by Hastimalla and saluted by some Pāṇḍya king. Thus Hastimalla (-Bhaṭṭa) was the son of Govinda (with the suffix -bhaṭṭa or with the prefix Bhaṭṭāra-) and he had six brothers, himself being the fifth in order. His father appears to have been a convert to Jainism after hearing *Devāgama-stotra* of Samantabhadra. His brother Satyavākya is the author of various compositions, but only one work is mentioned by Hastimalla, namely, *Śrimatī-kalyāṇa*.[6] From the verse found in *Añjanā.pavanañjaya* we learn that Hastimalla lived under the patronage of some Pāṇḍya king who had subdued Karnāṭaka.

Brahmasūri,[7] the author of *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka*, belonged to the family of Hastimalla. Besides giving the above details he adds some more facts. Pārśvapaṇḍita: was the son of Hastimalla, and he was well-known for his learning and piety. For some reason or other, he migrated to the town of Chatra-traya-puri in the Hoysala territory, and there he lived with all his relatives. He had three sons: Candrapa, Candranātha and Vaijayya. Candranātha and his family stayed at Hemācala, while his other brothers migrated elsewhere. Brahmasūri was the grandson of Candrapa.

All that we can say about the chronology of his works is that Hastimalla wrote *Añjanāpavanañjaya* earlier than *Maithilī-kalyāṇam*.

6. See the Prastāvanā of *M.-kalyāṇam*.

7. *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, VII, i, Praśasti Saṁgraha, p. 161.

As to Hastimalla's age, he is later than Guṇabhadra who finished his *Uttarapurāṇa* in A. D. 897. *Jinendra-kalyāṇābhyudaya* of Ayyapārya refers to the fact that our author got the name Hastimalla after he controlled the mad elephant let loose on him by the Pāṇḍya king at Saranyāpura; and to a certain extent this is confirmed by verse No. 40, Act I, of *Vikrānta-kaurava*. Ayyapārya wrote his work in Vikrama Saṁvat 1376(—57 = 1319). So Hastimalla flourished between A. D. 897 and 1319. This is still a wide range indeed. PATHAK and NARASIMHACHARYA have assigned A. D. 1290 to Hastimalla, but their conclusion is not accompanied by the necessary evidence. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR opines that Hastimalla probably lived in the 9th century A.D., but he too has not given any evidence. The identification of Dvīpaṁguḍi, Sarāṇyāpura and the Pāṇḍya king is an urgent desideratum, and I draw the attention of South Indian scholars to these points which, when cleared, will help us to settle the date of Hastimalla definitely.

R. NARASIMHACHARYA has noted that the Ms. of *Ādipurāṇa* did not reach his hands. Lately I have come across a paper Ms. of it from which I would give some details about it here. It is a bulky volume of country paper stitched at the left end and measures about 9.5 by 8 inches. The first 41 leaves are devoted to *Ādipurāṇa* ; and the remaining portion covers some cantos of *Bharateśavaibhava* (Kannaḍa) written in disorder, *Daśalakṣaṇapūjā* (Sanskrit), *Māṇikasvāmicarite* (Kannaḍa) and some ritualistic treatises.

The first leaf is torn, so we cannot know how the text began. *Ādipurāṇa* is divided into ten Parvans and written throughout in Kannaḍa prose. Beginning with the divisions of time, with Kalpavṛkṣas and Manus etc. and passing through the previous births of the first Tīrthankara, the details of the life of Vṛṣabha are given in a traditional manner up to his liberation.

In the various colophons the name of the work is mentioned as *Pūrva-purāṇa-kathā*, but at the end it is called *Ādipurāṇa* Kannaḍa Grantha. The Kannaḍa verse at the beginning of the second Parvan suggests that *Purudevacarita* also might have been its name. So we may take that Nos. 6 and 7 stand for one and the same work. The name of the author is mentioned as Hastimallisenācārya in two colophons and as Hastimalli-sūri[8] in eight colophons; and there can be no doubt that both the forms of the name refer to the same individual. No date of the author is given in this Ms. The title of the author *ubhaya-bhāṣā-cakravarti* is present in every colophon. The colophon at the end of the tenth Parvan runs thus :

8. Malli for Malla might have been a scribal error.

यित्युभयभाषाचक्रवर्तिहस्तिमल्लिसूरिविरचितपूर्वपुराणमहाकथायां दशमपर्व ॥

Every Parvan begins with a Sanskrit verse which is the same as the opening Maṅgala of the *Ādipurāṇa* (Sanskrit) of Jinasena. There is an additional Kannaḍa verse at the beginning of the Canto Two :

श्रीपुरुदेवन कथेयं
पापहरमनखिलजीवततितिळियल् सं-
क्षेपदोळतिमृदुवाक्यद-
रूपदि बरेदं सुसुक्तिभरदिं गुरुवं ॥

The work closes with the follwing verse :

श्रीमच्चामरसिंहविष्टरवरच्छत्रत्रयाशोकदि-
व्यामेयध्वनिपुष्पवृष्टिसुरभेरीभूरिभामंडल-
स्तोमं भास्वदनन्तबोधनिळयं हस्सौख्यलक्ष्मीसमु-
द्दामं माळ्केमगळ्करिंदे शुभमं श्रीवर्धमानं जिनं ॥[9]

This Ms. is written at Ainapur (in the Belgaum Dt.) by Padmaṇṇa Upādhyāya in Śaka 1625 (+ 78 = 1703 A. D.), Svabhānu Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśīrṣa Śuklapakṣa, Daśamī, Somavāra etc. It has not been well-preserved. At present it is in the possession of Mr. Gundappa Tavanappa ARAVADE, Sangli, who kindly allowed me to make use of it for this paper.

In view of the facts that *Ādipurāṇá* qualifies its author with the title *ubhaya-bhāṣā-cakravarti* which possibly refers to his proficiency in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa, that one verse from *Añjanā-pavanañjaya* associates him with Karnātaka, and that Devacandra took both of them to be identical, I am inclined to believe that the author of Kannaḍa *Ādipurāṇa* and author of the four Sanskrit plays are identical.

In conclusion, I wish that some Kannaḍa scholar would edit this *Ādipurāṇa*, and it is likely to prove a valuable addition to the early Kannaḍa prose literature. It is equally necessary that other works of Hastimalla should be brought to light so that his date and other details might be finally settled.

---

9. I have made one or two minor corrections in these verses.

Tīrtha-yātrā in the Āraṇyakaparvan and the Padma-Purāṇa[1]

By

M. V. VAIDYA, Poona

The interrelation of the Great Epic and the Purāṇas is a fruitful source of controversy and speculation. That the Epic as it stands to-day may not be free from Purāṇic influence, is a fact that becomes patent even on a cursory perusal of the Mbh. Not only does the Mbh. refer to the eighteen Purāṇas in numerous places, but also has aspects and contents that are distinctly Purāṇic. Nor is this surprising. The authorship of both the Purāṇas and the Mbh. is traditionally attributed to the same source, viz., the indefatigable industry of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. The Purāṇas as we find them to-day are scarcely what we should expect them to be from their definition.[2] The matter which can be said to represent the five-fold character of the Purāṇas, is usually compressed in a few chapters and the rest is taken up wholly by heterogeneous elements such as the *Māhātmyās* of holy places and months, and manifold rites of charity to Brahmins. Some Purānas even furnish us with outline treatises of ancient sciences such as medicine, prosody and dramaturgy, astronomy and astrology, not to speak of minor arts and crafts. Tantric worship also has a conspicuous amount of space allotted to it, and hymns and psalms addressed to gods, major and minor, bristle in every part of the Purāṇas. Thus the Purāṇas have come to be a strange medley of religious odds and ends, strangely juxtaposed to the consternation of a scrutinizing reader. The Mbh. too, in many places, treats of such unepical matters extensively and its contents are so richly diverse, that Dr. SUKTHANKAR calls it the *Encyclopædia Brahmanica*.[3] Both the Epic and the Purāṇas represent the same *genre* of literary activity, though the Epic may be said to be on a slightly higher level of dignity.

The corpus of the varied topics treated of in the Epic is only remotely connected with its war-saga. The enormous mass of material contained in it got into its text when the original Bhārata

1. *I am indebted to Dr.* SUKTHANKAR *for his kind help and suggestions in preparing this paper.*—References to Mbh. are to the Critical Edition, unless otherwise stated.

2. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ Vāyu-Purāṇa iv. 10.

3. "Epic Studies (VI)", *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 68.

of twenty-four thousand *ślokas* was transformed into the Mahābhārata, in other words, the Mahā-Bhārata. The text of the Great Epic is more or less fixed since that time, with only occasional local and sporadic variations. Its authority as a *Smṛti* lent it a special importance and it became a vehicle of mass education *par excellence*. The Purāṇas cannot be claimed to be equally rigid, but their textual history must be considered parallel to the Mbh. The whole of the religious poetry was the preserve of the selfsame priestly class and it explains the parity that exists between the two literatures viz. the Epic and the Purāṇic. It is, therefore, natural to expect contamination of the Epic literature by the Purāṇic and *vice versa*.

The historical basis of the development of the Purānic literature and the evolution of the Mahābhārata, which are probably co-eval, is as yet a matter for speculation. It is quite possible that the heterodox religious movements of Buddhism and Jainism tended to undermine the influence of Brahmins on the masses ; and the Brahmin priesthood in order to stem the onrush of these subversive forces made use of this powerful literary heritage and sought to feed the popular mind with the supreme importance of Brahmins who, with their piety and might, were the very gods on earth. They tried to rehabilitate their position by bringing into currency the old tales and traditions about miracles performed by Brahmin sages and the magical powers they possessed. The Bhṛgus especially seem to have played the leading rôle in this organization of the Brahmin effort. Dr. SUKTHANKAR has ably shown the vital connection of the Bhṛgus with the history of the Epic text ;[4] and in the Purāṇas also the Bhārgava element seems to preponderate to a significant extent. If this be so, it is easy to see why a considerable amount of textual matter overlaps in the above-mentioned literatures. When we come across any such passage that is common to both the Epic and a Purāṇa, it is therefore very difficult to decide with certainty which has borrowed from which. There is no extraneous evidence in every case to determine that a particular passage is germane to a particular context only. This circumstance allows scholars to give a freehand to their imagination in settling the respective claims of the Epic and a Purāṇa in one way or the other ; and merely subjective judgments are notoriously inconclusive.

The Padma-Purāṇa in particular has many points of contact with the Mahābhārata. The cosmological episode occurring in the

4. *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-78.

beginning of the Bhīṣma-parvan and its correspondence with the same in the Padma-Purāṇa has already attracted notice; and the contention of Dr. Luise HILGENBERG about the priority of the Padma-Purāna account has been effectively answered by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR.[5] In the course of that article Dr. BELVALKAR has referred to the circumstance that the Purāṇa tells us that its *Tīrthayātrā* account is derived from the Mbh. This is not quite accurate. The Purāṇa only purports to report an ancient conversation between Nārada and Yudhiṣṭhira. Dr. BELVALKAR has discerned the textual correspondence of the Mbh. and the Purāṇa in a couple of stanzas. Had he pursued this clue further, he would have found that this correspondence goes much further, running over several chapters. Here it is my aim to demonstrate why we should consider the Padma-Purāṇa to have definitely borrowed the narration of *Tīrthas* occurring in it from the Mbh. Before proceeding to do so, I must mention one or two points which make the question a little intriguing.

The portion of the *Tīrthayātrā* episode which is common to the Epic and the Padma-Purāna occurs as a subsection of the *Tīrtha-yātrā* sub-parvan in the Āraṇyaka-parvan and covers chapters 80–83 of the Critical Edition [C. 3.4021—8275; B. 3. 81-85; K. 79-83: Padma-P. (Ānandāśrama Ed.) Ādikhaṇḍa Ch. 10–39]. Now, there are considerations which show that it belongs to the latest strata of the Epic and could not have formed part of its original scheme. This is apparent even *prima facie* as it is very loosely knit in the texture of the Epic. It is called by MSS. in the colophons to *adhyāyas* by the name *Pulastya-Tīrtha-yātrā*. This *Pulastya-Tīrtha-yātrā* is not known to the composer of the *Anukramaṇī-parvan* in the Ādi and even in the *Parva-saṁgraha-parvan*, where the contents of different sub-parvans are summarized, it is mentioned in a passage (Ādi, 125*) which is clearly spurious. The narration of *tīrthas* is occasioned by the advisability for the four Pāṇḍava brothers to go on a tour of pilgrimages to different *tīrthas* after the departure of Arjuna to the *Indra-loka* for acquiring the lore of *astras*. There was a great need of recreation for them to overcome the despondency caused by the separation of their dear brother. The Epic reads (3.80.1; cf. B. 3.81. 1*ab*):

धनंजयोत्सुकास्ते तु वने तस्मिन्महारथाः ।
न्यवसन्त महाभागा द्रौपद्या सह पाण्डवाः ॥

5. Vide *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas, C. I. E.*, pp. 19–28.

After this comes our *Pulastya-Tīrtha-yātrā* and the thread of narration is again taken up in (after a lapse of five chapters):

तान्सर्वानुत्सुकान्दृष्ट्वा पाण्डवान्दीनचेतसः ।
आश्वासयंस्तदा धौम्यो बृहस्पतिसमोऽब्रवीत् ॥ (3·85·1; B 3·87·1)

After this, Dhaumya goes on narrating the various *tīrthas* that are situated in the four quarters. It might naturally be asked where was the necessity of again instructing Yudhiṣṭhira on the topic which is already fully treated in the preceding chapters? The natural syntactical connection in the above stanzas and the superfluity of the material intervening, point towards its being a very late and unskilful addition in the Epic. Its suspicious character is enhanced by the circumstance that it quite unnecessarily involves a double set of interlocutors. The whole episode is narrated to Yudhiṣṭhira by Nārada as having been formerly reported by Pulastya to Bhīṣma, which is tantamount to saying that it was borrowed from elsewhere. That its matter is wholly Purāṇic is apparent from its own testimony. The phrase दृष्टमेतत्पुरातने recurs there in 3·81·135d; 82·8d; 82·51d; 82·137d. Its independent character is also indicated by a special *phalaśruti* attached to it (3·83·101):

इदं देवर्षिचरितं सर्वतीर्थार्थसंश्रितम् ।
यः पठेत्कल्यमुत्थाय सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥

It is true as has been pointed out by Dr. BELVALKAR, that the Padma-Purāṇa version of this episode has an Epic setting, having been reported to Yudhiṣṭhira by Nārada. But this in itself is not sufficient to prove that it originally belonged to the Epic. It is quite usual with the Purāṇas to introduce Epic personalities in order to create an impression of authenticity. A part of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa is devoted to explaining some inconsistencies in the Great Epic, which were rather hard to chew for a later age. The *Prayāga-māhātmya*, which is a common feature of many Purāṇas, is also introduced in a similar setting. After the Epic war, Yudhiṣṭhira is greatly perturbed and is in great sorrow for having destroyed his kith and kin. Then Mārkaṇḍeya advises him, according to the Padma-Purāṇa, to make a pilgrimage to Prayāga in order to wash off his sins. No trace of any such happening, however, is to be detected in the Epic. This fact might on the other hand give us a clue to understand how such a Purāṇa passage can easily creep into the corpus of the Epic text.

There is still another ground to suspect that this *Tīrthayātrā* episode was originally of a floating character and was differently utilized in different places. In the Agni-Purāṇa some lines from

it occur sporadically but without any shuffling in the sequence (cf. Ānandāśrama ed. ch. 109). Some of the matter occurring in the Āraṇyaka-parvan Adhy. 83, is also repeated in the Vāmana-Purāṇa Adhy. 34-42); many stanzas and parts of stanzas correspond exactly with those in the Mbh. Thus it will be seen that there are difficulties in the way of pinning down this episode to the Mbh.

But in spite of all this, we can say that the Padma-Purāṇa version is directly copied from the Āraṇyaka-parvan. The Epic situation in which it is introduced and the circumstance that it thus involves a three-fold set of interlocutors viz. Ṛṣis and Sūta, Dilīpa and Vasiṣṭha, and finally Nārada and Yudhiṣṭhira point towards this. But the method of textual criticism elaborated in the Critical Edition of the Mbh. supplies us with a sure norm to arrive at this conclusion.

To proceed: the Padma-Purāṇa version of the *Tīrthayātrā* entirely follows the *Northern* recension of the Mbh. There is not a single passage where it has any point of contact with the purely Southern MSS. If the Pādma version were the original, it is surprising why the S MSS. should have remained absolutely untouched by its influence. The Purāna version is totally unconscious of such S additions in the Āraṇyaka as: 376,* 377,* 378,* 379,* 380,* 383,* 386,* 392,* 396,* 407,* 408,* 414,* 420,* 421,* 422,* 425,* 427,* 434,* 438,* etc. On the other hand it contains the following insertions which belong mostly to N (marking out the Pādma version as distinctly Northern): 381,*[6] 387,* 391,* 394,* 397,* 398,* 399,* 403,* 404,* 405,* 406,* 409,* 415,* 417,* 428,* 430,* 439,* 446,* 448,* 450,* 451,* 453.* In some of these insertions, viz. 446,* 448,* and 450,* the Padma-Purāna agrees with the subgroup of N represented by the MSS. B Dc Dn D4-6. In two cases, viz. 406* and 415,* the Padma Purāṇa agrees with the Bengali version exclusively. This agreement narrows down the correspondence of the Pādma version to that sub-version of the Mbh. current in Mid-Eastern India represented by the Bengali version and the Vulgate, its correspondence with the Bengali being especially closer. The individual readings of the Padma-Purāṇa, too, usually follow the group of MSS. B Dc Dn D4-6, only very

6. Āranyakaparvan 381* is त्रीणि शृङ्गाणि शुभ्राणि त्रीणि प्रस्रवणानि च ।
पुष्कराण्यादिसिद्धानि न विद्मस्तत्र कारणम् ॥
This stanza is noticed by Nīl. with the comm.:
इदानीं मन्दबुद्धिभिर्दुर्व्याख्येयतया परित्यक्त इति न पुस्तकान्तरेषु दृश्यते । ।
It is obviously taken from some Purāṇa source, where *Puṣkara* is eulogized (cf. Padma-Purāṇa 5. 18. 239; 28. 36).

rarely aberrating from this group, thus amply corroborating the above conclusion.[7]

Now it might be asked, can the Padma-Purāṇa text be assumed to be the basis of the Mbh. version of the *Tīrthayātrā* episode? To suggest that it can, would be absurd, as anyone even superficially acquainted with the Mbh. MSS. tradition will tell. The version of the Epic represented in the Purāṇa is not the best nor the purest version. It is greatly contaminated and mixed and has only a relative value like the other versions of the Mbh. It would be preposterous to say that only the above-mentioned group of MSS. and no other version of Mbh. preserves the original text, if it is borrowed from the Padma-Purāṇa. It must have been, contrariwise, the editor of the Padma-Purāṇa who is the plagiarist and it appears that he copied his text from some Bengali MS.[8]

Like any particular Mbh. MS. the Pādma text has its own vagaries and offers us a sheaf of unique and corrupt readings. It is interesting to note that it has not missed to make some haplographical omissions even! Thus it omits, Mbh. 3. 80. 50-52; 81. 168^{cd} (hapl.); 81. 171^{cd} (hapl.); 82. 31 (lost in a confusion of sequence); 82. 126^{cd}–133^{ab} (hapl.); 83. 53^{bc} (hapl.); 83. 106^{a}–107^{b} (hapl.); 83. 109^{c}-119^{d} (hapl.).

The Padma-Purāṇa account shows a considerable fluctuation in sequence caused mainly by insertions which are long and cover several chapters. Besides additions mentioned above, it has few small insertions of its own. After Mbh. 3. 80. 59*ab* it inserts an inconsequential line, and after 3. 83. 82, it inserts a passage of nineteen lines expatiating on the greatness of the Ganges. The longer insertions referred to above, are the special *māhātmyas* of the rivers Narmadā and Yamunā and the holy city of Benares. They are altogether incongruent in the context as they violently interrupt the smooth course of narration and are partly redundant also. After

7. I refrain from mentioning the list of variants where Padma. is in agreement with the Mbh. version made up by B Dc Dn D 4.6, as it is too bulky for the compass of this article and any one interested can easily check my statements from the printed texts.

8. According to Dr. WILSON, the Kriyā-yoga-sāra (an appendage of Padma-Purāṇa) is a modern and a *Bengali* composition (Vide his Introduction to Vishnu-Purāṇa). The Padma-Purāṇa seems to have enjoyed great popularity in Bengal as it is extant in a special Bengali recension also. Dr. Heinrich LÜDERS in his "Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛnga", tries to antedate the Padma-Purāṇa version of that episode to the Epic. His argument is based on the occurrence of that episode in an Oxford MS. of the Purāṇa, but no trace of it is found in the edition of the Purāṇa published in the Ānandāśrama Series. It is remarkable that Dr. LÜDERS' MS. is again a *Bengali* MS.

Mbh. 3. 80. 71, 3. 82. 30, and 3. 82. 70 the Padma-Purāṇa inserts matter covering ten, three and five *adhyāyas* respectively. Had the Mbh. copied from the Padma-Purāṇa it could not have missed this imposing bulk of 18 *adhyāyas* and lost an excellent opportunity of quenching the insatiable thirst of Yudhiṣṭhira for instruction.

The individual readings which are unique to the Padma-Purāṇa text are quite revealing and clinch the argument. I have discussed only a few of them below. In order to cover the theft committed by it the Padma-Purāṇa has tried a dodge in changing the names of interlocutors in its text. Thus it replaces Bhīṣma by Dilīpa and substitutes Vasiṣṭha for Pulastya. This change in the *dramatis personae* becomes interesting when we see that the pair of Bhīṣma and Pulastya in a similar setting occurs elsewhere in the Purāṇa.[9] This has caused the following changes in its text:

Mahābhārata	Padma-Purāṇa
80. 15^{d} पुलस्त्यमृषिसत्तमं	वासिष्ठमृषिमुत्तमं
80. 17^{c} भीष्मो	स हि
80. 20^{b} भीष्मो धर्मभृतां वर:	दिलीपो द्विपदां वर:
80. 24^{a} अमोघदर्शी भीष्माहं	प्रीतिर्मे वर्धते तेऽद्य
80. 25^{a} महाभाग	वसिष्ठाद्य
80. 42^{d} कुरुनन्दन	सूर्यवंशज
83. 95^{c} कीर्तिंच महतीं भीष्म	दिलीप कीर्तिं महतीं

These, it will be seen, are obvious manipulations of the Epic text, betrayed by their forced diction. The following instances, clearly show the inferiority of the Padma-Purāṇa text:

Mbh. 3. 80. 15^{c} अद्भुतसंकाशं : Padma. has भूतसंकाशं (!)

Mbh. 3. 80. 23^{b} पितृभक्त्याश्रितोऽनघ: Padma. पितरस्तारितास्त्वया. Bhīṣma was keeping a vow (*vrata*) to propitiate the Manes (*pitryam*). This significance of the reading is lost in the Padma. as it reads *dharmyam* in 80. 12^{c} for *pitryam*.

Mbh. 3. 80. 32^{ab} : For निरारम्भो लघ्वाहारो; Padma. has निराहारोऽलब्धाहारो, which is meaningless in the context and is obviously corrupt.

Mbh. 3. 80. 39^{ab} : For अनुपोष्य त्रिरात्राणि तीर्थान्यनभिगम्य च, Padma. has अनुपोष्यातिरात्राणि तीर्थाभिगमनेन च !

Mbh. 3. 80. 65^{b} : आर्धं च भरतर्षभ of the Epic is changed by Padma. to आर्धं च पार्थिवर्षभ (faulty cadence !)

Mbh. 3. 81. 7^{c} : For यक्षं. Padma. has यं वै !

Mbh. 3. 81. 34^{a} : Padma. is वंशमूलं समासाद्य instead of वंशमूलकमासाद्य ; but in 34^{d} it has वंशमूलके !

Mbh. 3. 81. 49^{c} : For केशानभ्युक्ष्य, Padma. has केशानभ्यर्च्य (!)

9. Cf. 5 Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa (Vol. III) 2. 47 ff.

Mbh. 3. 81. 50[b] : श्वानलोमापहं of the Crit Ed. is too difficult and so is emended by Padma. as स्नातलोकार्तिहं ! ; The same name is again a stumbling-block in 51[a] and is turned into स्वर्णलोमापनयन (cf. other v. l. in the Crit Ed.)

Mbh. 3. 81. 83[a] : Padma. ऋणान्तं for किंदत्तं. An obvious emendation suggested by ऋणैर्मुक्तः in the second line of the stanza.

Mbh. 3. 81. 126[d] : नैनं श्वोमरणं तपेत् of the Crit. Ed. is rather difficult. It means ' He will not be again distressed by a future death '; Padma. has नैव संसरणं लभेत्, which is a weak paraphrase.

Mbh. 3. 81. 156[c] : For बदरं भक्षयेत्तत्र, Padma. has बदरी भक्ष्यते यत्र. Rather thorny to swallow !

Mbh. 3. 81. 167[a] : संनिहित्यामुपस्पृश्य : Padma. has संनिहितायामुपस्पृश्य (hypermetric !)

Mbh. 3. 81. 169[a] : उदपानाश्च वप्राश्च : Padma. has विप्राश्च for वप्राश्च, which is absolutely meaningless !

Mbh. 3. 81. 175[ab] : दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या उत्तरेण दृषद्वतीम् । For दृषद्वतीम्, Padma. has *again* सरस्वतीम्, leading us nowhere !

Mbh. 3. 81. 178[b] : In Padma. च is added after मचक्रुकस्य to make twelve syllables in the *Pāda !*

Mbh. 3. 82. 7[c] : For षट्सु शम्यानिपातेषु, Padma. has षड्गुणं याति पातेषु !

Mbh. 3. 82. 47[d] : सर्वासां पारगो भवेत् : Padma. has परमो for पारगो which is meaningless.

Mbh. 3. 83. 7[a] : प्रभवेच्च कुले पुण्ये : Padma. has प्रभावे च कुलं गत्वा !

Mbh. 3. 83. 11[c] : वृषभैकादशफलं: Padma. has °गुणं !

Mbh. 3. 83. 19[b] : For पाण्ड्येषु, Padma. has भाण्डेषु !

Mbh. 3. 83. 34[c] : For जातिमात्रह्रदे, Padma. reads ज्योतिर्मात्र° but in 83. 36[c], the *same* name is given as in the Crit. Ed. !

Mbh. 3. 83. 69[ab] : तत्र त्रीण्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्ये च जाह्नवी । For it, Padma. reads तत्र त्रीण्यपि कुण्डानि तयोर्मध्येन (sic) जाह्नवी !

Mbh. 3. 83. 75[c] : For मृत्तिकालम्भनाद्, Padma. has मूर्धकानमनाद्, which is an awkward " emendation " !

The above unique readings of the Padma. are typical of hundreds of such other variants it has. It will be seen from them that they are generally corrupt, inferior, meaningless, self-contradictory and unintelligent readings. Some of the names of *tīrthas* have suffered great damage in being twisted and distorted in the Padma-Purāṇa. In every case the Mbh. readings are superior to those of the Padma-Purāṇa. It can be shown also that many variants in the Padma. have originated through ignorant and careless copying from the Mbh. This seems to me to prove that the Mbh. version of the *Pulastyatīrthayātrā* is the basis of and therefore prior to the Padma-Purāna section of *tīrthayātrā*.

Iśāvāsyopaniṣad—a Study according to Śrī Vedānta Deśika

By

K. C. VARADACHARI, Tirupati

In paying tribute to the genius of one who has by his stupendous labours done more than any other single thinker to the cause of Dharma-śāstra study in India, I wish to present a few salient points in the Upaniṣadic thought as expounded by one of the finest flowers of Śrī Vaiṣṇava thought in India. I mean Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha, otherwise popularly known as Śrī Vedānta Deśika. Śrī Veṅkatanātha commented on only one Upaniṣad, the Iśāvāsyopaniṣad. He considered that this Upaniṣad was sufficient for all purposes and difficulties on the path of Realization, which he considered is the proper *dharma* of every man. This Upaniṣad is *the* friend of the Universe, *viśvamitram*. That this claim has stood the test of age, even as the Gītā has, is proved by its enormous influence on the minds of men of all ages in India. The Indian Renaisance thinker has to study the implications of this profoundest of Upaniṣads. GĀNDHI,[1] AUROBINDO and TAGORE, who in the words of Sir Sarvepalli RĀDHĀKRISHNAN, show great "promises of a great Dawn," owe their finest inspirations and syntheses to this Upaniṣad. Not that other Upaniṣads do not contain valuable instruction, but this Upaniṣad gathers within it syntheses of great worth and moment to Humanity.

The Iśāvāsyopaniṣad shows a synthetic way of realization, of works, of unity, of synthetic conquest and triumph and synthetic Ānanda. Later literature appears as it were to be comments on this wonderful Upaniṣad.

That some Mantras are taken from other Upaniṣads, especially Bṛhadāranyaka, and others, does not in the least affect the Integral nature of the syntheses presented in this piece.

The Analysis of the Upaniṣad shows that it tries at the very start to synthesise the knowledge of the Omnipervasive Divine Being with the doing of individual duties. The duties immediately take the form of self-lessness or fruit-renouncing nature. The Upaniṣad itself is the concluding portion of the Vājasaneyī Samhitā, and that means that all works, sacrifices, *nitya* and *naimittika*, should be appropriated *to the growth* of knowledge of Brahman:

1. Cf. *Gāndhi Sūtras* 3 : Prof. D. S. SARMA, Madras.

Saṃhitodāhṛtam sarvam viniyogapṛthaktvātāḥ ı
Vidyārtham syād iti vyaṅktum nibandho 'sya tadantaḥ.

The unitary practice of knowledge of God and works devoted to the enlargement or increase of one's consciousness culminates in the Vision of Unity which is the aim of all Upaniṣadic instruction.

The first three mantras form the preliminary instruction of the Guru to his disciple, and these form the introduction to the entire thought of the Upaniṣad. Whatsoever is changing and transient is pervaded by the Lord, knowing this one should, giving up all sense of possession and avarice, enjoy the world of His. Man should not surrender his works based on the knowledge of the all-pervasive Brahman, since such action does not cleave to man. Failure to know or do works with the sense of renounced-enjoyment makes one a self-killer, and the destiny of such a person after death is not the solar orb or supreme status but the unending gloom of interminable darkness.

The fourth mantra takes up the threads of the first half of the first mantra which intimates the indwelling all-prevading nature of God. In a few vigorous choice phrases His Omnipervasiveness and Omnipresence are described in apparently contradictory terms so as to indicate the wonderful luminous presence everywhere. The height of this wonder is reached when the Seer describes that ' Air upbears the Waters ' "*tasminnapo mātariśvā dadhāti*". The next verse repeats the same idea in order to emphasize the excellent transcendent nature of *Sarveśa.*

The sixth mantra points out the fruits of the knowledge of Lord's omnipervasion. One does not recoil from any thing. The seventh proceeds forward and points out that 'He who perceives the Oneness of the Lord does not suffer from delusion or sorrow'.

The eighth mantra is all important. No commentator, ancient or modern, other than Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha has explained it properly. Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha displays loyalty to the grammatical construction of the mantra which contains two groups of words, one in the nominative case and the other in the accusative case. The two groups accordingly should refer to two different persons, God and the soul, the soul in this case being the *mukta*, freed soul, which has attained the highest state. This also shows that the two groups may interchangeably refer to God and the freed soul. This identity in quality it is that makes it possible for the individual

to meditate and realize the Supreme as the Self—*So'ham asmi* (16th mantra) 'He am I.'

HE ATTAINS THE RADIANT, BODILESS, SCARLESS, SINEWLESS, PURE BEING, WITHOUT SIN: (HE) SEER, SELF-CONTROLLED, CONQUEROR INDEPENDENT, BEARS THE REAL NATURE OF THINGS FOR INNUMERABLE YEARS.

Or

He (the supreme Brahman) Omniscient, Intelligence, Lord, Independent, who from eternal years determines the real nature of all things, pervades the pure (self), without (kārmic) body, scarless, sinewless, freed from evil (and good).

The above is the two-way translation according to Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha. This interpretation does not militate against the doctrine of Unity. It shows that creation is not a fiction but a real creation. The individual soul achieves real height and peace and glory of equality in all aspects except the creation of the world (*jagadvyāpāravarjam*).

Then come the two triads of the most intriguing verses, referring to the synthesis of *Avidyā* and *Vidyā*, and *Asambhūti* and *Sambhūti*.

There are several views and no one is agreed as to the exact meaning. One view holds that Avidyā is ignorance, and this ignorance produces action. This action thus is Avidyā. This action is further identified with vedic ritualistic performance, *kāmya-karma*, which produces blindness. When practised along with Vidyā it helps the surmounting of the death and attainment of Immortality.

Another interpretation makes ignorance the consciousness of many alone, whereas *vidyā* or knowledge means consciousness of unity alone. The integral truth is the unity in multiplicity and multiplicity in unity.[2]

According to Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha, *avidyā* means *vidyetarā*—other than *vidyā*, that is that which is also next and nearest to it, and that is action, *karma*. This is the *karma* prescribed in the second verse; *kurvanneveha karmāṇi*......This is right action, consecrated action which does not touch man, action done in the consciousness of the omnipervasive Brahman, action suffused with renunciation of fruits and self-possession. Such is *avidyā*.

2. *Īśā Upanishad:* Śrī Aurobindo, 2nd Edition. In the *Life Divine*, Śrī Aurobindo identifies Avidyā with the Inconscient, veiled consciousness.

I shall not dilate on the controversies about these two terms as I shall be doing so elsewhere at length.[3]

The next group is equally interesting, and the interpretation of Śrī Vedānta Deśika is remarkable. Śrī Śaṅkara identifies these two terms with destruction and birth and pleads for their transcendence. The dialectical movement, it is assured, is overcome by the realization of the height. What is throughout forgotten in the analysis of both the groups is that the terms *avidyayā mṛtyum tīrtvā* and *vināśenā mṛtyum tīrtvā* are not properly explained. How can ignorance lead to conquest over death? How can destruction lead to conquest over death? Certain further explanations are needed to make them acceptable. It is this that made Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha undertake to explain these terms otherwise so as to be in tune with the intergral meaning of the Upaniṣad.

Śrī AUROBINDO, an integral thinker of great Vision, holds that the ideal of the Upaniṣad is "to embrace simultaneously *vidyā* and *avidyā*, the one and the many : to exist in the world but to change the terms of death into terms of immortality, to have freedom and peace of non-birth simultaneously with the activity of birth-Death is the constant denial by the All of the ego's false self-limitation in the individual frame of mind, life and body." Here the meaning of non-birth is birthlessness, and this is the counter-pole of birth. Birth is the quality of manyness, whereas non-birth is the quality of self-identical existence, and their conciliation is brought about through the pursuit of Divine Transcendence that does not follow exclusively either the birth-pursuit or the birth-lessness-pursuit.

There is another interpretation which is also interesting. It considers that *asambhūti* refers to the lord of destruction, Rudra-Śiva and *sambhūti* to the Lord of Creation, Brahma ; worship of any one of the two gods exclusively leads to ignorance and darkness. Both the functions belong to the Supreme Lord who is spoken of as *sarva-vyāpin* and is declared to be the Origin of all the three processes of creation, sustenance and destruction: *janmādyasya yataḥ* (I. i. 2. Vedānta Sūtra). The one supreme Godhead should be worshipped as the Lord of both, and this will lead one to the two-fold realization.

Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha interprets the two terms in a very luminous manner quite distinct indeed from the rest. *Asambhūti* means the destruction of all obstacles to *sambhūti* or divine birth or

3. *Īśavāsyopaniṣad-bhāṣya of Veṅkaṭanātha*: Trans. and a Study : by me to to be issued soon. Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute Publications.

communion. *Sambhūti* is divine birth (*jñāna-sambhūti*). It is the brahmic experience (*Samādhi*) that is to be sought after and the obstacles to it ought to be overcome. Hence destruction (*vināśa*) means the destruction of obstacles to realization, and therefore when this destruction happens there is also conquest or crossing over death. The two are limbs of the knowledge of the Omnipervading God. They sustain and energize the growth of His consciousness and make for the rending of the veil that covers the face of the self mentioned and prayed for in the following mantra :

Hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitam mukham ।
Tat tvam pūṣann apāvṛnu satyadharmāya dṛṣṭaye (15th Verse).

Thus according the Śrī Veṅkatanātha, the first triad is not repeated by the second ; on the other hand, the second triad belongs to the realm of *upāsanā*, praxis, and the last group of mantras 15–18 are prayers to the Supreme of the form of Pūṣan the protector, the Sun, Prājāpati, and Yama, to reveal the form effulgent and auspicious of the indwelling Lord in them and in Him, who is the same as his own self, *so'ham asmi*, He I am.

The description of the darkness into which men are said to enter through isolated or atomistic conduct (in verses 9, and 12) is similar to the description given earlier in the third mantra. The reality of the dark spheres or planes of consciousness of ignorance, the reality of sin, and the sin of non-performance of action and wrong performance of action, the sin of not fulfilling the *dharma* of the self, which is to perceive its Self as the Supreme Lord indwelling in all, are clearly enunciated. They result in the entrance into darkness. All these are activities comparable to or indeed are activities that lead to suicide of the self. To realize the diunity of knowledge and selfless consecrated action, the unity of religious consciousness of utter dependence on the Supreme and the mystic consciousness of over-coming all restraints and obstacles to that realization, is the real synthesis of the integral consciousness. Religion and Mysticism are clearly represented by the figures of *sambhūti* and *asambhūti*.[4] Both lay claim to vision and knowledge, and yet one-sided or unilateral action precipitates them into darkness as much in the lower as in the higher states. The occult secret is their diunity of dynamism.

The last four mantras are said to be prayers. The Lord is the protector, is the *Kratu*, who remembers the Sātvic sacrifice per-

4. Cf. my paper read at the 10th All India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, 1940, on "Relation between religious and mystical consciousness in the Iśvāsāyopaniṣad-bhāṣya of Śrī Vedānta Deśika."

formed by the individual as instructed in the first verse—*tena tyaktena bhuñjīthāḥ*. The most glorious vision thus becomes man's through the *prasāda* of God and not otherwise. Surrender, *prāpatti*, is thus intimated with the words, *nama uktim vidhema*, and it gets its complementary *prasāda*, grace. This last is one of the most important features of the doctrine of Realization according to Śrī Vaiṣṇava philosophy.

Īśāvāsyopaniṣad

(Translation of text)

I. All this whatsoever is in the worlds changing is capable of being dwelt in by the Lord. With that (world) renounced enjoy. Covet not anyone's wealth.

II. Thus should one desire to live a hundred years performing works. Thus for thee it is not otherwise than this. Works do not touch (such) a man.

III. Notoriously evil are those worlds of Asuras, enveloped by utter blinding darkness whitherto all those slayers of their souls resort on departing from their bodies.

IV. Unmoving, the One Existence, speedier than the mind, that which has at the very beginning attained all the gods have not yet attained; standing, which overtakes that run, by it air upbears the waters.

V. That which runs (and yet) that does not move,
That which is afar and that is also near,
That dwells within all this and outside all this.

VI. He who sees in the self all creatures and all creatures in the self alone, does not recoil from anything.

VII. When he who knows the Self only as that which has become all things, for him who has seen Oneness, where is there delusion or sorrow?

VIII. He attains the Radiant, Bodiless, Scarless, Sinewless, pure Being, without sin: (he) Seer, Self-controlled, Conqueror, Independent, bears the real nature of things for innumerable years.

Or

He (the Supreme Brahman) Omniscient, Intelligence, Lord, Independent, who from eternal years determines the real nature of all things, pervades the pure* (self), without (a karmic) body, scarless, sinewless and free from evil (or good).

IX. Into deep darkness enter those who are devoted to works. Into still deeper darkness verily those who are devoted to knowledge.

X. Different verily from the knowledge it has been said, Different verily from works it has been said.
This is the instruction we have received from those wise men who instructed that very clearly to us.

XI. He who knows that the knowledge and the works as together,
By the works crosses over death, and by the knowledge attains the Immortal.

XII. Into deep darkness enter those who follow *asambhūti* (exclusively); they into still deeper darkness who are devoted to *sambhūti* alone.

XIII. Different verily from *sambhūti* it is said :
Different verily from *asambhūti*.
This is the instruction we have received from those wise men who instructed that (means) very clearly to us.

XIV. He who knows *sambhūti* and *asambhūti* together
By *vināśa* crosses over death, and by the *sambhūti* attains the Immortal

XV. The face of truth is covered with a brilliant golden lid. Do thou remove that, O Nourisher ! for the sake of perceiving the true nature.

XVI. O Nourisher ! O sole Seer ! O inner Ruler ! O Prompter ! Lord of all creatures !
Abolish thy burning rays, gather up thy rays of light, so that
I (may) see thy most auspicious form. Who this MAN this He am I.

XVII. Moving about, abodeless, immortal, after giving up this body which goes to ashes, OM. (O Lord of) Sacrifice ! Remember that which was done. (O Lord) Sacrifice ! Remember that which was done.

XVIII. O Agni. Lead us by the auspicious path to (spiritual) wealth. Thou God who art knower of all knowledge, remove the crooked sin from us. To thee we sincerely (and repeatedly) utter the word '*Namaḥ*'.

Sanskrit Ardham as a Preposition in the Language of the Brāhmaṇas

By

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA, Jammu

No work of reference on Sanskrit has noted the use of *ardham* as a preposition in Sanskrit. Thus, while *ardha-* as an adjective, meaning "half," is noted by all Lexicons, the only additional use noted is that of a noun. Thus the *St. Petersburg Lexicon* enters *ardha-* as a noun, with the meaning "locality, place, country, part, side" ("Ort, Platz, Gegend, Theil, Seite"); MONIER WILLIAMS enters "Ved. side, part, place, region, country". The *Vācaspatyam* enters a meaning "house etc." (*gṛhādau*). APTE similarly notes the Vedic meaning as "a place, region, country, house, habitation"—all give this additional entry as a noun only.

Sāyaṇa, however, has interpreted *ardham* in the sense of "near" in a number of occurrences in Brāhmaṇa literature. In the following passages the word is clearly used in the sense of a preposition :—

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (Ānand Āshram Edition) II. 3.10. 3 :— *atha ha sītā sāvitrī somaṃ rājānaṃ cakame ... ā (a) syārdhaṃ vavrāja. tāṃ hodīkṣyovāca, upa māvartasveti.* "Then, indeed, Sīta Sāvitrī fell in love with Soma. She came NEAR him. He, having seen her, said, "Come to me." The following is Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the last two sentences :—*sītā tasya somasya samīpe pratyājagāma sa ca somas tāṃ dṛṣṭvā paravaśo māṃ prati samīpe samāgacchetyuvāca.*

Clearly in this passage *ardham*, as Sāyaṇa interprets it, means "near"—being connected with a person. Again, in the same Brāhmaṇa, II. 3.10.40, the following lines occur :—

tasmai...etam...alaṅkāraṃ kalpayitvā...
ā (a) syārdhaṃ vrajet, priyo haiva bhavati

"Having prepared this...decoration for (meeting) him, he should come near him. He then becomes his favourite". "Him" here refers to the king, who is to be approached by the person who has decorated himself well. Commenting on these lines, Sāyaṇa says :—

tasya rājñaḥ samīpe gacchann ayaṃ tilaka-
dhārī tasya rājñaḥ priyo bhavati.

There is no possibility here of construing any "place" or "house" as the meaning of *ardham* : the king is to be *approached* by the person decorating himself. Any other meaning would be absurd.

Again, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 4.1.2 there occur the following lines :—

yad vai no (a) yamardhaṃ na paryādadīta hautai-naṃ brahmodyam āhvayāmahe

"If he does not hand in to (lit. NEAR) us (the money), we shall invite this theological competition." Here *ardham* governs the pronoun *naḥ* "us". Though Sāyaṇa rather loosely interprets this phrase as "*ātmsamīpadeśaṃ prāpya niṣkaṃ na paryādadīta*", yet the fundamental meaning of "near" is present in his mind. If money is to be given, it is to be given to a person or persons with whom the word *ardham* is here concerned.

That the germ of this meaning of *ardham* is POSSIBLY also present in the Yajurveda will be apparent from the following line in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā XXXIII, 65, *ā' tū na indra vṛtrahann asmā'kam ardhám ā'gahi* "O Indra, Destroyer of Vṛtra, come to (lit. near) us". Though Mahīdhara interprets *ardham* as "*nivāsa-deśam*", it is not necessary to construe it as "habitation" and give it so narrow a sense. Is it necessary to suppose that the supplicant wishes the Deity to be only in his habitation ?

In the above occurrences *ardham* is connected with persons. Sometimes *ardham*, as a preposition is connected with things, as in the following passages :—

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 6.1.28 :—*tān apyardham āgnīdhrasya jigyuḥ.* "(The Gods) conquered them (the demons) (by coming) near the Āgnīdhra." Sāyaṇa's interpretation runs thus :—*te devā āgnīdhradhiṣṇya-gatasyāgnerardhaṃ samīpaṃ prāpya tān asurān jigyuḥ.*" Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *ardham* here seems to be quite acceptable, for *ardham*, though formally in the Accusative case, cannot be construed here as a noun : the verb *jigyuḥ* governs *tān*, and if *ardham* be construed as a noun, it will give no sense.

If the prepositional use of *ardham* here is the only possible use, in the following passage in the same Brāhmaṇa (VII. 3.1.6) it is quite possible :—*ayam āhavanīyasyārdham aiti* "he goes near the Āhavanīya". Though Sāyaṇa, like the *St. Petersburg Lexicon*, interprets the *ardham* here as "*deśavācī*", yet in view of the above occurrences the prepositional use of *ardham* even here is quite possible.

I hope the above lines have brought to light another Sanskrit preposition from the obscure corners of Brāhmaṇa literature.

The Story of Saptavadhri and Vadhrimatī

(Ṛgveda, V. 78)

By

H. D. VELANKAR, Bombay

The Ṛgvedic hymn namely V. 78, is generally regarded as being made up of three different parts. Thus BAUNACK, *ZDMG.*, 50. p. 285 ff., thinks that the hymn consists of three parts, which respectively contain an invitation to Soma, the Story of Saptavadhri, and the prayer for an easy delivery of some woman. The story of Saptavadhri is introduced, according to him, partly to praise the Aśvinā by the narration of one of their wonderful deeds in connection with the poet's ancestor, and partly because of the similarity existing between the two events, i.e., the rescue of Atri and the safe delivery of a woman. He also conjectures that the middle part of the hymn, i. e. vv. 4–6, wss borrowed from some older Atri hymn, from which also x. 143. 1-3 seem to have been borrowed. This is wholly (exeept perhaps the conjecture) adopted by GELDNER at *Kommentar*, p. 87. On the other hand, OLDENBERG, *Noten* I.p. 335. assumes the unity of the hymn from the beginning. He considers it to be a charm for safe delivery (vv. 5-9), which is introduced by a Soma-hymn consisting of the first four stanzas. This view of his is probably based on the following statement in the Ṛgvidhāna :—

विजिहीष्व वनस्पते तदिदं च्यावनं स्मृतम् ।
यं च्यावयितुकामः स्याच्च्यावयेत्तमिदं जपन् ॥

OLDENBERG confirms his conclusion by a comparison of our hymn with ṚV. V. 40 where a similar charm of 5 stanzas is similarly introduced by a similarly constructed Soma-hymn of four stanzas. It is, however, difficult to see how he establishes a connection between the Delivery-Charm (vv. 7-9) and the two earlier stanzas. He obviously cannot resort to the explanation based on the similarity of events offered by BAUNACK, as he would not be able to separate v. 4 from vv. 5 and 6 in that case. Even Sāyaṇa recognizes that though the traditional author of the hymn as a whole is Saptavadhri, still the different parts of it were composed by him on different occasions and for different purposes. Thus vv. 4–5 were composed for his own release from a wooden box (cf. *peṭānivāsasamaye dṛṣṭavān ṛgdvayam tadā*), while the next three stanzas which Sāyaṇa describes as a Garbhasrāviṇī Upaniṣad, were

composed by the author for securing the safe delivery of his own wife (*svayoṣitaḥ prasavāya asaū*). V. 4 refers to Atri, who, according to him, was the father of the Poet.

I am indeed inclined to grant the unity of the hymn, but not for the reasons given above by the different scholars. In my opinion, the unifying purpose which lies behind the different parts of the hymn is supplied by the two similes occurring in vv. 4 and 5. In v. 4, the poet compares himself with a beseeching woman (*nādhamāneva yoṣā*), and in v. 5 the wooden trap in which he was imprisoned is compared with the *Yoni* of a woman who is about to be delivered (*yoniḥ sūṣyantyāiva*). There can be little doubt that the same woman is intended in both the passages. The word *ajohavīt* and *nādhamānā* further show us who this woman was. The first word reminds us of ṚV. I. 116. 13 and naturally of the woman Vadhrimatī, who invoked the help of the Aśvinā for the sake of her safe delivery, and for whom we may also compare ṚV. I. 117. 24, VI. 62. 7, and X. 39. 7. The second word unmistakably suggests that the *Yoṣā* was a singer-devotee of the Aśvinā, since the adjective is almost exclusively used of a singer-priest in the Ṛgveda. Compare e. g., I. 118. 10; 178. 3; 181. 7; II. 12. 6; 29. 4; IV. 16; 29. 4; V. 78. 6; VIII. 7. 30 etc. Also compare X. 183. 2, where a woman is called *nādhamānā*, probably when she was in similar circumstances. It is to be remembered that the Aśvinā responded to the call (*havam*) of the woman Vadhrimatī and not of her husband or of any other relative. Further the common part *vadhri* occurring in the names of Saptavadhri and Vadhrimatī clearly suggests that the two were husband and wife. If we carry these suggestions in mind, we can easily see a convincingly natural purpose behind the different parts of our hymn. In vv. 1-3 the poet Saptavadhri invites the Aśvinā to the Soma-offering at his sacrifice. In vv. 4-6, he recounts the help which he derived from them comparing himself in this respect with his wife Vadhrimatī, who had received similar help from them at the time of her difficult delivery. This brings him to the latter incident and the poet tries to reconstruct the words of command which the deities must have actually employed on that occasion. I construe vv. 7-9 as the words of command of the Aśvinā to the Mūḍha Garbha of Vadhrimatī. They are neither an *āśīs* as GELDNER thinks, nor a *prayer* as BAUNACK would construe. The Imperative form in v. 8 shows that the stanzas are an appeal to the Garbha alone and not to the Aśvinā or any other deity. Thus in short, the hymn is an invitation to the Aśvinā to a Soma sacrifice by Saptavadhri who, on that occasion,

gratefully remembers the help which he and his wife got from them, when they were in need of it. It would seem also from our hymn that Vadhrimatī was the first to receive the help of the Aśvinā and probably, encouraged by her example, her husband Saptavadhri Atri also invoked it for himself and the same was extended to him as we know. At any rate, the words *nādhamāneva yoṣā* in v. 4 and *yoniḥ sūṣyantyāḥ iva* in v. 5 as also the command to the Garbha in vv. 7-9 show unmistakably, in my opinion, the line of thought in the mind of the poet as detailed by me above. All these refer to the same occasion namely the difficult delivery of the poet's wife and the aid which she received from the Aśvinā at that time, by means of her own call.

I entirely agree with BAUNACK and GELDNER (cf. *ZDMG.*, 50. p. 266 and *Kom.*, p. 87) that Saptavadhri himself was the famous Atri, who was saved by the Aśvinā from the Ṛbīsa, where he was tormented by heat and enveloped in darkness. The two passages in particular i. e. VIII. 73. 7-9 and X. 39. 9 ought to leave no doubt about it. Our passage mentions also a tree in connection with the incident. BAUNACK understands this tree to be a 'wooden coffin' in which the Asuras put Saptavadhri, and let it down into a deep ash-pit. This seems to me doubtful. The manner of torturing implied in this appears to be too civilized for the Asuras. Besides, there seem to be no clear grounds for supposing the tree to be different from the Ṛbisa, in the Ṛgveda itself. Our passage would seem to imply that they were identical. Even the passage from the Bṛhad Devatā (vv. 83-85) clearly identifies the two, namely the Vṛkṣa-droṇī and the Ṛbīsa, by putting them in a grammatical coordination and by using one word 'tasmāt' to refer to them in v. 85. On the other hand, the quotation given by Sāyana on v. 5 mentions a wooden box, but this is no way connected with the Ṛbīsa. For, according to this quotation, and Sāyana, Atri and Saptavadhri are two different persons, who are respectively associated with the Ṛbīsa and the wooden box. It is true that the meaning of Ṛbīsa is not certain so far as the Ṛgveda is concerned. Sāyaṇa wavers between *pīḍāyantragṛha*, *pṛthvī-dravya*, and *tuṣāgni*. But the later meaning of the word is pretty clear. It means 'a pit or a cleft in the earth', as is seen from Nirukta VI. 36 and Durga's quotation on it in support of this sense. Durga's quotation seems to be a free paraphrase of Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, IV. 10. 15. And now the question arises as to what the Ṛbīsa of Atri was like. My answer is that it was a big hollow in a very old tree, reaching down very deep in the interior of the bowels of the earth.

Thus it was both a tree and an earth-cleft. This is why there were both heat and darkness in it. Of course, we have to assume that the Asuras put Atri in this natural prison, which is quite in keeping witht their crude methods of torture, and then set fire to it. This would explain the presence of heat inside the Ṛbīsa and also the flames of fire outside it as mentioned at ṚV. VIII. 73. 9, the traditional author of which hymn is Saptavadhri himself. Thus also the words *avanītam*, *avarohan*, *unninnyathuḥ* and the like occurring in this context are explained in a natural manner.

As regards the meaning of the word Saptavadhri, it is equally impossible to agree with BAUNACK (*ibid*, p. 278, last para.), who thinks that it means 'one who is bound by seven straps'. In his opinion, Saptavadhri Atri was bound with seven strings before he was thrown into the coffin and the Ṛbīsa. He bases this assumption on a single passage namely, X. 143. 2, where he construes the word *viṣyatam* with *Atrim* occurring in the same stanza: thus 'unbind Atri as one unbinds a fast knot'. But very probably here and at IX. 97. 18, the expression has to be construed as an Utprekṣā rather than an Upamā and seems to be a sort of proverbial expression, thus meaning 'you have unfastened a fast knot as it were', i. e., you have done an equally difficult deed, thus resembling the expression 'cutting the Gordian Knot'. Besides, *vadhri* in the Ṛgveda always means 'a castrated animal' as against *vṛṣā* which means 'a showerer, or an animal capable of procreation'. Nor can the use of the root √*muc* suggest that Atri was bound with ropes; for the root is clearly used in the sense of 'release or free' as at ṚV. 1. 117. 3 and VI. 50. 10. On the other hand, the meaning 'seven times impotent', which seems to be implied in the fanciful story narrated at Bṛhad Devatā, 82-83, is clearly an after-thought suggested by the name. It is significant that in spite of her name suggesting an impotent husband, it is nowhere indicated in the Ṛgveda that Vadhrimatī's husband was an impotent man or that she invoked the help of the Aśvinā for *getting* a son, like Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, in the Mahābhārata, for example. The Aśvinā helped her only at the time of her difficult delivery. So, it is possible that in both the names Saptavadhri and Vadhrimatī, *vadhri* is not used in its literal sense but only in a figurative one, as in words like *vadhryaśvaḥ* (one whose horses are useless), or *vadhrivācaḥ* (whose words are forceless). Our poet may have met with repeated reverses of fortune in his life and, therefore, may have been nicknamed 'Saptavadhri'.

I now give below a translation of the hymn :—

(1) Come here, Aśvinā; do not love us waveringly, oh Nāsatyas. Fly towards the pressed out juices like two swans. (2) Like two

deer, oh Aśvinā, like two wild bulls towards a corn-field, fly towards the pressed out juices like two swans. (3) Aśvinā,[4] whose treasure consists of mares, may you accept this sacrifice for our encouragement. Fly towards the pressed out juices like two swans. (4) When Atri called upon you, while descending down into the Ṛbīsa, like the beseeching woman (i. e. his own wife Vadhrimatī), you came to him with a blissful and fresh protection, even with the speed of a falcon, oh Aśvinā. (5) Open up, oh lord of the woods, like the organ of a woman about to be delivered. Hear my call, oh Aśvinā and release Saptavadhri. (6) For the sake of the terrified and beseeching sage Saptavadhri, you closed the tree and then opened it up with your supernatural powers, oh Aśvinā. (7) [For the sake of his wife Vahrimatī, too, on the occasion of her difficult delivery, you uttered the following words of command, oh Aśvinā]:—'As the wind (which) moves the lotus-plant in all directions (moves), so may your foetus move and come out when it is ten months old. (8) As the wind, as the tree, as the ocean moves, so do you come down together with the membrane, oh (foetus) ten months old. (9) May the boy lying for ten months in the (womb of his) mother come out alive and unwounded—alive from the living (mother).

Note:—In v. 6d, what is exactly meant is not very clear. Perhaps the Aśvinā first closed the hollow of the tree from above (*sam acathaḥ*) so that nothing more could be dropped on Atri from above to injure him, and then opened it from below (*vi acathaḥ*), so that Atri could come out. Or perhaps *cd* is to be construed as a general statement: you close or open a tree at will by means of your powers. So open it now for the sage Saptavadhri. In this case, supply *vṛksam vi acatam* in the first half of the stanza.